PREFACE

The abstracts in this volume appear in the form submitted by their authors without editorial intervention. They are arranged in the same order as the Annual Meeting Program. An index by name at the end of the volume is provided. This is the thirty fifth volume of Abstracts published by the Society in as many years, and suggestions for improvements in future years are welcome.

The Program Committee thanks the authors of these abstracts for their cooperation in making the timely productions of this volume possible.

2017 ANNUAL MEETING PROGRAM COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Michele Renee Salzman, Chair

Karen Bassi

Lesley Dean-Jones

Helene Foley

Paul Allen Miller

Adam D. Blistein (ex officio, January-June 2016)

Heather Hartz (ex officio, January-June 2016)

Helen Cullyer (ex officio, July 2016-January 2017)

Jim Harvey (ex officio, July 2016-January 2017)

Published by:

Society for Classical Studies (founded in 1869 as the American Philological Association)

New York University

20 Cooper Sq., 2nd Floor

New York, NY 10003
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Representing Gender</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Markets, Money, Land, and Contracts</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Plato</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>New Outreach and Communications for Classics: Persons, Places, and Things <em>(Organized by the Committee on Outreach)</em></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Narrating the Self: Autobiography in Late Antiquity <em>(Organized by the Society for Late Antiquity)</em></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Change in Ancient Mediterranean Religions <em>(Organized by the Committee on Ancient History)</em></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Vergil and Tragedy <em>(Organized by the Vergilian Society)</em></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Greek and Latin Linguistics <em>(Organized by the Society for the Study of the Greek and Latin Languages and Linguistics)</em></td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>War and Revolution in the Roman World</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Forgery</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Episodes, Portraits, and Literary Unity in Cassius Dio <em>(Panel)</em></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Gods and the Divine in Neoplatonism <em>(Organized by the International Society for Neoplatonic Studies)</em></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>The Next Generation: Papers by Undergraduate Classics Students <em>(Organized by Eta Sigma Phi)</em></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Neo-Latin Around the World: Current Issues <em>(Organized by the American Association for Neo-Latin Studies)</em></td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Classics, Classical Archaeology, and Cultural Heritage: Towards a Common Understanding of Professional Responsibilities for the Study of “Exceptional Objects” <em>(ALA-SCS Joint Workshop)</em></td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## THIRD SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS

**JANUARY 6, 1:45PM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Title and Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Genre and Style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Political and Social Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Translation and Reception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>From Plants to Planets: Human and Nonhuman Relations in Ancient Medicine <em>(Organized by the Society for Ancient Medicine and Pharmacy)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Theorizing Ideologies of the Classical: Turning Corners on the Textual, the Masculine, the Imperial, and the Western <em>(Organized by the Committee on Classical Tradition and Reception)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Learning from War: Greek Responses to Victory and Defeat <em>(Panel)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Theatre, Performance, and Audiences: Ways of Spectating in Antiquity <em>(Organized by the Committee on Ancient and Modern Performance)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mothers and Daughters in Antiquity <em>(Organized by the Women’s Classical Caucus)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Digital Classics and the Changing Profession <em>(Organized by the Digital Classics Association)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>God the Anthropologist <em>(Joint AIA-SCS Panel)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**JANUARY 7, 8:30AM-4:00PM**

