FROGS AROUND THE POND: SOME IMAGES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA IN

GREEK AND ROMAN CULTURE

by

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Under the Direction of Naomi Norman

ABSTRACT

This thesis describes some of the ways that Greek and Roman culture attempted to define the Mediterranean Sea. It surveys selected Greek and Roman authors who used the image of the Mediterranean Sea to talk about power and wealth.

INDEX WORDS: Mediterranean Sea, Mediterranean Basin, Greek and Roman Culture, Mare Nostrum, Isidorus, Sallust, Julius Caesar, Livy, Ab Urbe Condita, Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder, Juvenal, Old Oligarch, Pseudo-Xenophon, Constitution of the Athenians, Thucydides, History, Cicero, De Provinciis Consularibus, Augustus, Res Gestae, Plutarch, Quaestiones Conviviales, Hesiod, Works and Days, Petronius, Satyricon, Lucian, The Ship or The Wishes.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In Plato's *Phaedo* 109a-b, Socrates says, "We who live between the Pillars of Herakles

and Phasis inhabit some small part of it around the sea, just like ants or frogs around a pond." In

Cicero's *De Re Publica* 2.10, Cato's sentiment concerning Rome is revealed by Scipio, "how

then could Romulus have with more inspired success achieved the advantages of a coastal city . .

. than by founding Rome on the bank of a river which flowed . . . into the sea . . . And so

Romulus in my view, already foresaw that this city would eventually form the site and center of

a world empire." At the center of both authors' consideration is the sea we call the

Mediterranean, which helped Greco-Roman culture to organize, control, and talk about its

world.[1]   These author's statements show that for both Greeks and Romans the sea was

considered an integral aspect of Mediterranean livelihood and power. Those aspects are the

focus of this thesis and its thematic discussion of the Mediterranean in Greek and Roman

Culture.

This thesis discusses some of the ways that Greeks and Romans constructed the

"Mediterranean" both spatially and culturally and traces certain images of the Mediterranean in

literature: the sea as an image of control and as an image of wealth. It is impossible to choose

just one author or just one period as the paradigm example for these images of the sea. The

concept of the sea produced by the Greeks and Romans is a vast one. Peter Brown says that for

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[1]Brent D. Shaw, "Challenging Braudel: A New Vision of the Mediterranean," Review of *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History,* by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 14 (2001), 434.

the Late Antique world, "one of the main problems was how to maintain, throughout a vast

empire, a style of life and a culture based originally on a slender coastline studded with classical

city states."[2] In this thesis, we point at part of what was later inherited by Late Antiquity, that is,

a notion of the centrality and importance of the Mediterranean. To this end, I gather numerous

sources over a number of periods that help give a general picture that would be difficult to

produce by looking at just one set of evidence or just one period.

  Fernand Braudel's mission statement from the first chapter of his book on the

Mediterranean shows the importance of using layers of evidence to construct an image. He says,

"the only possible course, in order to bring this brief moment of Mediterranean life...out of the

shadows, was to make full use of the evidence, images, and landscapes dating from earlier and

later periods, and even to the present day."[3] In addition to relying on Braudel's image of history,

I am indebted to the new and groundbreaking work of Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell,

who have recently responded to Braudel and others with a comprehensive look at the

Mediterranean Sea and its surrounding lands.[4] Horden and Purcell's view of the Mediterranean

as a widely diverse, yet highly integrated region has helped form a more fluid view of the

Mediterranean Basin.

  The second chapter of the thesis describes the formation of the Mediterranean Sea and its

environs. Braudel describes the Mediterranean as having two faces: "First, it is composed of a

series of compact, mountainous peninsulas, interrupted by vital plains....Second between these

miniature continents lie vast, complicated, and fragmented stretches of sea, for the

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[2]Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity: AD 150-750* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1971), 11.
[3]Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. I,
Translated by Sîan Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 21.
[4]Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford:
Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2000), 2.

Mediterranean is not so much a single entity as a 'complex of seas.'"[5] This chapter lays the

ground work for our examination of the role of the sea in the formation of Greek and Roman

culture. The geological and geographical constraints of the region permitted certain aspects of

culture to flourish, while it delayed the growth of some and prevented others from developing at

all. For example, the Greeks of the Classical period developed a strategy called, ἐπιτειχίζειν,

which was to build a fort on or near enemy land and harry the enemy near their own cities.[6] This

practice was a function of the Athenians' easy access to land and sea, which they often

dominated during the Classical period. The kind of practice that Thucydides describes in 1.142

and 7.47 is one that could be best practiced in an environment such as the Mediterranean

provided. Hence, a thorough geographical and geological review of the Mediterranean Sea helps

to establish the general condition for human life, as Braudel says,[7] and gives insight to specific

practices such as the one mentioned above.

This chapter also provides background for understanding how Greco-Roman culture

conceptualized the importance of the Mediterranean. For example, the definition of the

oikoumene, known world, derives from the geography of the Mediterranean. The sea provided

boundaries for the worlds of both Greece and Rome and a landscape in which these great cities

grew to control the Mediterranean basin. Both Greece and Italy provided centers upon which the

western cultures of antiquity were formed: Athens, for example, is construed as teacher of all

Hellas and Rome as a parent to her cities (*Thu*. 2. 41.1 and *Amm. Marc*.14. 6. 5). The centrality

of Athens and Rome within Greco-Roman consciousness makes their authors prime candidates

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[5]Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 23.
[6]Horden and Purcell, 135.
[7]Braudel, *The Mediterranean,* 23.

for this study. This chapter also explores the Roman use of the locution *mare nostrum* to describe the sea so central to their activities.

The third chapter of this thesis discusses how the Greeks and Romans depicted the Mediterranean as an image of control or power. Thucydides constructs the Mediterranean Sea as a source or manifestation of power. For example, in Perikles' last speech to the Athenians, 2.62.2, he states in no uncertain terms that Athenian power is based on sea-power. Athenian authority, he claims, is not just over their allies, but consists of power derived from control of one of the two divisions of the world, the sea. Athenian control of the sea is essential to their power and is proportional to their willingness to exercise that power. Allowing for some rhetorical exaggeration, Perikles clearly sees the Mediterranean as the most important source of power, the kind of power that could surpass all others. An excellent commentary on this Athenian reliance on the sea comes from the "Old Oligarch." The Greeks may have often commented on the relationship of their political power and their control of the sea, but the Romans did not construct the image of the sea in this way.

Conquest by sea is a trope found in Latin authors. One of the most notable statements of control and power in Roman history is Augustus' *Res Gestae*, in which Augustus describes the achievements of his lifetime. One cannot help but associate Augustus' control of the Roman world with his management of affairs on the sea. The Mediterranean Sea is intimately associated with the idea of progress and power, but the Romans do not associate power and the sea as closely as the Greeks do. Augustus never claims that loss of control over the sea will be the end of Rome's power, as Perikles claims for Athens. We will not, in this thesis, have the opportunity to draw anything but basic differences in the way Greeks and Romans viewed the military potential of the sea. It be sufficient to note that though Perikles proclaims that the power of the

sea is inseparable from Athenian power; whereas, the Romans did not consider sea-power a major part of their military strategy, but they often raised rhetorically the image of the sea as power without actually deeming it the most important tool in their military organization.[8]

It is clear that the Romans and Greeks are thinking in quite different ways about the nature of that sea upon which they travel in order to exercise their power. Furthermore, we also observe differences in the way they pursue the avenues of control opened to them by the sea. The Peloponnesian war offers a good example of how the Athenians reacted to the threats made upon their land. Perikles advises the Athenians to come inside the walls of the town and to put their trust in the fleet (*Thu*. 1.144.1). Although this strategy is distasteful to them, they are persuaded of its efficacy. The Romans, on the other hand, must be drawn into conflicts of control over the Mediterranean, and maritime issues, if fact, brought the Roman and Carthaginian powers to blows. Control of the sea as concept and vehicle of empire is conspicuous in Latin literature. The Romans are often construed as a people unconcerned with or repulsed by the Mediterranean, but they soon fought when political and economic concerns became the focus,[9] and between 264 BCE and 70 CE, Rome slowly enveloped all the lands surrounding the Mediterranean Sea.

As Greeks and Romans explore the relationship of the sea with power, they inevitably associate power with the wealth it can bring. The Greek and Roman construction of the sea as an image of wealth is the subject of Chapter Four. The Mediterranean is the natural resource *par*

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[8]Edward N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire From the First Century A.D. to the Third* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1976), 81-84. Luttwak recognizes that transport by sea was not uncommon and that the Romans did not use the sea for other strategic military purposes. It could also be argued that threats from the sea were more immediate in the Republic than in the Empire, but that the sea remained a powerful image for use by authors and emperors.

[9]Philip De Souza, *Seafaring and Civilization: Maritime Perspectives on World History* (London: Profile Books, 2001), 83.

excellence of the classical world, as well as the most fundamental conduit for trade and communication. Travel by sea represents not only great wealth for the Greeks and Romans, but also the power to acquire and exploit resources on both land and sea. The urge to trade is closely associated with mastery of the sea, and there are numerous images of sea-traders and the wealth they can gain in the literature of antiquity. Although the growth of cities and states is a result of economic networks on both sea and land,[10] we will look at individual voices in literature that point to the sea and individual wealth and to the public interest in the sea. That the sea was a conduit of wealth is perhaps not in doubt; however, we will not have the opportunity to discuss the coastal city as a gateway from sea to land wherein goods could be exchanged far inland.[11]

Cicero in the speech *De Provinciis Consularibus* provides a portrait of Roman interest in free and open trading routes and points to the military importance of the sea. The sea is the cheapest and fastest form of transport, especially considering the geographic constraints of the Mediterranean region.[12] Peter Brown says that, "food was the most precious commodity in the ancient Mediterranean. Food involved transport . . . Rome had long depended on the annual sailing of the grain-fleet from Africa: by the sixth century AD, Constantinople drew 175,200 tons of wheat a year from Egypt."[13] Even the boats that carried the grain were even used as a potent image in literature, for example in Lucian's *The Ship or The Wishes*.

In this fourth chapter, I make clear how important sea-trade throughout the Mediterranean Basin was for the Greco-Roman consciousness as an image of wealth.   For example, in his *Satyricon* (76), Petronius uses Trimalchio's interest in wine as a cargo and in the

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[10]De Souza, *Seafaring and Civilization,* 83.
[11]Sarah Arenson, *The Encircled Sea: The Mediterranean Maritime Civilization* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1990), 61.
[12]A. J. Parker, "Classical Antiquity: the Maritime Dimension," *Antiquity* 64 (June 1990), 335.
[13]Peter Brown, 12. Peter Garnsey and Richard Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 83-103.

ships that carry it to explain the amount of vested interest the merchant-class had in traveling on the sea.

Throughout the thesis, the centrality of Mediterranean Sea in Greco-Roman culture will be the focus of our attention. From the Straits of Gibralter to the Hellespont, the sea was dominant feature of this landscape and of these cultures.

CHAPTER II

THE BASIC GEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

Unity in Diversity: A Tour of the Mediterranean

J. Donald Hughes says that, "As an environment, the Mediterranean provided unity in the sense of common themes in the lives of those who live around it. The sea itself is perhaps the most important of those themes."[14] Ellen Churchill Semple described the Mediterranean Sea as simply "the plaza of ancient life."[15] In this statement, she points out the centrality of the sea for both Greeks and Romans. This sea provided Mediterranean societies both a means of widespread communication and a common landscape. Horden and Purcell call the Mediterranean Sea, "the medium of all human intercourse from one region to another."[16] Oliver puts it another way, "At one level, the sea is a geographical given and its nature...is a fundamental constraint on the historical process."[17] The geology and geography of the Mediterranean Basin as an essentially enclosed sea encourages the viewer to consider it as a single entity.[18] The basin, however, has the qualities of both connection and division. The lands that border the sea tend to be mountainous and often cut communities off from one another.[19]

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[14]J. Donald Hughes, "Land and Sea," in *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome*, Vol. I, Edited by Michael Grant and Rachel Kitzinger,(New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1988), 89.

[15]Ellen Churchill Semple, *Geography of the Mediterranean Region* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1923), 61.

[16]Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 133.

[17]J. Oliver, R. Brock et al. "Introduction," in *The Sea and Antiquity: BAR International Series 899*, Edited by G. J. Oliver, R. Brock et al. (Oxford: J. and E. Hedges, 2000),v.

[18]Horden and Purcell, 11. The authors, however, point out the modern perception of unity comes through a satellite picture (or in expert cartographical renderings), but that the Mediterranean in antiquity was more naturally experienced in its individual parts. They do note, however, that even in the first Millennium BCE names like "Great Sea" were applied to it.

[19]Horden and Purcell,133 and 382.

The Mediterranean itself is divided into numerous seas by peninsulas and islands. Horden and

Purcell argue that, "extreme topographical fragmentation" is a primary factor in the history of

the sea.[20]   Therefore, one must recognize the unifying features in the diversity in the

Mediterranean in order to come to grips with the influence this body of water has had on the

civilizations that have been established around it. The ability to access the sea is one of the

primary integrating components of Mediterranean culture. According to Braudel, the

Mediterranean (environment) has, "no unity but that created by the movements of men, the

relationships they imply, and the routes they follow."[21]

The Mediterranean Basin lies between 30 and 45 degrees latitude North. Braudel deems

those narrowly defined limits of the Mediterranean inadequate. He says that the lines drawn

from the northern limit of the olive and the northern limit of the date-palm are inadequate

measures of the Mediterranean and its influence.[22] Although Braudel is correct in pushing the

cultural boundaries of the Mediterranean far beyond these specific latitudes, I will use the term

Mediterranean Basin to describe two closely related entities: the submerged realm and the

circum-Mediterranean terrains.[23] This single region is highly diversified with respect to the

tectonic plates and micro-plates which comprise the basin.[24] This geological situation has

produced the numerous land forms which divide the seas of the Mediterranean from one another.

In this chapter, I will give a thorough yet simplified picture of the geology and geography of the

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[20]Horden and Purcell, 175; Hughes, 90. Hughes points out that no two places are alike, each town, island, and landscape has its own micro-environment.
    [21]Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. I Translated by Sian Reynolds (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966), 276.
    [22]Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 221-22.
    [23]Daniel Jean Stanley and Forese-Carlo Wezel, Preface to *The Geological Evolution of the Mediterranean Basin: Raimondo Selli Commemorative Volume* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1985), vi.
    [24]Stanley and Wezel, vii.

Mediterranean Sea and its environs: the seas, the inlets, and the coasts. I will also discuss the ways in which the sea was appropriated culturally through terms applied to it by Rome.

The current geological features of the Mediterranean Basin are affected in large part both by the horizontal movement of the Africa-Europe plate convergence and the vertical movement of down warping and subsidence near the folded belt.[25] The basin measures 3,800 km long and on average 1,000 km wide. The Mediterranean Sea has a surface area of 2.96 million km^2. The primary current of the Mediterranean flows in a counterclockwise direction, which is a result of heavier, more saline water dropping down and flowing out to the Atlantic, while lighter, less saline water flows in from the Atlantic on a fast current.[26] The notoriously dangerous currents in the Mediterranean are not accompanied by large tidal changes. The Iberian Peninsula and the Atlantic coast of North Africa provide breakers for the immense tidal movements of the Atlantic Ocean. As a result of the diminished tides in the Mediterranean Sea, the coasts are not worn down. This effect is particularly noticeable at the point where rivers flow out into the sea, creating large accumulations of mud banks or massive and complicated deltas.[27]

The prehistory of the region is long and complicated. It began with the numerous incarnations of the Tethys Sea, but the sea has been in its current geological situation for only 5,000-10,000 years. Although the southern half of the Mediterranean Basin is relatively stable, the northern half is unstable. The morphology of the northern rim of the Eastern Mediterranean is highly irregular and very complex as a result of the system's convergent tectonic situation.[28]

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[25]Jean-Rene Vanney and Maurice Gennesaeux, "Mediterranean Sea Floor Features: Overview and Assessment," in the *Geological Evolution of the Mediterranean Basin: Raimondo Selli Commemorative Volume*, Edited by Daniel Jean Stanley and Forese-Carlo Wezel (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1985), 3.

[26]Geoffrey Rickman, "Mare Nostrum," in *The Sea and History*, edited by E. E. Rice (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, 1996), 4.

[27]M. Cary, *The Geographic Background of Greek and Roman History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), 25.

[28]Vanney and Gennesaeux, "Mediterranean Sea", 9.

The Medium: The Gulfs and Seas

The gulfs and seas of the Mediterranean are numerous and complex. Each part of the sea, whether open or partially enclosed, has received a name and possesses a distinct shape and, more often than not, a history which contributes to history in the Mediterranean. Their locations and interrelations are important aspects of their contribution to the historical record.

The Western Mediterranean Basin, which is roughly triangular in shape, is often considered isolated from the Eastern Mediterranean Basin.[29] The points of the triangle are the Straits of Gibralter [*Herakleios Porthmos/Gaditanum fretum*], a passage 14 km wide and 400 m deep which represents the only point of salt and water exchange with the world's ocean;[30] Marseille to the north, and the passage between Sardinia and the coast of Africa to the east. Arenson asserts that the Straits of Sicily make a clear and obvious distinction between East and West.[31] The Western Mediterranean Basin itself is often considered in its parts. Many see it as is physically distinct from the Tyrrhenian Sea. Geologically speaking they are both formed on relatively young oceanic crust.[32] Both seas are quite deep: the Western Mediterranean has a depth of 2800 m, while the Tyrrhenian is 3600 m deep. These differences in depth may be accounted for by both the sedimentation on and folding of the crust.[33]

The Western Mediterranean Basin is divided into several seas and gulfs. Beginning at the Straits of Gibralter, the Iberian Sea, *Mare Ibericum*, stretches from the Straits of Gibralter to the Balearic Sea, which is located between the eastern coast of Spain and the Balearic Islands. The Sardinian Sea lies to the south of the Gulf of Lyons between the Balearic Islands and the

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[29]Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 135.
[30]Vanney and Genneseaux, "Mediterranean Sea", 17.
[31]Arenson 5.
[32]Vanney and Genneseaux, "Mediterranean Sea", 17.
[33]Vanney and Genneseaux, "Mediterranean Sea", 17.

islands of Sardinia and Corsica. The Gulf of Lyons is located within the *Mare Gallicum* on the southern coast of ancient Gaul, modern France. The Ligurian Sea, *Mare Ligusticum*, lies to the east of what the Romans called the *Mare Gallicum* along the Ligurian coast from which the Apennine peninsula extends.