No session number

**FOURTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS**

**JANUARY 7, 8:00AM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Title and Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Spectacle and Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Legal Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Time as an Organizing Principle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Feminist Scholarship in the Classics: Amy Richlin’s Arguments with Silence: Writing the History of Roman Women (2014), <em>(Workshop)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Sovereignty and Money <em>(Joint AIA-SCS Panel)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>The New Standards for Learning Classical Languages <em>(Organized by the Committee on Education)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Ancient Music and Cross-Cultural Comparison <em>(Organized by MOISA: The International Society for the Study of Greek and Roman Music and its Cultural Heritage)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Philology’s Shadow: Theology and the Classics <em>(Panel)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## FIFTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS
### JANUARY 7, 10:45AM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session 34</th>
<th>What’s in a Name?</th>
<th>127</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Session 35</td>
<td>Reading and Performing Louis Zukofsky’s 1967 Translation of Plautus’ Rudens <em>(Workshop)</em></td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 36</td>
<td>Post-Classical Wisdom Literature <em>(Organized by the Medieval Latin Studies Group)</em></td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 37</td>
<td>The Intellectual World of the Early Empire <em>(Organized by the International Plutarch Society)</em></td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 38</td>
<td>Roman Religion and Augustan Poetry <em>(Organized by the Society for Ancient Mediterranean Religions)</em></td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 39</td>
<td>The Villa dei Papiri: Then and Now <em>(Organized by the American Friends of Herculaneum)</em></td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 40</td>
<td>Animal Encounters <em>(Panel)</em></td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## SIXTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS
### JANUARY 7, 1:45PM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session 41</th>
<th>Imperial Fashioning in the Roman World</th>
<th>147</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Session 42</td>
<td>Ethnicity and Identity</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 43</td>
<td>Women and Agency</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 44</td>
<td>Traditions and Innovations in Literature</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 45</td>
<td>War and Its Cultural Implications</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 46</td>
<td>The Impact of Immigration on Classical Studies in North America <em>(Organized by the Committee on the Status of Women and Minority Groups)</em></td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 47</td>
<td>Imagining the Future through the Past: Classical and Early Modern Political Thought <em>(Organized by the Society for Early Modern Classical Reception)</em></td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 48</td>
<td>Culture and Society in Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Egypt <em>(Organized by the American Society of Papyrologists)</em></td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## SEVENTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS
### JANUARY 8, 8:00AM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session 49</th>
<th>The Philosophical Life</th>
<th>186</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Session 50</td>
<td>Use and Power of Rhetoric</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 51</td>
<td>Nostoi/Odyssey/Telegony: New Perspectives on the Ends of the Epic Cycle <em>(Panel)</em></td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 52</td>
<td>Power and Politics: Approaching Roman Imperialism in the Republic <em>(Panel)</em></td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 53</td>
<td>Epigraphic Economies <em>(Organized by the American Society of Greek and Latin Epigraphy)</em></td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Session 54 | [Tr]an[s]ti quy: Theorizing Gender Diversity in Ancient Contexts  
| (Organized by the Lambda Classical Caucus) | 209 |
| Session 55 | Latin Epic (Organized by the American Classical League) | 215 |

### EIGHTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS

**JANUARY 8, 11:45AM**

- Session 56 The Power of Place | 219
- Session 57 Risk and Responsibility | 223
- Session 58 Obscenity and the Body | 227
- Session 59 Political and Military Conflict in the Greek World | 229
- Session 60 The Genesis of the Ancient Text: New Approaches (Organizer-Refereed Panel) | 233
- Session 61 Ancient Greek Philosophy (Organized by the Society for Ancient Greek Philosophy) | 236

### NINTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS

**JANUARY 8, 2:00PM**

- Session 62 Insult, Satire, and Invective | 238
- Session 63 Linguistic Strategies and the Hermeneutics of Reading | 242
- Session 64 Translating Greek Tragedy: Some Practical Suggestions (Workshop) | 247
- Session 65 Stasis and Reconciliation in Ancient Greece: New Approaches and Evidence (Panel) | 252
- Session 66 Cicero Poeta (Panel) | 256
- Session 67 Violence and the Political in Greek Epic and Tragedy (Organizer-Refereed Panel) | 260
- Session 68 Ritual and Magic | 265

**Author Index** | 269
though Sappho’s ‘Brothers Poem’ contains many familiar features—an invocation to a female divinity, expressions of personal anxiety, and gnomic reflections on the human and the divine—the absence of erotic love makes it difficult to compare the Brothers Poem to other poems in Sappho’s corpus. As a result, domestic affairs, sibling affection, and ‘The Brothers’ have dominated many discussions of this new fragment. In contrast, this paper attempts to highlight a different aspect of Sappho’s poetry, namely the political, public dimension of many of Sappho’s poems, including the new Brothers Poem. Though some excellent analyses of the poem have been published or are forthcoming (Ferrari 2014, Kurke 2016, Stehle 2016), even discussions engaging with the civic world in the poem situate Sappho in the “intimate domestic sphere of the family” (Kurke 2016.5). This paper offers an original literary analysis of the poem as a whole, argues for a stronger political reading of the poem, and tentatively proposes that the political strife of archaic Mytilene is the source of the speaker’s anxiety for her family.

First, I set out in brief my approach to the issue of the poetic persona in lyric, the performance context of Sappho’s poetry, and the poet’s social status. Next, I review the evidence for a political, public reading of Sappho’s poetry, an angle of Sappho’s corpus that has received little attention (with the exception of excellent discussions in Williamson 1995.84-89, Wilson 1996.172-185, and Parker 2005). This introductory section concludes with a reevaluation of Sappho fr.5 (on hopes and fears for a brother), which has been supplemented by the recent publication of papyri from the Green Collection (Burris, Fish, and Obbink 2014).

Next, I turn to the Brothers Poem itself, to demonstrate how an alertness to political discourse can enrich our reading of the poem. I argue for a reading that divides the poem into three broad movements, in order to trace how the speaker shifts her attention from Charaxos’ survival (5-13), to the family’s prosperity (13-20), to Larichos’ maturation (21-24). Within each of these movements, specific aspects of Sappho’s language and imagery reveal a background of political strife and aristocratic apprehensions.

In the first movement, the speaker rebukes an interlocutor and indirectly prays to Hera for the safety of Charaxos and her family (5-13). The prayer gradually emerges from a dramatic crescendo of infinitives that culminates in a wish that Charaxos returns “and finds us unscathed” (13 κἄμμεν  ἀρτέμεαϲ). A study of the rare word ἀρτέμεϲ (‘unscathed’), attested only three other times in extant archaic poetry (Il. 5.515, 7.308, and Od. 13.43), demonstrates that ἀρτέμεϲ conveys a sense of amazement and relief following extreme peril. The second movement contains reflections on the gods and reversals of fortune (13-20). Though Ferrari rightly recognizes that τὰ δ’ ὄλλα (13) signals a shift from the basic safety of her family to the family’s prosperity, the center of the poem is not merely “a more general reflection on the human condition” (Ferrari 2014.3-4). The storm metaphor (15-16) and excursus on Zeus’ supreme influence (17-20) are closely linked, through logical cues and verbal echoes, to the speaker’s decision to surrender her family’s prosperity to the gods (13-14). The speaker looks forward to a future in which, by Zeus’ goodwill, her family is prosperous again (19 μάκαϲ, 20 πολύολβοι). The third and final movement comprises the speaker’s hopes that Larichos will grow up to be a man one day, and thus relieve the poetic ‘we’ of their anguish (21-24). An analysis of literary parallels for the speaker’s hopes that Larichos “raises his head” (21 ἀν’ κεφάλαν αέρρη) and “becomes a man” (22 ἄνηρ γένηται) reveals that prosperity, political influence, and prestige are at stake. I suggest that the source of this anxiety for her family’s financial and political prosperity was Mytilene’s turbulent political scene, which drove many aristocratic families into poverty and exile, and lurks within Sappho’s storms.
According to the Phaedrus, the first-century Roman fabulist, tribades and molles men were created when Prometheus got drunk and accidentally mixed up their genitalia: adplicuit virginale generi masculo, / et masculina membra adposuit feminis. / ita nunc libido pravo fruitur gaudio (4.16.12-14: “He attached the virginal part to the masculine race, / and placed masculine parts onto women, / thus lust now enjoys perverted pleasure”). According to the common interpretation of this fable, line 12 describes molles men and line 13 describes tribades: effeminate men have a vagina and tribades have a penis (Butrica 2006; Hallett 1997; Williams 2010). Hallett argues that this fable is part of a larger tradition of denying the biological reality of female same-sex relationships by insisting that sex requires a penis – even sex between two women. However, there is another possible reading of this fable: namely, that line 12 describes tribades and line 13 describes molles men. In this interpretation, tribades are men accidentally given a vagina and molles men are women accidentally given a penis. Not only would this reading conform more to the physical reality, but it would also help explain the origin of the unusual desires of such individuals: tribades desire to penetrate because they are men, and molles men desire to be penetrated because they are women. However, because of Prometheus’s mistake, they lack the equipment to fulfill their desires, and hence must fall back on pravo…gaudio, pleasure that is both physically “irregular” (since “regular” sex is impossible for them) and morally “perverted” (cf. Butrica 2006 for the possible double meaning of pravo).