These seas border one of the most well-defined seas of the Mediterranean region, that is the Tyrrhenian Sea. The Tyrrhenian Sea is the youngest part of the Mediterranean Basin. At 3600 m in depth, it is deeper but not larger than any other single part of the Mediterranean. This sea, measuring 230,000 km^2, is almost completely enclosed by a few straits, such as the Sardino-Tunisian Strait, 1950 m, that allow for points of exchange with the Western Mediterranean. The Straits of Bonifacio, 11. 3 km wide, lying between Sardinia and Corsica, also provide an outlet. The Italian peninsula, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica represent the borders of this sea.

To the south, the *Mare Africanum* completes the description of the western seas. It runs along the coast of northern Africa all the way from the Straits of Gibralter to ancient Cyrene. In this way, it serves as a connection between the East and the West. In antiquity, we find only a few names of minor bodies of water associated with this stretch, the Gulfs of Numidia and Utica. The Gulf of Numidia is located on the coast of the Numidian headlands, on the coast of modern-day Algeria. Further along the coast, there is the Gulf of Utica, beside which Carthage prospered.

After passing through the Sicilian Straits, one comes to the eastern portion of the Mediterranean Basin, in which the first sea we encounter is the *Mare Africanum*, which spans from the Iberian Sea to the *Mare Lybicum*. Almost directly under Sicily, there is a gulf that lies within the *Mare Africanum*, namely the *Syrtis Minor*, the smaller Gulf of Sirte. *Syrtis Maior*, also within the *Mare Africanum*, borders the *Mare Lybicum* to the east and the Sicilian or

Ausonian Sea to the north, *Mare Siculum/Ausonium*. Heading north from the *Mare Africanum*, the Sicilian Sea spans the distance between the eastern coast of Sicily and the Peloponnesian Peninsula. The Ionian Sea is confined by western mainland Greece, ancient Epirus, and the bay which is located between the heel and toe of the boot of Italy, the Gulf of Tarranto, *Tarentinum/Ionium Sinus*. Going north, directly through the Straits of Otranto, which are 72 km wide,[34] by way of the Ionian Sea one enters the Adriatic, a relatively shallow and highly elongated arm of the Mediterranean.

Moving eastward, there are three seas in relatively close proximity: *Mare Cretum*, *Mare Africanum*, and the *Mare Aegaeum*. The Aegean Sea is an almost enclosed sea connected with the Black Sea by the Sea of Marmara to the north and "enclosed" to the south by the Hellenic Arc.[35] The Aegean was traditionally divided into three or four separate seas, proceeding north to south; the Thracian Sea, *Mare Thracium*, lying along the coast of Thrace and Macedonia, the Myrtoan Sea, *Mare Mytoion*, south of Euboea and west of the Cycladic Islands, the Icarian Sea, *Mare Ikarion*, located on the coast of ancient Caria and Ionia, modern Turkey, and the Cretic Sea, *Mare Creticum*, north of the island of Crete.

South of the Aegean, three seas stand out as important for this study of the Mediterranean Sea. The seas of the Levant region are distinguished in the west by the line that runs south from Crete and the Cretan Sea to the Barca Peninsula, also the location of Pentapolis, in ancient Cyrene.[36] Eastward, the *Mare Lybicum* touches the coasts of Africa, Syria, and Asia Minor. Within this vast expanse of sea, the Egyptian Sea, *Mare Aegyptium,* lies along the Nile Delta, and the Phoenician Sea, *Mare Phoenicium*, is enclosed between Cyprus and the coast of

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[34]Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 125.
[35]Vanney and Genneseaux, "Mediterranean Sea", 15.
[36]Semple, *Geography*, 61. Horden and Purcell, 67. Crete is approximately 300 km away from the coast of Cyrene.

Lebanon. North of the Aegean, the Thracian Sea touches Macedonia and Thrace and leads into a narrow channel called the Hellespont by the Greeks. This narrow passage opens into a smaller sea, the Propontis. The Bosporus, a 30 km long strait, from which a strong current flows into the *Mare Thracium*, represents the outer limits of the Mediterranean Sea. We will note, however, that some ancient authors, such as Pomponius Mela, include the Black Sea, *Pontus Euxinus*, within the bounds of the Mediterranean Region.

Points of Exchange: The Inlets

There is only one entrance to the Mediterranean Sea from the outside oceans; the Straits of Gibralter. The straits are 15 km wide at their narrowest point and about 14 km long. Gibralter itself is a small peninsula, once called Calpe, that extends from the Iberian Peninsula.[37] Answering Calpe on the African side of the strait is Jebel Musa, ancient Abila, located on the tip of modern day Morocco. This strait, as mentioned earlier, is the only point of water exchange with the Atlantic. The inflow of the Atlantic reaches as far as Cap Bon on the coast of Africa.[38] On the other side of the Mediterranean, the Hellespont, Propontis, and the Bosporus act as the gateway to the Black Sea. There are many "lesser" straits which provide points of entry and exit within the sea itself. For example, the trans-Isthmian route from the Gulf of Corinth and the Ionian Sea leads to the Saronic Gulf in the *Mare Myrtoion*. The Strait of Rhium, less than two kilometers wide, allows for passage into the Gulf of Corinth, from the Adriatic Sea.[39] Hence, the journey from the Adriatic Sea to the Aegean Sea might consist of passage over land and sea.

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[37]George Hills, *Rock of Contention: A History of Gibralter* (London: Robert Hale and Company, 1974), 13-14.
[38]Horden and Purcell, 191.
[39]Semple, *Geography*, 75.

Encircling Regions: The Coasts and the Islands

Geologists explain the creation of the Mediterranean Basin as a whole, in its many and various parts, with two competing theories. Some think that the several basins of the region are the consequence of crustal foundering of the African and European plates in connection with crustal thinning, and they result in the complex region we see today.[40] Others think that the Mediterranean basins were created when smaller, micro-continents moved within Europe and Africa, and that the basin formation is directly linked with the opening of the Atlantic Ocean.[41] The east-west boundary line of the African and Eurasian plates runs from the Azores in the west, and extends through a number of plates all the way to the Himalayan border between Eurasia and India in the east.[42]

Whatever its origin, what is important for this thesis is the fact that the region is tectonically active and that mountains surround almost the entire circumference of the Mediterranean Basin, which is for all intents and purposes a land-locked sea, a "plaza" to borrow Semple's term. Semple describes the Western Basin as lying within a circle of mountains, an observation that appears to apply almost to the whole of the Mediterranean.[43]

The far eastern region, composed primarily of the coasts of Asia Minor, is enclosed by the Taurus range and the oblong, raised Plateau of Anatolia with an average elevation of 1,000

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[40]Richard M. Foose, "Geological Information from Satellite Surveys of the Mediterranean Region," in *Geological Evolution of the Mediterranean Basin: Raimondo Selli Commemorative Volume*, Edited by Daniel Jean Stanley and Forese-Carlo Wezel (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1985), 33.
[41]Foose, 33.
[42]Agustin Udias, "Seismicity of the Mediterranean Basin," in *Geological Evolution of the Mediterranean Basin: Raimondo Selli Commemorative Volume*, Edited by Daniel Jean Stanley and Forese-Carlo Wezel (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1985), 55.
[43]Semple, *Geography*, 16.

m to 2,000 m.[44] In this Eastern Mediterranean region, the mountains bordering the sea often have valleys to their rear.[45] The coast of Asia Minor is remarkably elevated and in the South, West, and Central Taurus Mountains extend almost to the coastline. The plateau of this land stretching from Armenia to the Aegean drops from 1300 m to 600 m as it gently slopes.[46] The coastal land of Asia Minor is endowed with many navigable rivers, such as the Meander and the Hermus.

Heading from east to west, one must cross the Hellespont to encounter the hill country of Thrace and the Balkans which have a variegated form. The Thraco-Macedonian highlands reach heights of 3000 m and are connected to the Rhodope and Perim Ranges of the Balkan region, which in turn are connected to the Dinaric Alps.[47] The Balkan ridges run north-south along the western half of Greece. The limestone ridges effectively separate the coastline of the Adriatic from the interior of mainland Greece making coastwise travel the most efficacious and often the only available option. When the Dinaric Alps reach the Mediterranean Sea on the Peloponnesus, they result in abrupt 2,000 m cliffs that fall directly into the sea.[48] Rivers in the Peloponnese and the rest of the Balkan peninsula do not often provide a convenient form of transport. In fact, rivers in this area, such as the Drin and Narenta, flow through deep and unnavigable gorges for most of their course. The mountains of the Peloponnese are steep and irregular and are thought to have forced the Greeks into a seafaring way of life and to the coast of Asia Minor, even Thucydides points to lack of land as a reason for the Ionian migration.[49] Fernandez-Armesto

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[44]Ellen Churchill Semple, "The Barrier Boundary of the Mediterranean Basin and its Northern Breaches as Factors in History," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 5 (1915), 28.

[45]Ellen Churchill Semple, *Geography*, 68.

[46]Henry Fanshaw Tozer, *Lectures of the Geography of Greece* (Chicago: Ares Publishers Inc., 1882), 9-10.

[47]Semple, "Barrier Boundary", 29.

[48]Semple, "Barrier Boundary", 29.

[49]H. F. Tozer, 8; Thucydides 1.2; See also Oliver et al. fn., 4. Simon Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides*, Vol 1 Books 1-3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 3.

argues that the mountainous nature of the land and the ubiquity of access to the sea forced the Greeks into extensive use of that natural resource in order to gain their livelihood.[50]

Proceeding westward, the Alps extend east-west along the northern frontier zone of the Mediterranean. Extending southward along the Italian Peninsula, the Apennines reach to the boot of Italy and the Calabrian Arc. On the mountainous Apennine peninsula, the Po River represents one of the most important features. The Po, 650 km long, runs into the Adriatic Sea and greatly influences the sea floor of the region. The Alpine regions effectively connect the mountains of the Balkan states with those of the Iberian Peninsula. There is a valley between the Bernese Alps and the Pennine Alps created by the Rhone River, which is 813 km long and flows into the Mediterranean Sea west of Marseilles. Continuing west, the Betic Mountains of the Iberian Peninsula and Rif Mountains of northern Morocco extend in a north-south line through the Straits of Gibralter; the Tellian Atlas range stretches in an east-west line along the coast of Algeria and Tunisia for almost 20,000 km.[51] The Betic and Rif mountains create a hilly and sometimes mountainous coast, along which there are river inlets, such as the Ebro River.

Cap Bon, modern Ras at Tib, a peninsula in northeast Tunisia, is the eastern terminus of the Saharan Atlas Mountains. From southern Tunisia to Syria, the coast is not of a highly mountainous nature, rather it presents another type of barrier, the plateau of the Sahara Desert.[52] The coastline here is even and relatively low and, therefore, does not provide extensive portage for those sailing the Mediterranean. Continuing east, the Barca plateau represents one of the few variations on the level plain of this coast. It lies along the Gulf of Sirte, *Syrtis Maior*, and rises to 600 meters above the surrounding flat land. The other important feature on this southeastern

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[50]Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, *Civilizations: Culture, Ambition, and the Transformation of Nature* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 349-50.
    [51]Udias, 55.
    [52]Hughes, 89.

Mediterranean coast is the Nile River. The 6,695 km long river drains approximately 2,850,000 km² of land and provides the fertile silt and the life supporting water for the Nile valley.

The Mediterranean Sea is enclosed by land, mountain ranges, and the desert, all of which create land barriers.[53] In the last 10,000 years, people dwelling on the Mediterranean coast have been exploiting the sea as abundant source of food and as a means of communication and travel.[54] Humans living near or on the coast must respond to changing sea levels, and their response corresponds to or is related to the perceived risks and benefits of sea-side dwelling. Flemming catalogues the major reasons for living on the coastal front or at least near some body of water: climatic equilibrium, sea transportation, and food. Of course, the coastline changes with seismic and other natural events and, therefore, settlements must be moved.[55] Flemming states that although the sea level within the Mediterranean has remained relatively stable in the past 5,000 years, the coastline of the entire Mediterranean has not. In the Mediterranean, the highly varied tectonic situation corresponds with a high degree of vertical displacement, either uplifting or submerging.[56] It is also the case that a drier stage in world climate from 3,000 to 600 or 400 BCE allowed sea level, which had been raised 6 m above present; to drop 2-4 m, hence there are some classical sites at 1-2 m below sea level.[57] It is clear, regardless of the changing nature of the coastline, that the sea was a great attraction for both Greek and Roman cultures.

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[53]Semple, "Barrier Boundary," 27.
[54]Nicholas Flemming, *Cities in the Sea* (New York: Doubleday and Co. Inc., 1971), 24.
[55]Flemming, 29-30.
[56]Flemming, 29-30. Stathis C. Stiros, "The AD 365 Crete earthquake and possible seismic clustering during the fourth and sixth centuries AD in the Eastern Mediterranean: A review of historical and archaeological data," *Journal of Structural Geology* 23 (3 Feb. 2001), 545-62. Stiros supplies information on the 9 m uplift on the island of Crete as a result of a massive earthquake in the Eastern Mediterranean.
[57]J. Lawrence Angel, "Ecology and Population in the Eastern Mediterranean," *World Archaeology* 4 (Jun., 1972), 89.

Mare Nostrum: Naming the Sea

This chapter, thus far, identified the names and locations of the numerous seas and mountain ranges of which comprise the Mediterranean Region. It remains to discuss whether or not the ancients viewed the Mediterranean Sea as a unified entity. I have used the term Mediterranean largely as a convenience, but I have also made clear that there are numerous names associated with the sea. This fact is true both of the nomenclature of the modern period and that of antiquity. The term *mediterranean* itself is a late antique appropriation of the classical Latin term *mediterraneum*. The word was originally applied to landlocked places. For example, Vitruvius, in his *De Architectura* 1.1.7, writes that those siting a forum near the sea ought to place it next to the harbor, while those siting a forum *mediterraneum*, inland, ought to place it in the middle of town. Isidorus, bishop of Seville (c. A.D. 600-36), first applied this term to the sea that so dominates the region. He writes, *Istud est, et Mediterraneum, quia per mediam terram usque ad Orientem perfunditur, Europam, et Africam, Asiamque disterminans* (16.1), "It is this (*Mare Magnum)*, and the Mediterranean, because it is poured through the middle of the land all the way to the east, separating Europe, Africa, and Asia." Before the use of *mediterranean*, however, the Romans claimed the Mediterranean Sea as their own with another term, that is *mare nostrum*, our sea.

Appropriation of an object or concept through the use of a name is a way of having power over that thing or idea. In the case of naming the Mediterranean, we turn to the Roman sources who explicitly declare their ownership of the Mediterranean Sea by using the term *mare nostrum*. In fact, this term does not occur as often as one might think as a common name for the Mediterranean Sea, but as this section will make clear, it was indeed the habit of the Romans to consider that the sea and all the coasts that surrounded it were theirs.

In his historical monograph *Bellum Jugurthinum*, Sallust (86-34 BCE), gives a brief description of the geography and peoples of Africa. In it he refers to *mare nostrum* twice, but both times he is definitely referring to the Western Mediterranean Basin. First, he describes Africa's position as such that, *Ea finis habet ab occidente fretum nostri maris et Oceani, ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolae appellant* (17. 4), "from the west, the land touches the waves of our sea and of Ocean, from the east a broad slope of land, which place the inhabitants call Catabathmos." He is using *mare nostrum* as a geographical boundary, and he is limiting the African lands to those lands which are located west of the peninsula on which Cyrene is found and east of the Ocean.

Sallust also uses such terminology in his human geography of Africa. He says that Heracles' army dispersed from Spain; thence, the Medes, Persians, and Armenians *navibus in Africam transvecti, proximos nostro mari locos occupavere* (18. 3-4), "[they] crossed by ship into Africa, [and] occupied locations nearest to our sea [the Western Mediterranean or even the Tyrrhenian Sea]." Further along in his description, he says that the Medes and Armenians had the Libyans as their neighbors, *nam ei proprius mare Africum agitabant* (18. 9), "for they dwell nearer the African Sea." Sallust is clearly making a distinction between the Western Mediterranean and the Eastern Mediterranean.

Sallust uses *mare nostrum* yet a third time in his *Historiae* of which we have only fragments. He says, *Res Romana plurimum imperio valuit Servio Sulpicio et Marco Marcello consulibus omni Gallia cis Rhenum atque inter mare nostrum et Oceanum, nisi qua paludibus invia fuit, perdomita* (*Hist*. frag.11), "The Roman State especially during the consulship of Sulpicius Servius and Marcus Marcellus had power, with all Gaul thoroughly conquered on this side of the Rhine, and between our sea and the Ocean, except those regions which were pathless

on account of swamps." Sallust gives a clear geographical description of the parts of Gaul over which the Roman state rules and *mare nostrum* refers to the Western Mediterranean.

In the *de Bello Gallico*, Julius Caesar uses *mare nostrum* and other terms to make a clear distinction between the Gallic Seas and the Mediterranean Sea. In 54 BCE, as he retires to Italy from the army's winter camp, Caesar orders his captains to make as many boats as possible during the winter season (5.1). Caesar orders that the ships for the next year's Gallic campaigns be built differently than ones built in Mediterranean waters. He says that they . . . *facit humiliores quam quibus in nostro mari uti consuevimus* (5.1), "make them lower than those ships which we are accustomed to use in our own sea." There are numerous reasons that the Gallic fleet is to be built differently, not the least because they have to deal with frequent changes of tide (a phenomenon absent from Mediterranean Sea), and because they had to transport numerous types of goods. He also orders them to be made, *paulo latiores quam quibus in reliquis utimur maribus* (5.1), "a little wider than those ships we use in other seas." They are built in this manner in order to facilitate the carriage of horses and other goods. Caesar's rhetoric shows that he considers the Mediterranean Sea or at least the Tyrrhenian Sea as a Roman domain. It is separate from other seas and it has its own specifications. Hegemony in Gaul will still be accomplished in boats, only of a different make.

In Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* we find the mention of *mare nostrum* in a very strange character's mouth, namely that of Hannibal. He says, *et mare nostrum erit, quo nunc hostes potiuntur* (25.11.17), "And it will be our sea, (the sea) over which now the enemy exercises power." This quotation is discussed at length in Chapter Two, shows Livy using the Roman's own lexical constructs to increase the dramatic effect of the scene.

It seems that Pomponius Mela uses the term *mare nostrum* more frequently than any other Latin author in his one known work, *de Chorographia*. Written on the eve of Claudius' triumphant invasion of Britain in 43-44 CE,[58] the work is a geographical description of the parts of Mediterranean Region that are most interesting to Mela. His works were cited by Pliny the Elder and were used by later authors for geographic information.[59] His work is a description of *noster orbs* (1.24), which is the Mediterranean region itself, and the habitable zone of the northern hemisphere.[60] The work, Mela writes, begins where *noster pelagus* begins to encroach on the lands (1. 24). His understanding of the overall geography of the Mediterranean Basin and the Black Sea regions seems quite good almost as if he were using a map.[61] After a description of the undulations of both the northern and southern coasts of the Mediterranean and Black Seas, he says that all this is called by one name, *mare nostrum* (1.6). In this section, Mela means the entirety of the Mediterranean Sea when he uses the term *mare nostrum*. One notes, however, that in his description he includes the Black Sea and even the *Lacus Maeotis*, Sea of Azov, in the Mediterranean. References to *mare nostrum* are scatterd throughout the text of the *Chorographia* for the purpose of geographical description.[62]

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[58]F. E. Romer, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 2-3.

[59]Romer, 27.

[60]Romer, 6.

[61]Romer, 20. There is, of course, no hard evidence that Mela did or did not use maps.

[62]Coming from the Atlantic Ocean into the Mediterranean Sea , Mela notes, *hinc in Nostrum mare peregrentibus laeva Hispania, Mauretania dextra est* (1.25), "Here in our sea for those traveling Spain is on the left, Mauretania on the right."

Concerning rivers, Mela describes several that flow into the Mediterranean. He describes the Nile as the, *amnium in Nostrum mare permeantium maximus*, (1.49) "the largest of the rivers making their way into our sea." He describes the Danube, which becomes the Ister River, as flowing into *mare nostrum*; in this case it flows into the Black Sea, which is occasionally considered part of the Mediterranean Sea by the ancients. The Euphrates, Mela claims, *ni Taurus obstet in nostra maria venturus* (3.77), "but for that the Taurus Mountains standing in the way it would come into our seas."

Mela spends his second book describing the land from the furthest edges of Asia to the Pillars of Heracles. He begins from where, *Asiae in Nostrum mare Tanainque vergentis quem dixi finis ac situs est* (2.1), "with Asia verging into our sea and the Tanais River which I have said is the end and the boundary." Again, the Black Sea is included in the conception of the Mediterranean Region. On the other side of the Mediterranean, the Iberian

Pomponius not only uses *mare nostrum* in the singular, but he also recognizes that within the Mediterranean there are many seas and, therefore, uses the plural form *maria nostra*. Mela says, *atque ubi in nostra maria tractus excedit Matiani* . . . (1.13), "and where it [Asia] extends into our seas the Matiani [live] . . . " Here, the reference relates solely to the Eastern Mediterranean. Describing Lycia, Mela talks about the Taurus range of mountains, which he says come up next to *nostra maria* (1.81). Demarcating the southern shores of the Iberian Peninsula, Mela points out, *qua nostra maria sunt finit Europen* (2.96), "Where our seas are, ends Europe." Mela is speaking of the narrow channel that separates Africa and Europe, namely the Straits of Gibralter.

Pliny the Elder speaks of *mare nostrum* in his *Historia Naturalis*. It is interesting that he might be making a distinction between the eastern and western portions of the Mediterranean Sea. Like Sallust, he, is describing the movements of ancient peoples, here moving east to west. He says that many Arabian peoples have moved, *sponte vero ad mare nostrum litusque Aegyptium* (6.142), "by their own will to our sea and the Egyptian shore." Pliny is either including the Egyptian coastline as a part of the Mediterranean coast or indicating that the coasts of the Western Mediterranean are separate from those of the *mare Aegyptium*.

Speaking of the Arabian Peninsula, Pliny states that, *populos eius a nostro mari usque ad Palmyrenas* (6.143), "people occupy it from our sea to Palmyra." Pliny describes the habitation of the land that stretches from the *Mare Phoenicium*, which he calls *mare nostrum*, to the city of Palmyra, ancient *Palmyrenas*. Pliny uses a third term to refer to the Mediterranean Sea and its

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Peninsula is described as *paulitim se in Nostrum et oceanum mare extendit* (2.86), "it extends itself little by little into our sea and the ocean." The part of Spain called Tarraconensis juts out into *mari...Nostro* (2.87).

In book three of the *Chorographia*, Mela says that, *dicta est ora Nostri maris* (3.1), "the shores of our sea have been described," and now it is time to describe the islands. The unity of the coastline and the sea which it surrounds is unmistakable. The coastlines of the Mediterranean are described in sections 1.24-2.96.

coast in his description of Arabia. Pliny is giving the location of a town called Petra. He says,

abest ab Gaza oppido litoris nostri 600, a sinu Persico 635 (6.144), "it is 600 miles distant from

the town of Gaza on our shore [i.e., the Mediterranean coastline] and 635 miles from the Persian

Gulf." *Litoris nostri* again clearly refers to the Mediterranean. Pliny's use of *mare nostrum* and

the like are clearly aimed at accurate geographical reference rather than any grand statement

about the bounds of the Roman Empire. It is purely in the interest of locating the Arabian people

and describing their movement toward the central feature of Mediterranean life, namely the sea.

The next occurrence of *mare nostrum* to which we will turn comes from Juvenal's fifth

satire, in which he describes how clients are entertained. In his condemnation of the banqueter's

gluttonous ways, he says, *quando omne peractum est, et iam defecit nostrum mare...nec patimur*

Tyrrhenian crescere piscem (95), "when all has been gone through, and already our sea is

exhausted...nor do we allow the Tyrrhenian fish to grow." Here again, it is clear that when

Juvenal speaks of "our sea" he means the Western Mediterranean, if not more specifically the

Tyrrhenian Sea. This becomes more clear even within the poem when Juvenal states that the fish

of the Tyrrhenian sea are not able to grow.[63]

Mare nostrum was clearly an important term for the Romans. Although we have not

addressed every instance of this term, we have concerned ourselves with the majority of

instances in Latin literature. It is important, I think, that these references to *mare nostrum* are

found within Latin prose and that they most commonly refer to the geographical tradition rather

than a political, military, or economic one, Livy and Juvenal being exceptions. The tradition of

mare nostrum then is one of descriptive, geographical ownership*,* rather than that of Roman

propaganda.

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[63]This example is also discussed in greater detail in chapter 4.

A Closed Sea: Conclusion

  In this chapter, we have observed the various geographical forms that the Mediterranean Sea presents and we have encountered the numerous names given to the body of water. Numerous scholars have presented arguments for the centrality of this body of water and the vocabulary of the Latin authors has confirmed to a certain degree that the body of water was not only physically central, but also it was central in people's minds. Control over this body of water was important to Greek and Roman societies. Both, as we shall see in Chapter Three, fought for control of this resource at the very center of their worlds.

CHAPTER III

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA AS AN IMAGE OF POWER AND CONTROL

Water Rights: Mastering the Sea in Greek and Roman Literature

This chapter discusses the Mediterranean Sea as an image of power and control in selected Greek and Roman authors. Since it is impractical to consider every reference to the Mediterranean Sea found in classical literature, here I consider some exemplary statements concerning the sea as a source of military control and power and the sea as a metaphor for these two ideas. The Mediterranean operated as an image of power in Greek and Roman cultural contexts, providing both a means and an end, serving as a vehicle for increasing and maintaining power in the Mediterranean Basin, and acting as a visible sign of that power. Both Greeks and Romans were concerned with control over the resources of the sea itself and over the resources of the lands connected by the seaways of the Mediterranean. The fragmented landscape and seascape of the region were bound by a multiplicity of sea-lanes that were highly sought after and were viewed as valuable commodities in their own right.[64] The power of the Mediterranean to promote interrelationships between cities, states, and regions must not be overlooked as a potent image in classical literature; we should not assume, however, as Semple has, that the sea actually has a necessarily greater connective quality than that of land.[65] The sea was not only an entity to be controlled, it was also a necessary part of that control, for it was a conduit for

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[64]Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 24.

[65]Ellen Churchill Semple, "Oceans and Enclosed Seas: A Study in Anthropo-Geography," *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* 40 (1908), 195.

transporting troops and supplies throughout the region. In numerous classical authors, we find the sea serving as an image of conductivity, especially with respect to the military.

Military power and political power, on account of the connective and the motive nature of the sea, are intertwined.[66] Thus, the Mediterranean Sea is often a component part of an author's image of power, be it political or martial. Power over the sea provided uninhibited lines of communication through which political, military, and economic hegemony could be effected. The naval power of a state effectively determined how and where it was able to exercise power, and its navy was one of the most highly visible manifestations of that power. Michel Reddé concludes, "C'est que l'marine représentait un facteur décisif dans la stratégie du monde romain: cet Empire, centré autour d'une mer intérieure avait de longues lignes de communications maritimes qu'il fallait protéger."[67] Thalassocracy, however, is not the only expression of the power of the Mediterranean Sea.

Power over the sea and the innate power of the sea must be separated, as far as possible, in any discussion of Greek and Roman images of the Mediterranean Sea. One must attempt to distinguish between the images of power over the sea as an arm of military hegemony and the physical power of the sea as manifested in, for example, shipwrecks whether real or imaginary. Through consideration of Greek and Roman literary images of power that include the Mediterranean, it is possible to bring to light classical ideas about power that are so intimately related with the Mediterranean as to be lost without it.

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[66]Simon Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides*, Vol. I Books I-III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 3.

[67]Michel Reddé, *Mare Nostrum: Les Infrastructures, Le Dispositif, et L'Histoire de La Marine Militaire Sous L'Empire Romain* (Paris: École Française de Rome, 1986), 656.

Democracy and the Sea: the Old Oligarch's Criticism of the Athenian Polis

The *Constitution of the Athenians*, at one time attributed to Xenophon and now considered to be the work of an unknown author commonly labeled Pseudo-Xenophon or the Old Oligarch, was probably written in the late fifth century BCE.[68] Written primarily as a criticism of Athenian democracy, the author proffers his opinion on the failures of democracy and the impossibility of changing the system.[69] He associates many of the evils of the Athenian system with Athens' sea power.

The Old Oligarch's chief criticisms of the Athenian Constitution are that Athens is a democracy and that its naval power gives the *demos* too much power.[70] He says that the *demos* receives this power...ὅτι ὁ δῆμός ἐστιν ὁ ἐλαύνων τὰς ναῦς καὶ ὁ τὴν δύναμιν περιτιθεὶς τῇ πόλει...(I.2), "...because the people are the drivers of the ships and the ones bestowing power upon the city."[71] He claims that the people who man the ships are more important than the hoplites, the well-born, and the worthy. Even the coxswains and steersmen, according to the Old Oligarch, are more valuable for giving strength to the city in a society dependent on sea-power (I.2). In this estimation, dominion over the sea is paramount and those who provide the man-power to ensure supremacy are responsible for that power. Sea power encourages continued

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[68]Harold B. Mattingly, "The Date and Purpose of the Pseudo-Xenophon's Constitution of Athens," *Classical Quarterly* 47 (1997), 352-57. Mattingly discusses different scholars' opinions on the possible dates of the work as well as his own.

[69]Josiah Ober, *The Athenian Revolution: Essays on Ancient Greek Democracy and Political Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 157. Ober points out that the Old Oligarch's criticisms do not really stand up under their own weight. In fact, the tone may be one of grudging admiration.

[70]Hartvig Frisch, *The Constitution of the Athenians*: *A Philological-Historical Analysis of Pseudo-Xenofon's* [sic.] *Treatise De Re Publica Atheniensium*, Classical et Mediaevalia. Dissertationes II Series (Kobenhavn: Gyldendalske boghandel, Nordisk forlag, 1942), 187. Frisch's note on this section, 1.2, also gives many of the important references that classical authors made concerning naval power and democracy.

[71]M. Amit, *Athens and the Sea: A Study in Athenian Sea Power*, Collection Latomus, Vol. 74 (Bruxelles: Latomus Revue D'Études Latines, 1965), 26-7, 29. Amit gives the number of Athenian crew on the eve of the Peloponnesian War at 60,000 men. He gives the crew of each trireme at 200 men. On pages 31–49, Amit gives a description of the classes which made up the crews.

democratic government because the government must give those who row the ships for Athens equal rights or even more, according to the Old Oligarch. Thus, he says, "the poor, οἱ πένητες, and the *demos* have more rights than the wellborn and the wealthy" (I.2). The distinction is between the individual poor and the collective community. He points out that these people, rather than the nobles, endow the city with strength.

The Old Oligarch's critique of Athenian democracy does not rest solely on the "fact" that in Athens the lowest men have a status similar to the rich. Rather, he directs some of his criticism toward the naval power that necessitates both democratic government and better treatment of slaves (I.11). In this section, Athenian reliance on slaves is the direct result of the necessity of using them. He levels the complaint that οὔτε πατάξαι ἔξεστιν αὐτόθι οὔτε ὑπεκστήσεταί σοι ὁ δοῦλος (I.10),"it is not possible to strike [a slave] there [in Athens], nor will a slave stand out of the way." This allegation is not just a result of the ill-tempered nature of the author, but a serious criticism of the Athenian upheaval of good order.   This ban on striking a slave is the result of the Athenian need to make money from their slaves to support the navy. If they do not treat their slaves well, they will not gain the capital they need to run the state (I.11). Bechtle states that it was rather common for slaves to work outside the house earning money upon which masters might be dependant.[72]

In (an admittedly corrupt) part of the text,[73] the Old Oligarch seems to say that wherever one finds a naval power, there is a reversal of the "preferred order," best first and least last:

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[72]Gerald Bechtle, "A note on Pseudo-Xenophon, The Constitution of the Athenians 1.11," *Classical Quarterly* 64 (1996), 565. It is also the case that other societies were dependent on lower classes of citizens. The degree to which Athens depended on all levels of society to support her navy, however might have been unique. The *eunomia* found in the Spartan system would not be found in the Athenian system, according to the Old Oligarch.

[73]Bechtle, 564-66.

ὅπου γὰρ ναυτικὴ δύναμίς ἐστιν, ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἀναγκη τοῖς ἀνδραπόδοις δουλεύειν

(I.11), "For where there is a maritime power, it is necessary to be a slave to slaves [lowborn

men?] because of money." It seems that the Old Oligarch is pointing to the equalizing power of

the sea, something he deems reprehensible. He also draws a distinction between slaves in

Athens and those in Sparta. Athenian slaves can be rich, and therefore do not fear free men, but

in Sparta the slaves fear all citizens (1.12). This situation is, of course, a result of the extensive

use of Athenian slaves as somewhat autonomous sources of income, unlike the helots in Sparta.

Athenian slaves, moreover, have a certain financial freedom which could be jeopardized by

harsh treatment. The income is devoted to the building of ships and support of the navy, as the

Old Oligarch points out numerous times throughout the text. The best interest of democratic

Athens is, therefore, served by kinder overall treatment of slaves, a concession for which the Old

Oligarch has no positive words.

The poor and non-citizens contribute labor, either as crew or craftsmen, for the ships

which have been said to give life-force to Athens. The Old Oligarch argues that the contribution

made by the metics allows for a certain type of equality. He says that they are treated equally,

διά τε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τεκνῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ ναυτικόν (I.12), "on account of the number of

trades and on account of the fleet." He says, however, that this ought not be wholly criticized,

because it is to the Athenians' benefit (I.12).[74] With respect to slaves, he is critical of the

Athenian custom and, therefore, of naval power in general which encourages this treatment.

Naval power is labor intensive; it requires manpower and technology. The state, then, has to

depend on all classes, especially the lowest ones, in order to supply the labor needed to employ

and maintain a large fleet.

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[74]Mattingly, 356.

It may be appropriate at this point to digress slightly on a comparison of hoplite and naval warfare and, in this way, draw out more clearly some of the Old Oligarch's criticisms of Athens. Hanson describes the hoplite as a farmer who defends himself and his fields with other farmers, who also face imminent attack.[75] During the Peloponnesian War, Athens chose to stay inside the city's walls and let the fleet do the work, an exception to normal military practice according to Hanson. The idea that hoplite battle and agricultural pursuits were inseparable held fast until war became a matter of siege-craft and auxiliary troops.[76] As Hanson describes it, hoplite warfare is a relatively simple, brutal affair. Each man carries body armor, shield, and spear and moves in formation on the flattest field possible.[77] Hoplite farmers were of a certain means and could afford to swell the ranks for the oncoming battle. The Old Oligarch considers the restrictive nature of the hoplite army to be a boon, because the rabble are not raised to stations to which they are unsuited. Unlike the training the navigator of a ship who must deal with winds, waves, and currents, training a hoplite was quite simple and required little specialized instruction.[78] Above all, hoplite warfare seems to depend on a rural populace concerned with defending the land and the home. The concepts related to hoplite warfare seem almost antithetical to a naval strategy. Hanson says,

> In this strange ritual of agricultural poker, a few cities, usually closely
> associated with the sea, occasionally persuaded their citizens to "ride out"
> an enemy invasion and not hazard battle, but only when they had men of
> vision and daring-men like Perikles of Athens who could at least convince
> all but the hoplite class to stomach foreigners on Attic soil.[79]

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[75]Victor Davis Hanson, *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece*, Second Edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 4-5.
[76]Hanson, 5.
[77]Hanson, 27-8.
[78]Hanson, 31.
[79]Hanson, 34.

The Athenians, then, were participating in an experiment at great odds with the traditional Greek form of battle, an experiment that the Old Oligarch deems destructive to the very roots of society. Naval warfare, as he sees it, requires much that is absent from hoplite warfare and tends to include classes which cannot participate strictly on account of their wealth. From braiding the ropes and rowing the ship to ship construction and navigation, almost all levels of society could participate in a fleet

Naval warfare requires participation of numerous classes of men such as Athenian citizens, metics, slaves, and mercenaries.[80] Although there are differing accounts on the percentages of each socioeconomic group that participated, it is clear that all of them participated more than the Old Oligarch would have liked. With up to 60,000 men serving in the Athenian navy on the eve of the Peloponnesian War, one can imagine that much of Athens was somehow connected with the naval enterprise. By participating in naval affairs, the *demos* could attain a status not allowed in Sparta or any oligarchic state. The more the state depends on lower classes, the more rights these classes can demand, or as the Old Oligarch puts it, the citizens end up looking like slaves and slaves like citizens on account of the requirements of naval power (I.11).[81]

There is one more surprising consequence of Athenian naval power: Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διὰ τὴν κτῆσιν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπερορίοις καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν λελήθασι μανθάνοντες ἐλαύνειν τῇ κώπῃ αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἀκόλουθι (1.19), "Moreover, on account of their possessions overseas and on account of their leadership in countries abroad they and

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[80]Amit, 31.
[81]Frisch, 207-8. Frisch considers this comment specifically with regard to the apparel of the Athenians and their slaves, but the Old Oligarch's comment is clearly meant to comment on the results of the democratic government of Athens as well.

their associates without knowing it themselves learn to pull an oar." The Old Oligarch attributes

their innate ability as seamen to their domination of maritime powers and their dealings with

legal affairs in allied Athenian lands.[82] Perhaps, their inherited abilities make the Athenians

innately qualified for their role as leaders of the Greek world. In their dealings with maritime

poleis, the Athenians gained a fundamental knowledge of the sea and how it functions.[83] In

addition, the Old Oligarch says that they learned steering on cross-Aegean voyages and that

some Athenians are able to row as soon as they board ships (1.19-20).[84] The Old Oligarch seems

to attribute an innate knowledge of the sea to the Athenians, who have grown up within a sea-

ruling society. The sea and experience of the sea have in a sense helped fashion society. Frisch

argues that to the Old Oligarch, "democracy, the federal empire, and the sea-power are so closely

related as to be practically identical."[85] It is necessary here to note that the fleet is an essential

part of this equation.[86]

Although the connectivity of the sea is often emphasized in the *Athenian Constitution*,

the Old Oligarch does point out the sea's power to separate. He says that subject peoples who

live on islands are not able to join together for the purpose of a concerted effort against those in

power over the sea:[87] γὰρ θάλαττα ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, οἱ δε κρατοῦντες θαλασσοκράτορές

[82]Frisch, 230.
[83]Frisch, 230.
[84]Hornblower, 3. Hornblower comments on the fact that sea power was on the mind of Thucydides as well as that of the Old Oligarch, especially during the period of the Peloponnesian War. In the section of his work often called the *Archaeology*, sections 1-21, Thucydides places heavy emphasis on sea power and its power to shape an empire. Frisch, 231. Frisch points out that for "landlubbers" [sic] it is very difficult to maintain an effective presence at sea, because the society is not raised to meet that set of expectations. It must be made clear that even innate ability must be trained, as the Old Oligarch makes clear that the *demos* leaves the generalship and command to experienced fighters (I.3).
[85]Frisch, 230.
[86]Ober, 74-5. Ober states that Perikles knew that there were not enough people to mount both a land and sea campaign and that the Athenians had sufficient money to obtain their necessities from elsewhere while they allowed their land to be ravaged.
[87]Frisch, 240.

εἰσιν (II. 2), "for the sea is in the middle, and those ruling are Thalassocrats." Control of the sea

prevents subject islanders from joining forces. Even if they do join together, they will starve

sitting on one island [if that island cannot support its own population].[88] Here, the sea is an

image of the divisiveness of military sea-power. The disconnection of the islands and the

connectivity of the sea are one and the same for those who rule the sea.

It is not only the Old Oligarch who stresses the connection between ruling the sea and

attaining desired goods. Thucydides everywhere reports the importance of navies to Archaic

rulers. He says that those who paid attention to their navies were able to gain both revenue and

dominion and were able to subjugate the islands of the Aegean (1.15). Power over the

Mediterranean Sea could, perhaps, be defined according to the ability of a political entity to

distribute goods, either positively or negatively.[89] Thucydides, in fact, gives a number of

examples of Athenian use of the navy to prevent goods from flowing freely. In the siege of

Samos, the Athenian fleet was successful in its goal of preventing the free flow of goods, and

after nine months received the surrender of the islanders (I.117).

The Old Oligarch says that the sea inhibits those who do not rule it and their dependants

from acquiring the goods they need: οὐ γάρ ἐστι πόλις οὐδεμία ἥτις δεῖται εἰσάγεσθαί τι

ἢ ταῦτα τοίνυν οὐκ ἔσται αὐτῇ, ἐὰν μὴ ὑπήκοος ᾖ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς θαλάττης

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[88]Frisch, 245. Frisch cites many ancient sources that say that no town is economically self-sufficient. Horden and Purcell, 112-115 and 381-82. It is, of course, part of the Old Oligarch's rhetoric to claim that islands are insufficient producers. Horden and Purcell find that a number of islands were very capable of supporting themselves and had a very dense population. Autarky, although ideal, was not possible especially for luxury goods, metals, and other such items. Horden and Purcell point out that each island or settlement would need to have enough arable land to be moderately self sufficient, but they propose two possible exceptions. The first example they give is a megalopolis, which theoretically could survive based on both its purchasing power and its subject territories. The second example is that of the well-placed sea port, which on account of its location could find all it needed from merchants. Finley, pp. 128-29, points out that access to the sea was a necessary condition for growth, although access was not sufficient to create a thriving city. From this statement, we can suppose that exclusion from the sea would be a severe and detrimental hardship for most islands.
[89]Horden and Purcell, 25.

(II.3), "For there is no city for whom it is not necessary to import or export. And this would be impossible for it, unless it is a subject of those ruling the sea." The power of the sea and those ruling it may increase or diminish the wealth of other cities. According to the Old Oligarch, those who rule are able to exploit the power of the sea. Hence, the sea may separate people from goods and from each other, but those who control it are able to obtain goods and to bring people together. Archidamos, king of the Spartans, makes a similar point in his speech to the Spartans on the eve of war with Athens, saying that, even if the Spartans lay waste to all the goods in Attica, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλη γῆ ἐστι πολλὴ ἧς ἄρχουσι, ἐκ θαλάσσης ὧν δέονται ἐπάξονται (*Thu.* 1.81.2-3), "there is a great deal of land which they rule, and they will get from the sea what they need."

There is one final citation we should consider from the *Athenian Constitution* in this chapter. According to the Old Oligarch, a facility for war is gained by ruling the sea. The sea was a potent resource in war time, not only for its ability to allow supplies to be brought in or taken out, but also for allowing intermittent raids of indeterminate length to be carried out on enemy land. Putting into the coast and devastating areas of land for the purpose of military gain and returning quickly to the ships is a boon granted only to sea powers, according to the Old Oligarch (II. 4). Naval powers, in fact, do not have to march through friendly or unfriendly territory in order to have safe passage; instead' they can sail directly to friendly territory (II.5). Many of the Athenian engagements in the Peloponnesian War can be described in just this way. For example, in 425 BCE the Athenians planned to attack the territory of Corinth. They arrived in their ships and landed on the beach. The Corinthians, hearing beforehand of the attack, readied an ambush for the Athenians and gave battle. The Athenians engaged the Corinthians, but when it seemed further Peloponnesian reenforcements were on the way, the Athenians were

able to embark and sail away to safety on a nearby island (*Thu*. 4.42-44). The Old Oligarch

provides numerous images of the sea, negative and positive. What remains clear is that, for him,

the sea is the military tool *par excellence*.[90] The military advantage gained by control of the sea

is, nevertheless, not worth the social disorder it entails.

The Civilizing Sea: Thucydides' Mediterranean

As Thucydides sat down to write about the war that he thought would be the most

memorable of all wars yet fought, he turned his gaze again and again to one factor which

contributed to the story of the war, that is, the sea. The image of the sea created by Thucydides,

especially in the section of his *History* commonly called the *Archaeology*,[91] is one of a

productive and constructive force for the Greeks and particularly for Athens. Horden and

Purcell write that the Greeks considered the past a "sequence of 'sea powers' or

thalassocracies,"[92] a statement amply supported by Thucydides' *Archaeology*. Because the sea

was one of the major battlefields of the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides thought it was

appropriate to show how it helped to shape the history of the region time and time again. In fact,

the juxtaposition of land and sea comes very early in the *Archaeology* when Thucydides makes

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[90]Chester Starr, *The Influence of Sea Power on Ancient History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 41.
    [91]Hornblower, 3. The *Archaeology* is an account of early Greek history. Hornblower gives three principle reasons for its inclusion. First, Thucydides would like to prove the importance of the war about which he will concern himself. Second, he would like to explain the degree to which sea-power plays a role in the region and the war. Third, he wants to promote his historical method.
    [92]Horden and Purcell, 24.

clear that in the early days there was no commerce by either land or sea (2.2). Virginia Hunter argues that

> the *Archaeology* is a history of progress that, negatively at first and then positively, establishes the indices of civilization required to advance from a nomadic way of life to a secure and collective one, based on control of the sea and power over others...the highest expression of this is "collective effort."[93]

The image of a power based on interrelation of land and sea power is present almost from the beginning of Thucydides' *Archaeology*. In section 1.2, he outlines the history of nascent Hellenic civilization. Thucydides' concern with the power of the sea as a culture-creating and culture-manipulating entity is clear and shows through not only in section 1.2, but also is a theme throughout his history of the war.

In the speeches given by Perikles in Book Two, Thucydides points out the results of the Athenian culture of sea power. For example, in Perikles' speech after the onset of the plague, given in 430 BCE, he says that the Athenians have power over land and sea that is far greater than they understand and that they can go anywhere without fear of being stopped (2.62). The burdens which he asks them to bear in section 2.63.8 are clearly those which the Athenian navy demands. Their lack of willingness to stay in the city and rely on the fleet, he warns, will result in loss of the empire. Perikles raises the specter of the potential loss of sea power in order to shock and alarm the Athenians. It is through this speech that Thucydides reveals the dangers and advantages of sea power. The speech brings us full circle from Thucydides' discussion of early Hellenic civilization which had neither trade nor communication by sea. Commerce and

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[93]Virginia Hunter, *Past and Process in Herodotus and Thucydides* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 42.

communication facilitated by the sea are necessary for the settled life that is so important to a growing civilization.[94]

Thucydides also looks to the fertility of the land as an explanation for the development of the earliest Greek society. In fact, scarcity of fertile land coupled with a burgeoning population are given as reasons for Athenian emigration to Ionia (1.2). Hornblower argues that the land of Attica encouraged people to come there as refugees and then, after having been made citizens, they were siphoned off to Ionia.[95] Thucydides emphasizes the power of the sea to remove potential sources of *stasis*. The land is an important factor, but it is the ability to cross the sea to more fertile lands and to relieve excess population that is essential. For example, Thucydides says that when the Greeks returned from the Trojan War, numerous revolutions caused men to be exiled (1.12.2). These exiled men founded colonies in order to provide for themselves and their supporters.

Hornblower points out that the theme of the interconnectedness of land and sea emerges throughout Thucydides' work.[96] For example, in King Archidamos' speech to the Spartans in 432 BCE, he gives numerous reasons why the Spartans should not attempt to wage war against the Athenians. First, he points out that when the Spartans fight neighbors that have the same type of power, they are on equal footing or even have an advantage. But, when they fight others, especially those who are θαλάσσης ἐμπειρότατοί, they are on unequal footing (1.80). He says that in order to win the war with the Athenians, the Spartans must either get mastery of the sea or somehow cut off the funding for the Athenian navy (1.80). In fact, according to Archidamos, the Spartans must bide their time while they seek allies who can provide them with ships and money

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[94]Hunter, 20-1.
[95]Hornblower, 14.
[96]Hornblower, 9.

(1.82). These things will allow them to conduct war on equal footing. Hoplites, who fight on an open field, will not do well against an enemy well supplied with ships and rich enough to get what they need from other lands. Many of his points are echoed by the Old Oligarch, principally those regarding the advantages of controlling the sea.

Thucydides regards the difficulty of collective action to be a matter of familiarity with the sea. It is in the Trojan War that we see the first cooperative endeavor which comes as a result of more thorough knowledge of the seas: ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν θαλάσσῃ ἤδη πλείω χρώμενοι ξυνῆλθον (1.3), "moreover they brought together this expedition, as they were using the sea to a greater extent." Therefore, it is control of the sea in the Mediterranean region that allows for concerted military effort. Whatever military action there was in this remote period must be attributed to control of the sea.[97] As Hunter says concerning military effort, "it was only made possible by the increased adherence to the sea that preceded it."[98] Agamemnon, leader of the Hellenic fleet, is described in terms of his ability to control the sea. He leads the fleet because his navy is the largest and with this fleet he controls numerous islands in the Aegean (1.9.1).[99]

As the turmoil died down after the Trojan War, Thucydides remarks that the Hellenes began to take more interest in the sea.[100] In this way, Corinth acquired power over land routes, through its control of the Isthmus and, then, via a strong navy, gained dominance over commercial trade routes of the sea as well (1.12-13).

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[97]Hornblower, 18.

[98]Hunter, 21.

[99]Hunter, 33. Hornblower, 32. Hornblower states that his concentration on the naval aspects is perhaps Thucydides' only new insight. Homer calls Agamemnon lord over many Aegean islands and over Argos. Certainly, to be in control of the islands he had to have a large naval presence (*Il.* 2.101).

[100]Hunter, 24. Hunter describes the oscillations of society and connects those oscillations to the movements of people within the Greek world. Migration, for Hunter and seemingly for Thucydides, is the origin of the unsettling, piratical tendency in early Greek society.

The *Cursus Maritimi*: Cicero's Image of the Sea

In the spring and early summer of 56 BCE, Cicero was backtracking on his anti-triumvirate stance and considering how he could show support for Pompey and, especially, Caesar. At a meeting of the senate to determine the status and distribution of certain provinces, Cicero delivered *De Provinciis Consularibus*.[101] Caesar's proconsular powers in Gaul were under fire, and Cicero had been encouraged, both by Pompey and his own brother Quintus, to fight for a situation that was best for the *triumvir*. Thus, Cicero argues in this speech that Caesar has the best interest of the state at heart, as does the senator who allows Caesar to do his duty (12.30). He also points out that the Roman state is now free from all other threats and dangers that have afflicted it (12.30) and, therefore, it would be a shame to prevent the completion of Caesar's work in Gaul, especially since Gaul was perceived as a perennial threat to Rome. Cicero does his best in this speech to equate the current threats from Gaul with the former threats from pirate-ridden seas.

Cicero contends that assignments of provinces out to aim for maintenance of long term peace, because the Romans are now free from wars and dangers on all sides (12.30) Concerning the former dangers of the sea he says, *Iam diu mare videmus illud immensum, cuius fervore non solum maritimi cursus, sed urbes etiam et viae militares iam tenebantur* (12.31), "Now for a long time we observe this immense sea, by whose fervor [Cicero is referring to the pirates] not only the paths of the sea, but also the cities and military roads, were fettered." A sea in turmoil

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[101]Catherine Saunders, "The ΠΑΛΙΝωΙΔΙΑ [sic] of Cicero," *Classical Philology* 14 (Jul., 1919), 201-215. It is unclear whether this speech is the palinode to which Cicero refers in his letter to Atticus (iv.5.1). D. R. Shackleton Bailey ed. *Cicero's Letters to Atticus, Vol II, 58-54 B.C.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 89. Although Shackleton Baily does not comment on whether or not the *De Provinciis Consularibus* is the palinode, he does mention that the person urging Cicero to write might be Pompey. The speech, nevertheless, does represent a great shift in perspective for Cicero. See R. Gardner, "Introduction to the *De Provinciis Consularibus*," page 528-29 in the Loeb Classical Library's edition of the text. Gardner does not feel that this speech is the palinode, but that it is the result of Cicero's newly considered stance on the triumvirs' power.

clearly inhibits the proper function of government and commerce. He points out that Pompey, through the special powers granted him, freed the seas, a situation that the Romans now enjoyed. He is making a clear comparison between Pompey's completed work at sea and Caesar's ongoing work in Gaul. There is also a recognition of the negative consequence of an infested sea, namely that it encroaches on the land, roads, and general health of the empire. Cicero, more specifically, recognizes the power and necessity of the Mediterranean Sea as both a conduit and a medium of Roman power.

The image of the sea at 12.31 is that of a network of roads, connecting the Roman Mediterranean. Tacitus, in his *Annales* 1.9, similarly connects land and sea power: *mari Oceano aut amnibus longinquis saeptum imperium; legiones, provincias, classis cuncta inter se conexa*, "The empire had been enclosed by the sea, by the Ocean, and by long rivers: the legions, the provinces, the fleet, all things were connected one with the other." In this passage, Tacitus is reporting what citizens said after Augustus' death about the state of the empire under his leadership. The concerns expressed about piracy and its negative influences on Roman hegemony are no longer considered.[102] After the defeat of Sextus Pompey in 36 BCE, the threat of pirates and piratical activity in the Mediterranean was rather effectively quelled until the third century CE.[103] The most important point is that the fleet, the rivers, the sea, and even the Ocean are providing an integrated defense. Both Cicero and Tacitus connect the power of the sea with that of the land, and both agree that the union of the two is necessary for Roman hegemony. In

[102] Augustus' clearance of the seas and the pirates infesting it will be discussed in the section of this chapter that deals with the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*.

[103] It is interesting to note that Augustus and the *triumvirs* had earlier, in 39 BCE, granted Sextus Pompey the governorship of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Achaia among other honors so that he would stop the blockade of the grain ships to Rome.

fact, Cicero makes a similar point in his speech in defense of Lucius Valerius Flaccus. In section

12 he says in defense of Flaccus' levy for the ships that,

> *Equidem existimo in eius modi regione atque provincia quae*
> *mari cincta, portibus distincta, insulis circumdata esset, non*
> *solum praesidii sed etiam ornandi imperii causa navigandum*
> *fuisse* (12), "Certainly, I think in a region and province of this
> kind, surrounded by sea, dotted with ports, and enveloped by
> islands, not only for defense, but also for the equipping of
> power, there had to be sailing."[104]

In the *De Provinciis Consularibus*, Cicero describes the pivotal role of the Mediterranean

for Roman power: *a populo Romano ab Oceano usque ad ultimum Pontum tamquam unum*

aliquem portum tutum et clausum teneri (12.31), "from Ocean all the way to furthest Pontus, [the

Mediterranean Sea is] held by the Roman people as one port, safe and closed." As Cicero's

statement points out, the coastline is like one vast port, wherein communication, commerce, and

the Roman state may act freely. The culmination of Roman thalassocracy, we infer from

Cicero's statement, was achieved through the provisions of the *Lex Gabinia* of 67 BCE.