This latter interpretation is currently the minority opinion. It appears in a footnote of Boyarin and is mentioned in passing by Brooten, but it has not received an in-depth discussion or defense. In my talk, I will defend the minority reading by adducing new arguments. First, a close reading of Fable 4.16 will demonstrate that my interpretation best fits the fable as a whole. Next, I will look at this fable in context, for the fables that come immediately before and after this fable similarly deal with gender nonconformance, and thus must influence how we read this fable. Fable 4.15 is unfortunately fragmentary, but seems to be an etiology for women who enjoy oral sex: they enjoy it because their tongues are made from the same material as their genitals, again thanks to a mistake of Prometheus (cf. Hallett 1997 for a different reading of this fable). These women, like the molles men of Fable 4.16, wish to be penetrated, but because their genitals are in the wrong place, they enjoy this penetration in the wrong way (cf. Richlin 1992 and Williams 2010, among others, for the negative view of oral sex in Roman sources). Fable 4.17 involves female bearded goats who lack fortitudo; their external gender markers (beards) belie their actual feminine nature, in much the same way that molles men in Fable 4.16 have external genitalia but are still women. Finally, I will discuss how my reading of Fable 4.16 is consistent with a common fable theme: appearances belie inner nature, for the body is not a reliable sign. Fable 4.16 applies this theme to the genitals: they are part of the physical body, and are hence not necessarily a reliable sign of “true” gender.

My reading of these fables demonstrates the complexity of Phaedrus’s perspective: tribades and molles men have bodies whose genitals do not match their gender identity. Sexual desire, however, is closely linked to gender in Phaedrus’s view: men desire to penetrate and women desire to be penetrated. Thus tribades and molles men are those whose gender identity and sexual desire are both at odds with their physical body.

This paper examines the erotic subtext of Anacreonta 1 and its literary and social implications. The Anacreontic collection has attracted wider interest since Patricia A. Rosenmeyer (2006) described it as a tradition of authors imitating Anacreon, not as rivals (the norm in ancient literature) but as admirers. In
the introductory poem, the author expresses this admiration by relating a dream in which he is cast as Anacreon's eromenos accepting the poet's calling and inspiration. Anacreon spots him, apparently at a symposium, and calls to him. The speaker runs over, throws his arms around Anacreon and kisses him, observing that Anacreon may be old, but he is good looking, handsome, and amorous too. Anacreon's kiss tastes of wine, and he is shaky; but Eros leads him by the hand. Anacreon removes the garland from his own head and gives it to the speaker, who, noting that it smells of Anacreon, puts it on his own head, and has not ceased to love since that day.

Rosenmeyer and Kr. Bartol (1993) correctly interpreted the dream as a Dichterweihe, with Anacreon in the role of the Muse and the garland conveying poetic inspiration. They took no notice, however, of the erotic aspect. Glenn W. Most (2014) acknowledges but does not discuss it. When the author runs to kiss Anacreon, this could be simply philia. But it is Eros who leads Anacreon to offer his garland to the author, and lest there be any doubt about the kind of inspiration given under this god's tutelage, the author cites an olfactory stimulus: The garland smells of Anacreon. Yet there is no suggestion of disapproval of the sentiments of this eromenos, who writes in the first person and is joining —nay, launching— the anacreontic tradition.

The speaker as eromenos is a strikingly unusual motif. Generally, boys, like women and slaves had no voice in the literature. This poem, however, offers unique evidence of the thoughts of an eromenos. Close attention to this motif not only clarifies previous issues such as why the young poet is induced to love rather than simply to write; it casts new light on the devotion of Anacreontic poets to their maestro, and provides a rare glimpse of the motivations which an adolescent eromenos might have felt. Modern concepts such as 'role model' and 'hero worship' are applicable.

Whether the author was really a young poet starting his career or an older man reminiscing, he has composed a convincing expression of sexual love by an eromenos. Either way, it is also exemplary of anacreontic values, wine, eros, and music, spontaneous and carefree. Just as in Classical educational pederasty, the young man acquires the older poet's expertise. But here, of course, he does so without working (ponoi).

Title: Gendering Anna Perenna
Name: A. Everett Beek

Ovid’s Fasti relates a wide variety of apotheosis narratives, from the catasterisms of characters like Callisto and Orion to the miraculous assumption of Romulus. Throughout the Fasti, most of the narratives of supernatural transformations are some species of apotheosis (in contrast to the Metamorphoses, in which most supernatural transformations are punitive transformations into subhuman forms (see Salzman (1998))), and moreover most of these transformations are catalyzed by violence. In particular, the apotheoses of female characters tend to be prompted by sexual assaults (see Murgatroyd (2005), Kötzle (1991)); for example, Lara is raped by Mercury in her transformation into the goddess Tacita, and Chloris is raped by Zephyrus before she is promoted from a minor nymph to become the powerful goddess Flora. Apotheosis in the Fasti is not a pleasurable process, and is fraught with the potential for irreversible violence.