This law gave Pompey sweeping powers over the seas.[105] His power was the reconstituted

imperium that had been given to M. Antonius in the wars against the Cretan pirates seven years

earlier.[106] Pompey had made the seas safe, through his victory over the pirates; moreover, he had

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[104]In the *Pro Flacco*, Cicero argues the point that Pompey had indeed cleared the sea, but that Flaccus found it necessary to keep a standing fleet. Among the charges made against Flaccus, the charge of taking money for the fleet on false pretenses, is the only one rebutted directly. The charges against Flaccus were brought in the year 59BCE, only three years after Pompey's defeat of the pirates. Cicero, indeed, makes much of the fact that Flaccus might be perceived as a defender of what Pompey had gained. He also points to the defense of the Adriatic and Tuscan Seas as a continued and important effort of the Roman people.

[105]M. Cary and H. H. Scullard, *A History of Rome Down to the Reign of Constantine*, Third Edition (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 244. A. Gabinius, a tribune of 67, proposed a bill to the senate in which command over the Mediterranean Sea was to be conferred on Pompey. The pirates threatened the grain supply for the city of Rome and, although the Senate opposed the measure, the people of Rome would not be without their food.

[106]Cary and Scullard, 250-51. M. Antonius had taken numerous steps against the pirates, but Quintus Metellus finally subdued Crete and made it into a Roman province in 68-67 BCE. In this way he was able to quell the threat and create a state that would benefit the Roman empire. Pompey dealt with the pirates in a different way. He cast a very wide net in the form of a fleet which was able to drive pirate ships onto the coast into the waiting arms of other military forces. Ellen Churchill Semple, "Pirate Coasts of the Mediterranean," *Geographical Review* 2 (Aug., 1916), 143. Semple gives a very effective description of the pirates, their tactics, bases, and conditions. See

made the boundaries of the sea safe from incursions, through his conquest of regions on the

frontier of the empire. The *Lex Gabinia* gave Pompey power over the sea, the coasts, and from

the coasts inland for fifty miles.[107] This power was important because it allowed him not only to

"clear" the sea, but also to denude the coastline of potential pirate bases. Rickman points out

that, here, the land and sea must be considered together because subjugation of the pirate bases

in Cilicia was clearly very important to the task of cleaning and clearing the seas.[108] Pompey's

imperium, as Ehrenberg shows, gave him power over every coast of the Mediterranean Sea and

power at least equal to every Roman appointee working in his respective province.[109] The *Lex

Gabinia*, while its power lasted, made the Republic one land under one government around a

single sea.

Alluding to the *Lex Gabinia* and Pompey's skillful use of its powers as well as to the

Gallic threat, Cicero argues that Pompey's gains in the east will only be complete and secure if

they are matched by Caesar's in the west. Although Caesar's gains in Gaul will be much deeper

inland than fifty miles, Cicero speaks as if these lands were the equivalent to the fifty miles of

coast land that Pompey had cleared. In order for the Roman state to govern the sea effectively,

both the sea itself and the land around it must be vacant of barbarian or pirate-producing

strongholds. If the seas alone are cleared of pirates, the problem is only half-solved. J. K.

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also Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 388.

[107]Cary and Scullard, 251 n. 4. Pompey had a fleet of 270 ships and 100,000 men and he used them to sweep both sides of the Mediterranean Sea. The *Lex Gabinia* gave Pompey *imperium* that lasted for three years at once, with no annual renewal. In Velleius Paterculus' *History of Rome*, Velleius says Pompey's power is *imperium aequum in omnibus provinciis cum proconsulibus ad quinquagesimum miliarium a mari* (II. 31. 2), "in all the provinces [Pompey's] power [was] equal with the proconsuls to fifty miles from the sea. Victor Ehrenberg presents a lucid discussion of *imperium maius* held by certain parties in the Roman government and makes specific references to the particular powers given for the expulsion of pirates in, "Imperium Maius in the Roman Republic," *The American Journal of Philology* 74 (1953), 113-16.

[108]Geoffrey Rickman, "Mare Nostrum," in *The Sea and History*, edited by E. E. Rice, (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, 1996), 2.

[109]Ehrenberg, 119.

Davies similarly points out that, after the social wars of the 350's BCE, Athenian lack of control

led to outbreaks of piracy, especially the kind fomented on islands.[110] Roman history shows

amply that half-measures against pirates inevitably require much further effort.[111]

The connection between Pompey's coastal clearing and Caesar's potential gains is further

heightened by Cicero's association of Gallia Narbonensis with the sea. Cicero describes Gallia

Narbonensis as *semitam* (13. 33), a narrow path, a mere swath of land which maintained lines of

communication between Spain and Italy.[112] Cicero says of the northern lands that from the very

beginning no one who was wise thought that Gaul was anything other than the greatest threat to

the Roman state (13.33). Because the territory near the sea is vulnerable to attacks of the Gauls,

it follows that the next event would be an incursion of the Gauls into the sea. There would be

another infestation, such as the one that Pompey dealt with so brilliantly. Cicero describes

vividly the need to provide protection for Roman power over the sea. He makes it seem as

though the entire *cursus maritimi* will be overrun, if Caesar is not allowed to carry out his work.

He argues that the acquisition of land, in this case Gaul, as a province under Roman control will

grant the greatest freedom to the people of Rome. And it is clear that Cicero, at least in part,

means freedom to benefit from the sea. Cicero says that if the threat of the Gauls is quelled,

quae iam licet considant. Nihil est enim ultra illam altitudinem montium usque ad Oceanum,

quod sit Italiae pertimescendum (14. 34), "let the Alps indeed fall down. For there is nothing

beyond that height of the mountains all the way to Ocean, which Italy ought to dread." The

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[110]J. K. Davies, "Cultural, Social and Economic Features of the Hellenistic World," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, volume 7.1 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 285; cf., Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 387.

[111]Cary and Scullard, 250-51. The numerous attempts to clear the Cretan pirates provide examples of the ineffective nature of minor punitive expeditions.

[112]Roman annexation had taken place in 121 BCE, just fifteen short years before the birth of Cicero himself.

Gallic menace was often brought to the fore of the Roman mind by politicians in order to achieve political ends.[113] Cicero forcefully shows that if Caesar is allowed to stay in Gaul the only result will be a more secure empire, which will include a more secure sea.

The Enemy and *Mare Nostrum*: The Foreigner in Our Sea

Livy has Hannibal call the Mediterranean Sea *mare nostrum* during the campaign in Tarentum in 212 BCE (*A.U.C* 25.11.17). During the Second Punic War, Tarentum was divided into two factions: those Tarentines who supported Rome and the Roman soldiers who had seized and were holding the acropolis versus those who supported Hannibal and were holding the rest of the city. The conflict, as conceived by Hannibal, is between those who are in control of the land, Hannibal and his supporters, and those who control access to the sea, namely the Romans and pro-Roman Tarentines on the acropolis (25.11.11-12). The hopes of a successful blockade are, he argues, only realistic with the help of *punicae naves* from Sicily. When Hannibal is considering how to win the acropolis, he asks *suas, quae sinu exiguo intus inclusae essent, cum claustra portus hostis haberet, quem ad modum inde in aperum mare evasuras*? (25.11.15), "Since the enemy held the keys of the harbor, how were his ships, which were enclosed within a very small gulf, going to escape into the open sea?" The problem as put forth clearly by Hannibal was that he did not control the sea, and those who did control it had the power to move goods and people at will.   Hannibal cannot move his ships from the harbor to the sea from which escape or attack would be possible. Hannibal planned to transport ships on the level streets which ran from the harbor through the city center to the sea (25.11.17). He would

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[113]Jane F. Gardner, "The 'Gallic Menace' in Caesar's Propaganda," *Greece & Rome* 30 (Oct., 1983), 181-82.

transport his boats in this way so he could begin to control the gateway to the harbor. He wanted

to use the street in much the same way the *diolkos* was used to cross the Isthmus at Corinth.[114]

Hannibal says that if this action is successful,

> *et mare nostrum erit, quo nunc hostes potiuntur, et illinc mari,*
> *hinc terra circumsedebimus arcem: immo brevi aut relictam ab*
> *hostibus aut cum ipsis hostibus capiemus* (25.11.17), "And the
> sea over which now the enemy exercises power will be our sea,
> and we will besiege the citadel on that side by sea and on this
> side by land; assuredly, we shall seize it shortly, either
> abandoned by the enemy or with the enemy itself."

Clearly he alludes to control of the sea, but Hannibal claims that what was formerly the enemy's

sea will soon become his. In asserting this claim, moreover, Livy's Hannibal borrows a Roman

locution for the Mediterranean, *mare nostrum*. Hannibal is using the language and the

conceptual apparatus of the Romans to talk about the Mediterranean Sea and, more specifically,

the Gulf of Tarentum. Roman control of the Gulf of Tarentum is in jeopardy; hence, Roman

control of the Mediterranean sea is also at risk. He attempts to appropriate *mare nostrum* for

himself and to make the sea his own sphere of influence. It is control of the sea that is the key to

authority in a situation and nothing else. Even in Hannibal's mouth, the appropriation of the

Roman concept of *mare nostrum* is clear in this passage. Livy explicitly states the importance of

the control of the waterways. The Roman view is expressed quite clearly in the mouth of

Rome's great enemy.

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[114]Brian R. Macdonald, "Commercial Use of the Diolkos," Abstract from the 87th General Meeting of the
Archaeological Institute of America, *American Journal of Archaeology* 90 (Apr., 1986), 182. R. M. Cook, "Archaic
Trade: Three Conjectures," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 99 (1979), 152. M. S. F. Hood, "Archaeology in
Greece, 1957," *Archaeological Reports* (1957), 6.

"I Conquered by Land and by Sea": the Overwhelming Power of *Romanitas*

Lying on what he thought was his death bed,[115] the first emperor of Rome produced an account of his accomplishments for the Roman people.[116] Augustus' *Res Gestae* was a document written for publication throughout the empire.[117] Suetonius says that Augustus gave a copy of the work, which he desired to be engraved on bronze tablets and set up in front of his Mausoleum, to the Vestal Virgins (*Aug*. 1.1). In short, it was to serve as his funerary epitaph. Pieces of this document carved in stone have been located in Ankara, Apollonia, and Antioch of Pisidia, suggesting that it was, in fact, published in numerous places throughout the empire. Placing these monuments to his achievements throughout the empire, Augustus provided a platform for posthumous recognition of his deeds.

In this text, we find numerous references to Augustus' successful battles on land and sea. These references are part of Augustus' concerted effort to construct a *res publica* and to live up to the ideals he set for himself. The golden shield inscribed with the four virtues stands out in section 34 of the document as a testament to what Augustus had accomplished, and as Ramage points out, "It is an important factor contributing to his *auctoritas*, and the virtues on it constitute a striking statement of the ideology on which the new regime is based."[118] The four virtues proclaimed by Augustus are *virtus, clementia, iustitia,* and *pietas,* and these virtues are repeated throughout the *Res Gestae*. Augustus' actions, as proclaimed in this work, are the fulfillment of his *virtus*. The ideology of the new regime encompassed both the Mediterranean and places far

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[115]In chapter 28 of the *Divus Augustus* Suetonius says that Augustus gave an accounting of the empire after a lingering illness, thinking that he might die. Again in Chapter 101, Suetonius implies that the *Res Gestae* was one of the documents in the vaults of the Vestal Virgins.

[116]P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: The Achievements of the Divine Augustus with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 4.

[117]Brunt and Moore, 1.

[118]Edwin S. Ramage, *The Nature and Purpose of Augustus' "Res Gestae"* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1987), 12. The senate and the people of Rome gave the inscribed shield to Augustus in 28-27 BCE, when he transferred his power to them.

beyond its basin. For Augustus, empire is conceptualized both as victory by land and sea, *terra marique*, and as rule over the earth, *orbs terrarum*.   Augustus intertwines this conceptualization of empire with his four proclaimed virtues throughout the text of the *Res Gestae*. Without delving too deeply into particular arguments about the individual battles and combatants, we can trace some overarching themes in the *Res Gestae* that relate to the image of the Mediterranean Sea. It is important that the sea plays a vital role in Augustus' own *elogia* concerning his exceptional achievements.[119]

References to the sea occur in sections 3, 13, 25, and 26. These references are rather evenly spaced throughout the 33 sections of work. Augustus uses these references to emphasize his *auctoritas* and to remind the reader that he, above all, has made the Roman world what it is; namely, the power that rules over the entire Mediterranean Basin and beyond. These references fall into Mommsen's tripartite reading of the *Res Gestae*: the *honores* in the first 14 sections, the *impensae* in sections 15 through 24, and the *res gestae* in sections 25 to 33.[120] The first two sections stand on their own, as Ramage points out, because in them Augustus deals with his own rise to power and the powers accorded to him by the senate and the people.[121] Sections 25 and 26 fall within what Mommsen described as the recitation of Augustus' deeds as a conqueror and pacifier. Augustus develops the meaning of the *res publica* in sections one and two and immediately proceeds to a discussion of his contributions to the empire, briefly stating how he accomplished these.[122]

One of the attributes carved onto the shield of Augustus is *clementia*. The obvious militaristic implications of the shield are intertwined with Augustus' cardinal virtues. The

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[119]Brunt and Moore, 3.
[120]Ramage, 17.
[121]Ramage, 17.
[122]Ramage, 38-9, 54.

joining of clemency and victory must not alone grab the reader's attention, but also the way by

which the victory is accomplished and described. Augustus writes, *Bella terra et mari civilia*

externaque toto in orbe terrarum saepe gessi, victorque omnibus veniam petentibus civibus

perperci (3), "I often waged civil and foreign wars by land and sea throughout the world, and as

a victor I extended pardon to those citizens seeking pardon." Even if this statement is meant

primarily to emphasize his connection with the famed Caesarian clemency,[123] it is still important

that Augustus highlights the fact that he fights both on land and sea to propagate *Romanitas* and

to provide a forum for his exercise of leniency. Land and sea are his vehicles for conquest and

the means by which he is able to bring about peace. Indeed, Ramage suggests that he repeats the

phrase to emphasize just that fact.[124]

Throughout the work, Augustus connects the land and sea as entities through which the

world can be Romanized; insofar as the world is subject to Rome, it is considered peaceful. In

section 13, Augustus says,

> *Quirinum, quem clausum esse maiores nostri voluerunt cum per totum*
> *imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax, cum,*
> *priusquam nascerer, a condita urbe bis omnino clausum fuisse prodatur*
> *memoriae, ter me principe senatus claudendum esse censuit* (13),
> "The door of Janus Quirinus, which our ancestors wished to be closed,
> when peace throughout the whole empire of the Roman people had been
> gained by victories on land and sea, although, from the foundation of the
> city until I was born, it is handed down in the tradition that it had been
> closed altogether twice, during my leadership the senate judged that it
> should be closed three times."

Augustus has thus outdone all of the Republican heroes and has led Rome into a new era where

he has gained peace through his exploits on land and sea.[125] He is emphasizing his

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[123]Brunt and Moore, n. 3,1
[124]Ramage, 54-5.
[125]Brunt and Moore, 54-5. Of the three times Augustus closed the doors of the temple, two dates are sure.
The first in 29 BCE was the result of his victories in the civil wars. The second time in 25 BCE the door was closed
after victories in Spain. The third closure might have been in 2 BCE, but Brunt and Moore note that there was a war

accomplishment of calming both the land and the sea. Peace on land is necessary for peace on

the sea, and vice versa. It is not without importance that in section 3 and section 13 we find

Augustus using the terms of conquest by land and sea in close proximity to the terms that mean

the whole world, *orbs terrarum*, and the whole empire of the Roman people, *totum imperium*

populi Romani. The association of the two brings about an image of the land and sea as the

means of conquering the entire world and keeping power throughout the conquered territory.

Augustus has truly made the Mediterranean *mare nostrum*, even though he never uses the phrase.

Both of the phrases, *orbs terrarum* and *totum imperium*, imply an extension of Roman

sovereignty over not just Rome or Italy, but over the known world.

In section 25, Augustus turns to the issue of pirates.

> *Mare pacavi a praedonibus. Eo bello servorum qui fugerant a*
> *dominis suis et arma contra rem publicam ceperant triginta fere*
> *milia capta dominis ad supplicium sumendum tradidi*, "I made the
> sea peaceful from pirates. In this war, I handed over almost thirty
> thousand slaves, who had fled from their own masters and had taken
> up arms against the republic, to their masters for the purpose of
> exacting punishment."

Augustus had been successful in his fight against Sextus Pompey in 36 and he alludes to that

event here.[126] Augustus was not only successful in removing the threat of famine, created by

Sextus Pompey and his fleet, but he also secured the grain supply of Rome. Sextus' fleets had

been harrying the Roman grain supply, and by quelling the threat Augustus may also be pointing

to his careful watch over the welfare of the Roman people. Augustus had established fleets

throughout the Mediterranean at Ravenna, Misenum, and elsewhere, in order to mitigate the

growth of piracy and to protect commercial interests.[127]   In this section Augustus expresses his

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going on in Parthia at the time.
 [126]Brunt and Moore, n. 25,1. See also A. H. M. Jones, *Augustus* (New York: Norton & Co., 1970), 31.
Numerous honors were given to Augustus on his return from this successful campaign in 36 BCE.
 [127]Brunt and Moore, n. 25,1.

and Rome's interest in both the eastern and western Mediterranean, which he had, in fact, protected by means of establishing fleets. The piracy of Sextus Pompey had largely been based in the western Mediterranean. In the statement, *mare pacavi a praedonibus*, he verbally appropriates the western part of the sea for the *res publica*.

Again in section 25 we have Augustus' claim of full control over the Mediterranean Basin. He writes, *Iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua, et me belli quo vici ad Actium ducem depoposcit*, "The whole of Italy by its own will swore an oath of allegiance, and called for me as leader in which war I was victorious at Actium." With the words *ad Actium*, Augustus easily connotes an image of the Eastern Mediterranean. The battle of Actium presented a forum for propaganda against eastern powers, and by claiming the victory at Actium, Augustus appropriates the whole of the Mediterranean Sea for himself and for Italy. With the support of all Italy, *tota Italia*, Augustus is ready to make mention of his victories in numerous locations throughout the Mediterranean Basin.[128]

In section 26, Augustus continues listing his efforts and achievements on land and sea. He describes the geography of the Alpine regions which he pacified in terms of their association with the sea. So he says, *Alpes a regione ea quae proxima est Hadrio mari ad Tuscum pacificavi nulli genti bello per iniuriam inlato* (26), "I pacified the Alps from the region which is closest to the Adriatic Sea to the Tuscan Sea with war waged through injustice to no one." He also boasts that his fleet sailed through the Ocean from the Rhine River and saw *quo neque terra neque mari quisquam Romanus ante id tempus adit* (26), "a country which no Roman had come to before this time by land or by sea." The conquest of empire by land and sea extends beyond the strict

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[128]Ramage, 55-6.

realms of the Mediterranean,[129] but it is important to note that this part of his achievement is predicated on his earlier exploits on the sea which was central to his empire. It is also important to note that Augustus is laying claim to the conquered lands through his geographical vocabulary. Ramage makes an argument about the repetitions of the term *imperium* that could equally, I think, apply to the repetitions of the phrase *terra marique*, namely that these terms are reminders of Augustus' wide ranging activities throughout the empire and his extension of its boundaries.[130]

We may also remark that it was not only Augustus who talked about his achievements on the seas. Suetonius writes that as Augustus was nearing death, he sailed by the gulf of Puteoli and an Alexandrian ship hailed him. According to Suetonius, they said it was, *per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui* (*Suet. Aug*. 98), "through him that they lived, through him that they sailed, and through him they enjoyed both liberty and fortune." It is not only through Augustus' eyes that we see his accomplishments. In Suetonius' biography, we hear the same ideas from another perspective. According to Suetonius, the people who took their livelihood from the Mediterranean recognized Augustus' conquest of the sea as a vital measure.[131]

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[129]James S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 136-37. Romm writes of a imperial program that included an "ever-expanding" empire. Augustus' claims are certainly grand and in sections 3, 13, and 26, he gives the impression of an empire growing beyond previously known limits.

[130]Ramage, 56.

[131]Augustus C. Merriam, "The Caesareum and the Worship of Augustus at Alexandria," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 14 (1883), 12-13. Philo Judaeus (*Leg.* 22) describes a temple built to honor either Caesar or Augustus. He describes the honoree of this temple as a healer of ills and a deliverer of the sea from piratical hands. This would accord very well with Augustus description of the empire at his death.

Focusing on the image of the Sea as Power: Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen numerous presentations of the sea. The Old Oligarch,
Thucydides, Cicero, Livy and Augustus have provided images of the sea as divisive, connective,
democratic, and civilizing. Without exception, the naval power of each nation or state was an
essential aspect of its ability to exercise control over the sea and adjoining lands. In the
Constitution of the Athenians, the sea becomes a metaphor for democracy. The requirements of
the navy, both in material and human resources, are the major contributing factors for the
increased rights of the *demos*. Thalassocracy, as the Old Oligarch puts it, requires too much
labor for the elite to shoulder the burden. The Old Oligarch points further to the benefits of the
sea for those controlling it. The rulers of the sea are able to control the flow of goods both
positively and negatively, for their own advantage and to the disadvantage of others. This point
is also emphasized by Thucydides, who presents the sea as a force for civilization. The degree to
which a state interacts with the sea is the degree to which they have become civilized. The
Archaeology is replete with this image of the sea. The concerted military effort shown in the
Trojan War is the result of increased contact with the sea (*Thu*. 1.9).

The sea shapes the history of Greece for Thucydides, just as thalassocratic hegemony
shapes the Roman world for Cicero. Cicero, in *De Provinciis Consularibus*, focuses on the
importance of the sea. It is only with the clearance of the pirates that the state becomes safe for
the wide-ranging interests of the Romans. Caesar's work in Gaul is profitably compared with
Pompey's efforts at sea. A sea and coastline free of pirates grants freedom for the *cursus
maritimi* so important to the functioning of the Roman state. Threats to Roman power over this
most important of resources is to be taken very gravely indeed, as it is by Livy.

Livy vividly expresses the threat posed by anti-Roman powers, especially with respect to control of the sea. On the lips of Rome's arch-enemy, we find the phrase *mare nostrum*. Hannibal's appropriation of the term by which the Romans may have most intimately expressed their sovereignty over the Mediterranean points to the importance of this body of water as an image of control. Hannibal's success, in Livy's story, is equal to Carthaginian control over the Gulf of Tarentum. Hannibal's victory points out the possibility of the failure of Roman thalassocracy. Livy's presentation of the sea raises the specter of the meaning of failure; Augustus, on the other hand, is able to show what benefits can accrue from success. The control of land and sea is the image of empire. It is through Augustus' conquest of the sea that peace and wealth are gained for the empire. As Suetonius implies, it was through him that Rome lived and sailed and gained its livelihood (*Suet. Aug*. 98). And with this sentiment, we will begin our consideration of the Mediterranean Sea as an image of wealth.

CHAPTER IV

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA AS AN IMAGE OF WEALTH AND ABUNDANCE

Fortune's Favorite: Economic Possibility and the Image of the Sea

Control of the Mediterranean Sea was neither the only way nor the most respectable way to make one's fortune in classical antiquity. In respect to the sea's production of goods and its role in the movement of goods, however, the sea itself was considered a necessity of life and a bountiful resource. In this chapter, I will consider the sea as an image of wealth.

Several authors portray the sea as an entity that may be exploited to accrue wealth. Hesiod, in a short section of the *Works and Days* sometimes referred to as the "Nautilia" (618-694), describes the appropriate times for sailing and the appropriate way to load a ship, though he never mentions fishing either as a trade or as a pastime. He most certainly does not recommend overseas trade as a means for obtaining wealth, but cannot deny the potential wealth to be gained thereby (618-694).[132] A much more positive assessment of the potential of the sea comes from a very different source. Petronius' *Satyricon* provides us with Trimalchio, an example of a self-made man who built his vast fortunes on the sea.

In all of these works, the Mediterranean Sea is a resource: it provides food, other goods, transportation, and/or communication.[133] In order to connect these two types of the image of the sea as wealth, it will be necessary to connect the musings of Plutarch's seaside symposium with the more practical considerations expressed by Hesiod and Petronius. Lucian in his *Ships and*

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[132]M. I. Finely, *The Ancient Greeks* (London: Chatton and Windus, 1963, reprinted by Penguin Books 1991), 39.
[133]G. J. Oliver, R. Brock et al. "Introduction," in *The Sea and Antiquity: BAR International Series 899*, Edited by G. J. Oliver, R. Brock et. al. (Oxford: J. and E. Hedges, 2000), v.

Wishes connects the image of the sea as economic wealth with mastery over the sea and sea-trade. With his satiric wit, Lucian seeks to dismantle Adimantus' singularly self-serving desire for the ship *Isis* and the wealth it could bring from the Mediterranean Basin.

Delights and Necessities: *Quaestiones Conviviales*

Plutarch's fourth question in the fourth book of the *Quaestiones Conviviales* is mainly concerned with the gastronomic wealth of the Mediterranean, and its characters discuss the bounties of the sea and the nutritive value of those goods. It compares the wealth of the sea to that of the land and considers which of the two is preferable. Plutarch was a Greek from Chaeronea in Boeotia who studied in Athens and visited Rome, where he enjoyed the patronage of both Trajan and Hadrian. His vast and intimate knowledge of Greek and Roman culture gives him a particular insight into ways in which both cultures viewed the sea. Writing at a time when Greece was a province of the Roman Empire, he provides us with a perspective that is neither entirely Greek, nor entirely Roman. In his introduction to the fourth question, he says of the coast of Euboea that the land produces birds and game and that οὐχ ἧττον ἡ θάλαττα παρέχει τὴν ἀγορὰν εὐτράπεζον, ἐν τόποις καθαροῖς καὶ ἀγχιβαθέσι γενναῖον ἰχθὺν καὶ πολὺν ἐκτρέφουσα (4.4. 667c), "the sea no less provides the market table-goods, in clear waters close to shore bringing forth many and different kinds of fish." At such places, Plutarch says, numerous and varied conversations are held.

Nearly all of the guests in the fictive dialogue sing the praises of the land (667 E), but Polycrates calls on Symmachus to defend the sea and its resources. The land is shown, by some of the guests, to be an abundant provider and there is a question on the table as to whether the sea can provide food as well or better than the land. Symmachus, from the coastal city of

Nicopolis, founded after the battle of Actium in 31 BCE, calls on Polycrates, from Achaïa on the

Gulf of Corinth, to support his arguments. These two having grown up by the seaside are

considered expert witnesses on the matter. In their speeches, the sea becomes the symbol of

abundance and the picture of gastronomic delight. Two types of arguments are given in support

of Poseidon's plenitude (667e). Polycrates bases his contention on word usage and historical

precedent. Symmachus, for his part, gives evidence based on logic and philosophical argument.

These arguments bring the best of Greek literary traditions to the fore, on the one hand poetry

and literature, and on the other forensic speech and philosophical thought. Both men use poets'

and philosophers' statements to argue that the sea is the source or the means by which all edible

things on land and sea are enjoyed.

Polycrates' first argument is based on linguistic evidence. He says, "for just as out of

many poets, the best one we call 'the poet,' likewise out of all delicacies, the fish has won either

alone or especially to be called delicacy [*opson*], because above all it excels in excellence

(667f)." In fact, ὄψον is the Greek word for two types of consumables. First, it is the word for

meats, sauces, and dressings, or anything eaten with bread or food or anything that is cooked.[134]

Its second definition is "fish" or even the "fish-market."[135] Polycrates proffers the use of

vocabulary such as ὄψον in certain contexts as proof that ὄψον is associated with the products

of the sea. He goes on at length quoting people who have said something superlative about the

sea or sea shore (668a and b). The second strand in Polycrates's argument is that seafood is very

expensive and therefore must be a delicacy, a statement he attributes to Cato. The third

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[134]Sven-Tage Teodorsson, *A Commentary on Plutarch's Table Talks*, Vol. 2 (Gothoburgensis: Acta Universitatis Gothobergensis, 1990), 77. Teodorsson says that the meaning "fish", or "fish-market" was particularly common in Athens.
[135]Teodorsson, 77.

contention relies on the fact that the best judge of food must be the gourmet of which he gives three kinds: the poet Antagoras, the fish-lover or dinner-lover Philoxenus,[136] and the visual artist Androcydes (668d). Androcydes, perhaps, painted lifelike fish because of his penchant for them. Perhaps these three men, because of their supposed wide experience with fish and its delicacy, know best. Plutarch makes clear in this part of the dialogue that the sea is an image of wealth or opulence. Giving seafood a prominent place in the discussion, Plutarch highlights the high esteem afforded it by the dinner guests and society at large. Polycrates argument is based on linguistic, economic, and sensual evidence that he gathers from his wide cultural knowledge.

Symmachus, in his own view, follows a more scholarly approach. His argument concludes that without seasoning of hope, life is unpalatable and that without relish and salt from the sea, food, which supports life, is inedible (668e); hence, salt and relish from the sea is more important than anything found on land. Furthermore, since salt is added to other relishes, it is the most important relish. So, the sea provides the salt that is necessary to make meats edible and condiments tasty. He puts forth the argument that no such thing can be found on land (668e), and that the sea must therefore be superior. So the sea provides not only the necessities of life, but is also a source of enrichment for other foods. He also claims that the heroes of old went without fish even within reach of the Hellespont, but they would not go without salt (668f). If the heroes would not go without salt, surely it is something without which the common man can not live. His final argument is that salt makes meat, which is just a dead body or part of one, palatable (669a). Plutarch's characters present a picture of the sea as a provider not only of wealth, but of life.

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[136]Jonathan Barnes ed., *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, Vol. 2, Bolingen Series 71 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 2421. In fragment *F 84 R³* (*Athenaeus, 6D*), Aristotle is quoted as saying that Philoxenos was a dinner-lover.

Plutarch speaks of fish and salt as the two major bounties provided by the sea for man. Both products provided important supplements to the daily diet.[137] Fish could be eaten fresh, dried, or salted and was a major ingredient of *garum*, a wildly popular condiment.[138]

Plutarch's dinner guests claim the sea is fertile; many historians, however, have debated the fertility of the Mediterranean Sea. There are two main schools of thought on this topic. One view suggests that the perceived lack of fertility of the Mediterranean Sea versus that of the Atlantic Ocean is only a result of the difficulty of fishing.[139] One may make the argument, however, that difficulty in fishing does not necessarily result in fish being perceived as a less important or important resource. There were, moreover, many important and easily harvested species of fish, both wild and managed,[140] that provided important sustenance and, perhaps, wealth. Braudel, representing the second school of thought argues for the biological exhaustion of the Mediterranean Sea, saying that it has never been very productive.[141] Whatever the state of faunal life in the Mediterranean Sea, one might argue that the bounty of the Mediterranean influenced the way that writers talked about its individual resources, but did not have consequence for authors who saw the Mediterranean as a copious provider.

Neither view vitiates the perception of abundance by the people of antiquity. In fact, we have corroboration of this perception and an indication of the precarious nature of that abundance when exploited by the upperclass. Juvenal's fifth satire provides us with a social commentary on the entertainment of clients. Juvenal gives his evaluation of the fertility of the

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[137]Nicholas Purcell, "fishing," in *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed.

[138]*ibid*.

[139]Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 191.

[140]Horden and Purcell, 192.

[141]Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 139. Arenson, 19. Arenson holds that both over-fishing and biological exhaustion are responsible for the "poorly stocked" condition of the Mediterranean Sea.

Tyrrhenian Sea and its importance to certain cultural practices. He places a high value on the products of the sea, and he is concerned about the degradation of the environment. Juvenal recognizes the insatiable Roman appetite for fish as a severe drain on the population and size of fish in the Tyrrhenian Sea, a quite modern sensibility. The delicacies that Plutarch's characters praise come under threat of over-fishing in Juvenal's satire. Juvenal writes, *quando omne peractum est, et iam defecit nostrum mare, dum gula saevit, retibus adsiduis penitus scrutante macello proxima, nec patimur Tyrrhenian crescere piscem* (95-97), "when all has been gone through, and already our sea is exhausted, while gluttony raves, with untiring nets fish-marketers deeply searching our home waters, nor do we allow the Tyrrhenian fish to grow." At least on the face of it, we have a statement of the drained, finite nature of the fertility of the Tyrrhenian Sea.

It is, moreover, clear that the abundance of fish in the sea is an important ancient image of wealth in Juvenal. The patron being critiqued in this satire eats lobster while the client eats shrimp, the patron eats mullet and lamprey eels while the client eats common eel (80-106). The "fishy" meal "enjoyed" by both patron and client is evocative of the meal that could have been the focus of the convivial guests at Plutarch's feast. The "exotic" locations from which the patron gets his fish may indicate the dearth of fish in the Tyrrhenian Sea, or it might indicate the vast reach of the fish-market vendors and their suppliers. The patron's mullet comes from Corsica or the Tauromenium cliffs on the east coast of Sicily, both of which are outside the Tyrrhenian. The patron eats lamprey eels from the Sicilian Straits, while the client's eels come, according to Juvenal, from the sewers of Rome (106). Juvenal successfully depicts the patron-client relationship as both gluttonous and demeaning. He makes clear, nevertheless, that the sea provides a bountiful table at which a diverse population eats.

Juvenal also comments on the lengths to which people would go to gain the profit of this desired product. Juvenal describes the zest with which fishermen pursued their quarry, even in the most dangerous waters of the Mediterranean. He says, *nam dum se continet Auster, dum sedet et siccat madidas in carcere pinnas, contemnunt mediam temeraria lina Charybidim* (100-102), "For while the South wind restrains itself, while he sits in prison and drys his damp wings, foolish nets esteem lightly the center of Charybdis." Even if Charybdis was restrained at this time of year, fishing there would still be a risky venture. The dangers of the exploit would no doubt be recompensed by higher prices at the fish-market at Rome and other cities.

Wealthy patrons displayed their prosperity by buying these expensive delicacies. They would be keen to buy fish from exotic locations as well. So, it was not just the Tyrrhenian Sea that provided dinner for the patron's table. In fact, according to Juvenal, the provinces supply the bulk of the seafood on the patron's table, now that the Tyrrhenian Sea has been drained of its bounty (97). Plutarch and Juvenal supply us with ample evidence that the sea was regarded as a producer of delicacy. There are, however, some ancient authors who will not countenance the sea as a resource, such as Hesiod.

A View From the Farm: *Works and Days*

Social constructs in Mediterranean thought with respect to the sea may well include management, abundance, delicacy, and necessity, but there are also commercial aspects to which Juvenal and other authors allude. Composed in the late eighth century BCE, Hesiod's *Works and Days* gives a bitter, yet clear opinion of the sea as an image of wealth. The agrarian perspective provided by Hesiod conceives of the sea as an image of ill-sought wealth. Although lines 615-94, the "Nautilia," may serve as a frame for Hesiod's own success at the funeral games

for Amphidamas, they also give us a complex picture of Hesiod's relationship to the Mediterranean Sea. In these lines, Hesiod lays forth his thoughts on the sea. In lines 618-23, he recommends taking up the plow instead of accepting the winter sea's invitation to sail, although he ever teacher makes sure in the following lines to tell the audience how to store a ship properly so that it may be used in the appropriate season. In lines 631-40, Hesiod narrates a small bit of personal history, after commenting that a ship when filled ought to have profitable cargo. Hesiod tells his brother, Perses, that sailing was their father's former business before the move to Askra and he reminds him that it was not from great riches that their father fled. At line 642, Hesiod reiterates that navigation above all has its season and offers his brother instruction on the rules of the sea. Hesiod then digresses on his victory at Amphidamas' funeral games in Euboea, to and from which he sailed the sea for the first and last time. Finally, he tells Perses all he knows concerning the sea. First, he says that there are only a few months in which it is safe to sail. Second, he remarks that during that time a ship will be safe unless it is the will of Poseidon or Zeus to bring the ship down (667-69). Lines 670-94 are further directions on when and how to sail and further intimations of the serendipitous nature of the sea. Lines 684-86 are the worst condemnation that Hesiod can give to the sea and the man who takes it up: "a man's soul is money/business," he says, but the sea is ruled by chance and therefore only a fool would sail on it.

The sea may be the natural resource *par excellence* for most, but for Hesiod it is more like an unreliable investment. One could make or lose a great deal of money. Hesiod's testimony concerning the relationship of man and sea in the *Works and Days* is interesting on numerous fronts.

For example, Hesiod's father had come from Asia Minor on his ships, with which he had

previously sought to make his fortune (633-37). Hesiod notes here that his father was not

escaping from money or wealth, οὐδε πλοῦτον τε καὶ ὄλβον, when he came to Askra (637).

Coming from the coasts of Asia Minor to settle on farmland in Askra, Hesiod's father moved

from a ship-owning, mercantile way of life to an agrarian one. According to Marsilio, Hesiod

paints his father as a man who should have depended on farming from the beginning or at least

paid attention to the appropriate seasons for sailing and occupied himself with farming at other

times in the year.[142] If his father truly gave up a life in commerce in order to buy a farm near Mt.

Helikon, then we could presume that Hesiod would be familiar with favorable stories of fortunes

made at sea, such as the kind given by Trimalchio. The "get-rich-quick" mentality is what

Hesiod can not abide, and he inevitably associates that with maritime pursuits. Petronius and

Hesiod clearly perceive that fortunes can be made or lost on the sea. Petronius, however,

embraces it; Hesiod advises against it.

The first concern that Hesiod expresses to his brother is that sailing, above all other

activities, has an appropriate time, ὡραίον πάντον (642).[143] The inherent dangers of sailing

are mitigated by sailing only during the correct time of the year and by taking care of one's ship

the rest of the year. In order to make a profit, however, one must survive the journey and

summer is the best time to try (665-68), though survival is not guaranteed even if one sails at the

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[142]Maria S. Marsilio, *Farming and Poetry in Hesiod's Works and Days* (New York: University Press of America, 2000), xiv and 31. Marsilio draws apt connections between Hesiod's *winter*, lines 493-563, and the sailing section 618-94 in her chapter called "Hesiod's Winter."

[143]Marsilio, 21-2. Marsilio sees this call to remembrance as part of Hesiod's overall scheme of instructing Perses in agricultural rhythms. This injunction, however, seems to me to be set apart from the other ones. He urges Perses to remember that all work has its seasons, but especially points out sailing as an occupation of specific moment. The injunction is also set within a very specific context, one that concerns sailing. Consider the earlier injunctions given at lines 619-23, which state that one must not go on the wine dark sea in winter, one must remember to work the land. I think it is clear that sailing ought not to be the occupation of choice, whereas working land gets a much higher priority.

right time. To this point, Hesiod later admonishes his brother that Zeus or Poseidon may destroy

a man's ship at will (668).

    There is not just a correct time to sail, according to Hesiod, but also an ideal way to load

the ship. In the summer, he admonishes a man, καὶ τότε νῆα θοὴν ἅλαδ᾽ ἑλκέμεν, ἐν δέ

φόρτον ἄρμενον ἐντύνασθαι, ἵν᾽ οἴκαδε κέρδος ἀνύσσας, (631-32),[144] "to drag your swift

ship seaward, load up suitable cargo, so you can take profit homeward in the summer." The

word that I have translated as "suitable" is ἄρμενον from the verb ἀραρίσκω, which can mean

"to be suitable", as well as to be "closely joined together." Both meanings are important for

understanding Hesiod. The cargo must be suitable for sale at a profit and correctly fitted into the

ship. Presumably, well-fitted cargo increases the safety of a ship, just as choosing the correct

cargo would bring the highest profit.

    Hesiod gives several pieces of advice that point to a specific methodology of what to

carry and how to carry it. Hesiod states that one may, νῆ᾽ ὀλίγην αἰνεῖν, μεγάλῃ δ᾽ ἐνὶ

φορτία θέσθαι. Μείζων μὲν φόρτος, μεῖζον δ᾽ ἐπὶ κέρδεϊ κέρδοσ ἔσσεται, εἴ κ᾽ ἄνεμοί γε

κακὰς ἀπέχωσιν ἀήτας (643-45), "admire a small ship, but place goods in a large one: the

larger the cargo, the larger the profit will be upon profit, if the winds will restrain the evil gales."

This sentiment resonates with Trimalchio's statement about his own investment in larger ships

the second time he goes to sea; they are, he says, *feliciores* (76). Hesiod betrays his agrarian

point of view. He believes in bulk. Merchants, on the other hand, may stock their ships with

numerous and bulky items only to exchange them for other necessary items, which do not

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[144]Line numbering from *Hesiodi; Theogonia, opera et dies, scutum*. Edited by Friedrich Solmsen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).

entirely fill the hold. In agrarian terms, more land and more grain are always better; it may not

be so with ships.

Although Hesiod warns off the would-be merchant, he recognizes the allure of the sea.

Even in the recognition of its possible value, he warns there should still be a large amount of

restraint on the part of the merchant. For example, he says that one must load the ship with items

that will bring profit, but not to load it too full (609). Hesiod is not contradicting himself.

Rather, he is commenting on his brother's potential greed. He fears his brother will not only

overload the ship, but also fill it with unsuitable goods, all with an eye toward profit, not safety.

It is important to Hesiod that a sailor should have a suitably loaded ship in order to bring home

profit and to increase safety.

Marsilio suggests that for Hesiod sailing may be appropriate as a supplemental source for

the farmer.[145] Hesiod's excursus on the sea, however, implies that sailing is really not

appropriate for anyone. Hesiod's insistence on the dangers and uncertainties of the sea along

with all the other chores he commends to the farmer suggest that he thinks it highly inadvisable.

Hesiod's agrarian conception of the world will not allow for a man to take up the oar, whatever

the reason. He believes that a man who has apportioned his life correctly will have neither need

nor time to ply the sea. The upright man will also, of course, be able to withstand the desire for

ventures on the sea.

Hesiod says, εὖτ' ἂν' ἐπ' ἐμπορίην τρέψας ἀεσίφρονα θυμὸν βούληαι χρέα τε

προφυγεῖν καὶ λιμὸν ἀτερπέα (646-47), "when you turn your foolish mind to trade, you wish

to flee debt and joyless hunger." Evidently, he thinks that only a fool would turn from working

the land to the sea for his living, since the land will always provide enough for a living, meager

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[145]Marsilio, 28.

though it may be. Although we know that the poet thinks the project of overseas trade useless,

he is willing to give advice. Hesiod offers to teach his brother the μέτρα, standards, of the sea.

He, however, clearly derides the inclination to turn to the sea even though he recognizes its

potential. The sea only played host to Hesiod once, and Hesiod seems proud of the fact that he

has not resorted to the sea during his life (650). Hesiod harps on the foolishness of mercantile

occupations because he is chastising Perses' desire for *kerdos*.[146] The poet says that Perses' lack

of desire for work has led him to give bribes to judges and to take land from his own brother.

Hesiod recommends strongly that his brother work the land to stave off poverty. Moreover,

Hesiod does not want his brother to flee poverty by taking up sailing, at which occupation their

father had failed.[147]

The dichotomy set up here is one of recognition and repudiation. The poet claims that he

has never had to ply the sea because he has managed his resources well. He recognizes, however,

the potential for profit. The poet portrays the type of person that might go to sea as a greedy

man. Hesiod presents himself as neither greedy nor in great need. In fact, he is able to stay on

land because he has managed his goods responsibly. He owns and cares for his land and knows

exactly how to go about this pursuit, and he does not deem the unnecessary risks on the sea

worthwhile. Perses and others are, therefore, foolish to pursue trade when they have land on

which they may work. The censure against Perses and other greedy men is part of the general

theme of *Works and Days* and especially throughout the "Nautilia" In lines 30-32 of *Works and*

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[146]Marsilio, 8.

[147]J. P. Barron and P. E. Easterling, "Hesiod," in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*: *Early Greek Poetry*, Vol 1 Part 1, Edited by P. E. Easterling and E. J. Kenney (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 58.

Days, Hesiod says that a man who has goods stored up has no time for brawling.[148] One can

imagine Hesiod saying the same thing about sailing.

From Hesiod's perspective, the sea might be an ever-present source of wealth, but it is

also an uncertain proposition. He does not prefer it to land-based activities, the spotlight of

Works and Days. In fact, earlier in the same poem he points out the ubiquity of farming when he

says that, "it is the custom of those on the plain, and those dwelling near the sea, and those living

near the hollows in the glens far from the wavy sea, a fertile land, to strip to sow..." (387-91).

Hesiod makes his point that even those living near the sea ought to work the land because

tending the land is the only way to avoid poverty (395). He uses the word *nomos* in line 387 to

increase the normative force of this statement. It is *nomos* to work the land, even for those living

near the sea. Reasonable men, like the "I" in this poem, work the land, avoid poverty, and have

no need for the sea. It is, nonetheless, plain that, although he disliked the sea and its uncertainty,

agriculture and trading were not mutually exclusive enterprises, an opinion that some scholars

have attributed to Petronius' Trimalchio.[149] Trimalchio, moreover, finds in the sea what Hesiod

cannot, that is hope for wealth and better life.

Feasting on Profits: the *Cena Trimalchionis*

Although the typicality of Trimalchio is subject to debate,[150] Petronius expects his

character to be obviously representative, and, therefore, we may assume at some level the

stereotype Trimalchio represents would be found in Roman society. In his *Satyricon* 76,

Petronius depicts numerous characters of the Neronian period. One of the main characters,

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[148]Marsilio, 2.
[149]John H. D'Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 100.
[150]D'Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing*, 97-120.

Trimalchio, is a freedman who has made his fortune in shipping and finance. Trimalchio gives a

short autobiographical account of how he became, as he puts it, wealthier than his native land

(76.9). This account has been a focus of much scholarship.[151] Trimalchio's autobiography

explains his -and his real-life counterparts'- vested interest in trade and the sea. Control of the

sea, its resources, and those ships that sailed on it were without doubt the vital concerns of the

Roman merchant. The interest in a ship that carries a variety of goods shows up in both the

literary record and the archaeological record. Petronius constructs a picture of a freedman

dependent on shipping interests for his opulent surroundings.

Trimalchio says that when his master died and made him co-heir with Caesar, he

developed a passion for business (76). His explanation of how he made a fortune is instructive

for the Roman conception of wealth, specifically for freedmen and merchants. He first builds

five ships and puts in them a single cargo, wine. He describes this cargo as *et tunc erat contra*

aurum, (76) "and at that time it was comparable to gold." Unfortunately, all his ships sank,

which, as he is quick to say, was not part of the plan. It was common practice for emperors after

Claudius to provide surety for those using their ships to supply Rome with the necessities of

life.[152] Wine although not a "staple" was the only widely available intoxicant available in the

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[151]D'Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing*, 97-100.
[152]Lionel Casson, "The Role of the State in Rome's Grain Trade," in *The Seaborne Commerce of Ancient Rome: Studies in Archaeology and History: Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 36, Edited by J. H. D'Arms and E. C. Kopff (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1980), 25. Claudius not only increased the time periods within which sailing was encouraged, he also provided financial incentives to those using their private ships for the transport of the city's needs. This incentive was not so much the case for procurement of wine as it was for grain; however, one may suppose Trimalchio is referring to this practice. See also G. E. Rickman's article"The Grain Trade under the Roman Empire" the same volume particularly pp. 262-65. Rickman refers to second century CE legislation that exempted owners of ships used to furnish the *annona*, from compulsory public services. Presumably, this legislation was enacted because the financial burden and the services rendered were considered equivalent or better than that of public service. In section 18.2 of Suetonius' *Divus Claudius*, special favors are given to suppliers of grain. Suetonius writes, *Nam et negotiatoribus certa lucra suscepto in se damno, si cui quid per tempestates accidisset, et naves mercaturae causa fabricantibus magna commoda constituit pro condicione cuiusque*, "For merchants [he gave] sure profit by undertaking damages himself, if he should suffer loss through storms, and for the cause of building merchant ships he established a huge recompense, on behalf of each particular situation." See A. J. Parker, "Classical Antiquity: the Maritime Dimension," *Antiquity* 64 (1990), 340. During the

classical period and was very popular.[153] Is Trimalchio alluding to defrauding insurance held on

his ships? Trimalchio betrays a concern that the sinking of his first set of ships might be

considered somehow fraudulent. He, nevertheless, passes quickly over this point and lets his

audience know that his first enormous loss did not leave him bereft of the hope that his fortune

could be made on the sea.

Trimalchio proves his faith in the fiscal powers of the sea when he says, *alteras feci*

maiores et meliores et feliciores (76), "I built other [ships] bigger, better, and more lucky."

Although Trimalchio had lost 30 million HS in one day in his first mercantile venture, he was

willing to bet that shipping would pay off in the long run. His methodology changes in this

second attempt. He builds bigger ships, which he claims, have more surety about them.[154] He

also takes on a completely different cargo consisting of *vinum, lardum, favam, seplasium,*

mancipia, (76), "wine, bacon, beans, unguent, and slaves." Two themes become clear. First,

that bigger ships are considered more seaworthy and, hence, more reliable. Second, that

diversified cargo was a surer investment. He could have filled the second set of ships with wine,

instead he chose to diversify his cargo. We will see that he netted less money in this second try

than he lost in the first one, but he was surer of the ship and cargo. He puts his money into

multiple cargoes, still filling the ships with expensive items, but allowing for the more diverse

needs of his buyers. We can be sure that he invested less money in the cargo of the second ship.

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second century CE Roman shipowners could be exempt from compulsory public service if they used their ships to supply Rome with the necessities of life.

[153]Nicholas Purcell, "Wine and Wealth in Ancient Italy," *Journal of Roman Studies* 75 (1985), 1-2.

[154]Parker, 341. Parker states that ships of smaller sizes could hold out on seas that were less than favorable. That is not to say, however, that small ships were as common for mercantile purposes. Kevin Green, *Archaeology of the Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 24. Green remarks that early shipwrights would add a heavy timber keel that would increase the strength and safety of a ship especially if it was complemented by well placed ballast. Green also indicates that a mercantile version of a slender military galley would be well suited to calm conditions and river passages. The average capacity of a Roman mercantile ship was in the 100 to 150 ton range.

This *modus operandi* can easily be explained if Trimalchio intends for the second trading route to follow the coasts and to stop along the way. He would have don this if he intended the ship to tramp along and to exchange varieties of items at a profit at numerous different ports.[155] Trimalchio leaves us sadly out of the loop in terms of his plans for the cargo, except for the fact that he expected to make a great deal of money. In fact, he gained 10 million HS from the second trip.

The types of cargo are also instructive here.[156] Parker suggests that such diverse cargoes were taken on board either at an entrepôt or at numerous ports of call.[157] Puteoli, Trimalchio's place of residence, would most certainly serve as convenient location for his enterprises.[158] He would easily be able to gather the numerous articles he describes. The cargo on his ships does not derive directly from the sea, but is transported on it for a great profit.

Although numerous ancient authors detest the *mercator* and his business, many upperclass families were engaged in trade and used ships which the *plebiscitum Claudianum* of 218 BCE forbade.[159] Trimalchio was not the only person benefitting extravagantly from the

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[155]Fulford, "Economic Interdependence," 70. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II,* Vol. I, Translated by Sîan Reynolds (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 101. Even within the Mediterranean, however, the redistribution of goods by cabotage makes it difficult, if not impossible, to gain exact knowledge of sea-routes or commerce from archaeological evidence alone. Such complex routes and systems also make it difficult to determine the origin and intended destination of products. Fernand Braudel asserts that ancient travel in the Mediterranean Sea was quite similar to that of the sixteenth century, in that mariners avoided the open sea and went "rock to rock . . . promontory to island." When trading is concerned, this type of activity is generally called tramping or cabotage. Tramping was a round-trip journey for the purpose of trading, in the course of which a whole cargo might change. Arenson, 59. According to Arenson, "More than 1,000 harbors are recorded along its coasts, most of them 30-40 km apart (a days journey in the past)."

[156]Horden and Purcell, 378 and 390. These authors argue that in some cases passengers were more valuable than cargo; in Petronius' version of events we see slaves added to the cargo to increase the relative value of the shipment. Greg Woolf, "Imperialism, Empire and the Integration of the Roman Economy" *World Archaeology* 23 (Feb., 1992), 287. Again, there was a value in mixed cargo. Woolf says that, "Ancient cargoes were usually mixed, shippers picking up and putting down items at many of the ports visited in the course of cabotage."

[157]Parker, 343.

[158]D'Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing*, 106. D'Arms argues here that Puteoli is a very likely candidate for Trimalchio's place of residence.

[159]J. H. D'Arms, " Senators' Involvement in Commerce in the Late Republic: Some Ciceronian Evidence," in *The Seaborne Commerce of Ancient Rome: Studies in Archaeology and History: Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, Vol. 36, Edited by J. H. D'Arms and E. C. Kopff, (Rome: American Academy in

rewards that could be gained by going to sea.[160] In fact, Trimalchio's adventures with shipping

do not apparently stop with his first success.[161] Wealthy Romans of the Equestrian class could

make their fortunes through *negotia* such as shipping and trade.[162] And it is, furthermore,

important to note that as soon as Trimalchio had diversified his portfolio sufficiently he quit the

shipping business all together and went into lending (76).[163] This does not, however, mean that

he does not continue financing the highly lucrative business. Trimalchio states that, *Postquam*

coepi plus habere quam tota patria mea habet, manum de tabula: sustuli me de negotiatione et

coepi [per] libertos faenerare (76), "After I began to have more than my whole country has,

hands from the table: I took myself from business and began to finance [through] freedmen."

Trimalchio invests not only in land but almost certainly in financing trade. Living in Puteoli,

Trimalchio would have been foolish not to take part in the business ventures at hand.[164] One

must remember, moreover, that Trimalchio had numerous productive estates the products of

which might as well be distributed through merchants with ties to the land owner. The sea

represents a golden opportunity for men of means. Both the blue-blooded aristocrat,

participating indirectly of course, and the wealthy freed slave could engage in financing this

risky business and, if successful, make a profit.

There is a point of connection between Hesiod's and Petronius' view of the sea as wealth.

D'Arms points out that land- and sea-based activities are not mutually exclusive.[165] Even in

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Rome, 1980), 77-8.

[160]D'Arms, "Senators' Involvement," 79-81. D'Arms describes a situation that seems somewhat like the one Trimalchio describes as his before his master died. The "social heterogeneity" that D'Arms describes in regard to the pursuit of wealth may be exactly what Petronius is satirizing in this part of the work.

[161]D'Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing*, 101-2.

[162]D'Arms, "Senators' Involvement," 84.

[163]D. Thomas Benediktson, "Manum de Tabula: Petronius Satyricon 76.9," *Classical Philology* 90 (Oct., 1995), 343-4.

[164]D'Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing*, 106-8.

[165]D'Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing*, 100-1.

Hesiod's negative assessment of the sea, he does not totally dismiss its gainful use. Petronius, on the other hand, does not emphasize the negative qualities of the sea (even Trimalchio's first loss is not overly detrimental), but clearly indicates that, once the fortune is made, more secure activities ought to be pursued.

A Ship Filled with Gold: *The Ship or The Wishes.*

In *The Ship or the Wishes,* Lucian directs his satiric wit against the frivolity of people's desires.[166] The dialogue begins after some friends make a trip to the Piraeus to see the grain ship called the *Isis*. The *Isis* had been driven off from its normal route by a storm.[167] The ship was en route from Egypt to Italy. It purportedly carried enough grain to feed Attica for one year (6). Docked in the port of Athens, the enormous tanker apparently draws the interest of numerous Athenians (1).[168] After a discussion of the enormity of the ship and a recitation of its storm-ridden route (5-9), Timolaus, Samippus, and Lycinus reunite with Adimantus whom they had earlier lost because he had been so enchanted with the ship. Thus begins the discussion of the men's pipe-dreams. Timolaus, Adimantus, and their friend Samippus each engage in fanciful speculation, all of which is mocked by Lycinus.

Adimantus has clearly fallen in love with the ship *Isis*. Numerous types of ships are easily recognizable within the context of the Mediterranean Sea. In the classical world there were few ships, such as those that carried wheat or salt or were on military missions, that were

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[166]Lucian was born ca. 120 CE and began writing sometime in the 140's.

[167]Whether the ship is real or not is a matter of some debate. See George W. Houston, "Lucian's *Navigium* and the Dimensions of the *Isis*," *American Journal of Philology* 108 (Autumn, 1987), 446-7, for an opinion against the reality of the ship. See Lionel Casson, "The *Isis* and Her Voyage," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 81 (1950), 43-56, for an opinion in support of the reality of the ship.

[168]Kevin Greene, *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

destination-oriented.[169] These were ships such as the *Isis* that were involved in government

subsidized trading.[170] The *Isis* was in the service of the Roman government bringing grain to the

capital city and had only one intended destination; that it docked in the Piraeus was only a result

of the storm it was trying to evade. Unlike small ships that could participate in numerous kinds

of activities, such as cabotage, piracy, and carrying passengers,[171] the largest ships were

constrained by their size and cargo to travel along certain routes, such as the one the captain

describes in *The Ship or the Wishes*.

His friends find it difficult to draw Adimantus from his musings on the ship. His

dreamlike state was induced by a conversation with one of the sailors who revealed to him that

the ship brought in a minimum of twelve Attic talents per year. He fantasizes that if one of the

gods gave him the ship he would help his friends, sometimes taking the ship out himself,

sometimes sending servants in his stead (13). In short, he fancies himself, seemingly, as a

merchant who makes a grandiose living transporting grain. He does, in this respect, resemble

Trimalchio, who loads up his ships and makes a great profit, except, Adimantus has no visible

occupation and has no hope of achieving his dream. Lycinus pokes fun at his dream, but says he

is willing to "sail" with him. At this point in the dialogue, Timolaus suggests that they spend the

rest of their walk back to Athens in recounting their own wishes to each other. Adimantus will

expand on his wish for a ship. Samippus will describe his desire for the leadership of a great

army. Timolaus will express his wish for certain powers, bestowed by a set of rings.

Each man takes the opportunity to tell his friends what he would do if he had the chance.

Adimantus, among other things, will have a well-set table. His meals will include fish and oil

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[169]Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 107.
[170]Greene, 24 and 28.
[171]Horden and Purcell, 140.

from Spain, wine from Italy, Attica's own honey, and meats from all over Phasis and India

(23).[172] In a shipping empire such as Adimantus will have, goods will be brought from all over

the Mediterranean Basin. To increase the ease with which his ship will bring him goods he

suggests that,

> καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἄχρι πρὸς τὸ Δίπυλον ἥκειν κἀνταῦθά που
> λιμένα εἶναι ἐπαχθέντος ὀρύγματι μεγάλῳ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὡς τὸ πλοῖον
> μου πλησιον ὁρμεῖν καταφανες ὂν ἐκ τοῦ Κερανεικοῦ (24),
> "And (I would) bring the sea near to the Dipylon and in that place
> a harbor full of water with a great canal, so that the ship could anchor
> near in full view of the Ceramicus.

Adimantus wishes to change the physical landscape in order to further his dream of mercantile

wealth. The ship becomes a symbol of excessive wealth. And the excessive wealth, within the

wish, gives Adimantus the power to change the landscape and seascape. He will make Athens a

port town and a symbol of his wealth: the *Isis* will become the most notable feature in the

landscape. Adimantus will also have a view of one of the most important features of Athens, the

Ceramicus. The ship will anchor in full view of the public cemetery of Athens. This will place

him within reach of a place of "eternal" glory and honor and his ship will be seen as a testament

to his name. Adimantus wants to increase his material wealth and honor, but he also wishes to

control the sea. Power of the sea and removal of the land will increase his proximity to the very

entity which supports his luxurious lifestyle.

Samippus and Timolaus express quite different wishes. Samippus, an Arcadian from

Mantinae, claims to be interested in gaining a land army only. The sea, nevertheless, becomes

part of his wish. He says he will not ask for a ship (28), yet a fleet appears in his dream. After

he is elected to the generalship, he will first proceed to conquer Corinth. From Corinth,

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[172]This is yet another dream of controlling the Mediterranean Sea. Power and wealth can not be easily
divided.

Samippus plans to conquer all Greece (32). Although he is now in control of a major sea and shipping power in the Peloponnese, Samippus might still plan to use his land army to do the work. He says that no one shall oppose such great numbers. Samippus then leads his troops to embark at the port of Corinth, Kenchreae, which was Corinth's port on the Saronic Gulf. The capture of Corinth and its sea port would have been quite important to Samippus' strategy. Corinth, as we know from Thucydides, controls the Isthmus and thereby, via a good navy, commercial routes on both land and sea (*Hist.* I.12-13). Samippus plans to continue conquering the world after his triremes bring him over the Aegean to Ionia. Although Samippus' fantasy is primarily land based, he can not accomplish all he wants without a nod to the power of the Mediterranean Sea.

Timolaus, the last wisher, however, is able to avoid the sea altogether with the use of his rings. Among other powers his rings will grant is the power to fly. Timolaus' wish takes him beyond the Mediterranean Sea and its lands. His power to fly enables him to cross both land and sea with ease and to see sights and eat meals far beyond the common fair.

The three wishes expressed in this dialogue are for great wealth, great military victory, and for an omnipotence of sorts. It is, however, Adimantus' wish that most brings to mind the image of the sea as one of enormous wealth. The ship for which Adimantus wishes will not only be filled with wealth but will bring him the wealth of the Mediterranean Sea.

Three Happy Men in a Boat, One Man on Land: Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen the fantasies of Lucian, Petronius, and Plutarch about the sea and wealth it can bring. The fourth, the poet Hesiod, we observe to be steadfastly pessimistic about the possibilities of the sea as a source of wealth. Hesiod, the lone dissenter in the group,

points out that the frailties of man matched with the unpredictability of the gods makes the sea a seriously risky proposition. The other authors provide an almost, but not quite, entirely rosy picture of the abundance to be found and gained in the aquatic realm. Plutarch, moreover, does not even consider the uncertainties of the sea in his dialogue. Plutarch's characters say nothing negative about the sea because they are speaking from the point of view of the consumer and not the provider. The salt and fish they consume are simple, but are the foundations, they claim, of expensive dishes and much sought after relishes. Hence the sea is the picture of abundance and luxurious extravagance. Juvenal, who provides a Roman supplement to Plutarch's discussion, provides us with yet another take on the wealth of the sea. He claims that the sea's wealth is finite and may be depleted through the gluttony of the Roman patron. Petronius allows us to take yet another view of the sea from the perspective of a freedman. The sea is opportunity and wealth for Trimalchio. It is the means by which he gains his fortune. His autobiography is, as he views it, a glorious example of the fruit of risks taken and rewarded. Lucian uses satire to deride the "lottery fantasy" of the ancient world. That is, among other dreams, Lucian takes a pot shot in the direction of those who dream about making great wealth on the open seas. His character Adimantus imagines meals brought to him from all over the Mediterranean. He thinks that control of a great ship will give him control over the Mediterranean Sea, which will not only yield its own fruits, but will bring to his hand all the wealth of the land which surrounds the sea. It is this which may be thought to be the dream of all those in antiquity who recognized the great value of the Mediterranean Sea.

CHAPTER V

JUST FROGS AROUND A POND: CONCLUSION

This thesis has argued for a reading of the Mediterranean Sea as a central image in Greco-Roman consciousness. It has explored two specific images: the sea as an image of wealth and the sea as an image of power. The thesis began with a presentation of the geographic and geologic nature of the Mediterranean Region. In the first chapter, I described the lay of the land in the Mediterranean Basin and gave evidence of the Roman penchant for possessing, at least in name, very large bodies of water. I also examined the divided quality of the Mediterranean landscape and considered the unifying power of vocabulary as used by the Romans to describe mainly geographical situations. All of this demonstrated the centrality of the Mediterranean, both in terms of physical space and mental space.

In the Second Chapter, I discussed several passages that depicted the sea as a vehicle for attaining and maintaining power. Military might exercised by means of the sea is a quite common image throughout Greek and Roman literature. Beginning with the Old Oligarch's diatribe against Athenian democracy, I examined the construction of the sea as a necessary condition for the exercise of power within the Mediterranean context. Of course, the Old Oligarch associates many evils of the Athenian system with Athens' sea-power. For the Old Oligarch, the sea and more specifically the navy, promotes a reversal of order and has the power to unbalance society. For all that, the Old Oligarch recognizes that a political power that dominates the sea maintains the upper hand in a military conflict in the Aegean Sea. Although

negative in its result, the Old Oligarch concedes that power over the sea gives the Athenians numerous advantages, both in terms of lifestyle and in terms of military power.

The Old Oligarch's opinion is echoed in many ways by Thucydides throughout the *History*. In section I. 81 of his history, where he crafts a speech by Archidamos, king of the Spartans, Thucydides gives the reason that the Athenians will be successful in war, or at least very difficult to defeat. Archidamos argues against war with the Athenians because they can get everything they need via the sea which they control. The centrality of the sea for the city of Athens goes without question. Dependant on their naval power to control their allies and subjects, the Athenians are required to expend a great deal of money and man-power to control the sea. Control of the sea, however, is its own reward. His *History* is full of examples of the importance of the sea to Mediterranean culture and history. Thucydides' Mediterranean is a productive and constructive force in the history of Greece. Power over the sea promotes civilized society, and loss of power results in the destruction of society. Thucydides even relates the sea and its image to the heroes of the *Iliad*. He says that concerted naval action was first achieved when they set out for Troy. In making the connection to the *Iliad*, Thucydides identifies the Mediterranean Sea with one of the foundations of Greek literature and culture, furthering the notion of the sea that civilizes. The importance of controlling the sea and all its uncertainties is not solely a concern of the Greeks; the Romans also had a driving interest in keeping the sea open and free.

Cicero, in the De *Provinciis Consularibus*, presents us with another reason the sea must be kept under control. The sea has the power to be a peaceful highway of power or a quagmire of destruction. Cicero's Mediterranean is a thoroughfare upon which many of Rome's military and fiscal interests are dependant. The pirates who previously disrupted the sea-lanes were one

obstacle to Rome's growth. Cicero uses the image of the sea as a threatened (and threatening) pathway to bring to light the threat that Gaul represents. The centrality of the sea to the Roman agenda is clear, at least for Cicero. The sea is presented as a vulnerable part of the empire, which, if breached, would be destructive of the empire as a whole. Cicero uses the image of the vulnerable sea to encourage the senate to give Caesar fuller powers on land.[173]

The threat of non-Roman invasion of the maritime realm is brought to life by Livy who puts the term *mare nostrum* into the mouth of Hannibal, who represents a thoroughly foreign culture. When he appropriates the Roman vocabulary of possession, Hannibal becomes a threat to Roman peace and stability throughout the Roman world. Although Livy is writing at a time when Rome is not actually threatened, he uses the specter of control of the sea by a foreign power to bring Hannibal's threat to life.

Augustus also uses the image of the sea in order to raise awareness of his success against foreign threats. Augustus in his *Res Gestae* advances his own image as a conqueror. His numerous references to military success on land and sea suggest that Augustus has the whole world in his hand. Augustus through his victory *terra marique* rules over the *orbs terrarum*. The Mediterranean Sea is part of his arsenal against the enemies of Rome and he uses it to provide peace for the Empire.

The sea is used as an image of power in Greek and Latin literature; however, that is not the only way they imagined the sea. In talking about power, I alluded many times to the sea as an image of wealth, providing a way to procure and distribute goods for the benefit of those who controlled it.

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[173]Just as the *Lex Gabinia* had given Pompey sweeping powers over the Mediterranean Sea and its coastline.

The Mediterranean Sea in as the livelihood of many people living around it was the subject of Chapter Three. The Mediterranean provided both a source of food and goods and a way to transport those same goods and others cheaply and effectively. It was faster and cheaper to bring goods from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, than to carry them over 100 kilometers on land. The sea was viewed as a source of wealth by a number of authors.

The plenitude of both necessary and luxury goods that comes from the sea is the subject of Plutarch's fourth question of his fourth book of the *Quaestiones Conviviales*. Plutarch has his characters argue about the nature of the sea. The sea is definitely seen as a provider of the necessities and luxuries of life. Salt is viewed as fundamental; fish is viewed as a luxurious indulgence. We might assume, however, that those at the convivial dinner are dining on fish, which is in great supply, at least according to our diners. We must reconcile Plutarch's dinner with another one described for us by Juvenal. Juvenal explains the differences in the patron's and client's menus and bemoans the client's poor share of the table. Within his diatribe against the luxury-loving patron, Juvenal gives us two themes which relate to our discussion of the sea as an image of wealth. One theme is the width and breadth of the patron's provision for himself. His food comes from all over the Mediterranean Basin. The sea is imagined as a conduit for luxury. The second theme provided by Juvenal is that of the perceived depletion of the Tyrrhenian Sea. Juvenal seems to want to remind the reader that the Mediterranean supplies abundantly within its limits but, if the sea overtaxed, will force the patron to go elsewhere for his food.

The sea as an image of wealth does not rest solely on what it can provide. Authors such as Hesiod use the image of the sea as a warning against what they consider ill-gotten gain. Hesiod completely disdains the bounty of the sea in *Works and Days*. For Hesiod, the sea is an

image associated with greed and risk. He makes it very clear that only a fool would sail the sea

for his living. Hesiod's agrarian voice seems to be one of the few that recommends a firm

foothold on land at all times. Even when he gives advice about sailing, Hesiod proclaims that all

will go well only if one follows his directions and the gods are on one's side. It is without doubt

that Hesiod views the sea as an image of wealth; it is, however, the kind of wealth that only

people like his brother Perses, a man without restraint, pursue, and they do so to their own

detriment. One might argue that the conversation of Lucian's *The Ship or the Wishes* exposes

just the sort of foolhardiness that Hesiod thinks love of the sea promotes.

There is a voice, however, that contends rather strongly against Hesiod, and that is the

rather obnoxious voice of Petronius' Trimalchio. Trimalchio's biography within the *Cena*

Trimalchionis proclaims loud and clear the worthwhile risks of maritime endeavor. Trimalchio

first places his own wealth on the line for a profit and is almost financially exhausted. After he

leaves the business of actual sea-trade, he goes into the business of financing. He finances many

business ventures including ones in the mercantile industries. For a freedman such as

Trimalchio, the sea and sea-trade are realms of opportunity.

This image of the sea reverberates in other authors such as Lucian, albeit for Lucian it is

a chance to make fun. Adimantus, a character in *The Ship or The Wishes,* dreams himself a very

fantastic dream, not dissimilar to Petronius' picture of Trimalchio. Adimantus and his friends

walk back to Athens after visiting an Egyptian grain-ship, which had been waylaid by a storm.

Adimantus' dream involves receiving this ship from the gods and embracing all the wealth that it

could bring. His dream not only involves running a great shipping empire, but also changing the

landscape of Athens. He wants to bring the sea to the Dipylon gate and make Athens a port

town. Adimantus associates control over the sea with control over the landscape. The power of

the sea to create wealth and to bring him goods from all over the known world is Adimantus'
dearest desire. Samippus, his friend, dreams that his land army will take over the whole world.
An essential part of the dream, however, is the capture of Corinth, a town with considerable
interests in the sea. In *The Ship or The Wishes* we observe the sea as an image of wealth and
power.

In this thesis, we have seen what seemed to be two very different images of the sea: the
image of the sea as wealth and the image of the sea as power. What we have learned in the study
is that these two ideas are intertwined and often touch upon one another. For example,
Thucydides presents the civilizing power of the sea along with military power and associates
both with commerce on the sea.   We have also come to see that the importance of the sea was a
concept that was illustrated in numerous ways. The Romans spoke of *mare nostrum* and Greeks,
such as Thucydides and the Old Oligarch realized that without power over the sea certain states
could not run smoothly.

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