Anna Perenna stands out among the apotheoses in the Fasti because she is one of the few female characters who are deified without suffering an overtly sexual attack. Anna, as the sister of Dido and leader of a band of Carthaginian refugees, is presented as a political figure; the audience sees much more of her leadership role than her role in sexual or romantic drama. The sexual violence that is typical of women’s apotheosis narratives is set aside, and the difficulties Anna suffers in the process of gaining divinity consist of her trials at sea and struggles in finding a new home for her people. Her final ordeal before she is transformed into a nymph does have a sexual aspect to it—Lavinia attacks Anna because she
reads her as a rival for Aeneas’ sexual attention- but this attack is described in scant detail compared to the lengthy narrative of Anna’s troubles at sea. On the whole, Anna’s transformation into Anna Perenna, in the context of the Fasti, reflects masculine more than feminine experience.

Anna’s transformation into the nymph Anna Perenna can be closely compared to the transformation of Arethusa in the Metamorphoses. Arethusa flees from an attacker whose motives are implied to be sexual, although they are conveyed in little detail; she escapes by praying to Diana, who turns her into a stream in attempt to avert this sexual attack. Crucially, she retains an anthropomorphic form (unlike most other victims of transformation in the Metamorphoses; Ino’s apotheosis in the Metamorphoses is another useful comparison) and is able to participate in divine society after her transformation. Anna likewise flees from an attack engineered by Lavinia and becomes a water nymph. Her nocturnal escape from Aeneas’ home is conveyed in few words, and no overtly sexual details are provided. A reader may suspect that the sparse description of the attack on Anna veils some sexual aspects: it may be that Numicius’ adoption of Anna as a nymph requires her sexual subordination to him. Even so, the fact that Anna’s transformation is narrated without reference to any sexual aspects allows the audience to see Anna as a less feminine character. As has been noted by McKeown (1984) and Porte (1985), her quasi-epic role in the Fasti bears many strong connections to that of Aeneas in the Aeneid, and her identity thereby acquires some masculine- gendered aspects. Her gender presentation is highly complex: while attempting to find a new home for her people, she adopts the masculine role of Vergil’s Aeneas, even as characters such as Iarbas or Lavinia persist in assigning her the role of Vergil’s Dido. In a context where femininity is othered and thereby degraded, Anna’s downplayed femininity accords her greater respect within the narrative, and frees her from the sexual assault visited on so many other apotheosed women in the Fasti.

Title: The Imagined Woman: the Performance of Identity in Classical Athens
Name: Allison Kemmerle

In disputing the estate of Euctemon, the son of Philoctemon, the orator Isaeus employed a peculiar legal argument: he accused the plaintiff in the case of fabricating the existence of Callippe, Euctemon’s wife. Even more remarkable than the charge of “inventing a woman,” however, is the method by which the speaker in this case attempted to disprove her existence. Instead of relying on witnesses to this woman’s failure to participate in the key institutions through which scholars have believed women established their identities in Athenian society (e.g., the marriage ceremony and women’s religious cult; see Scafuro 1997), the speaker focused on the role of relatives and even slaves in affirming the woman’s participation in the ordinary routines of everyday life. This paper will analyze Isaeus’ legal arguments that suggest the performance of everyday life was a crucial, and sometimes precarious, means of establishing civic identity for women and men and submit that current scholarship overemphasizes Athenians’ participation in formal institutions, including demes and phratries, as the central proof of citizen identity.

In Isaeus’ speech disputing the estate of Philoctemon, the speaker harped on his opponent Androcles’ inability to offer any evidence that Callippe’s family had performed acts crucial to proving the identity of an Athenian citizen-wife before appropriate witnesses, especially kinsmen, phratry, and demesmen. The speaker argued that Euctemon and Callippe’s relatives and their slaves needed to testify to their marriage and to the fact that they had lived as husband and wife over an extended period of time (Isaeus.6.15-16). The speaker did not demand witnesses to their wedding ceremony, for example, but to the realities of their everyday life together. It is Androcles’ failure to establish evidence of Callippe’s performance of the routines of daily life that enabled the speaker to challenge not just her identity but her very existence. In his other surviving speeches, Isaeus often employed similar arguments offering the performances of everyday life as proofs of identity equal and complementary to participation in formal institutions like demes and religious organizations (See Isaeus.1.12-14; 2.18; 8.9 11; 9.27-29; 12.5-7). While involvement in political, social, and religious institutions certainly was an important proof of citizenship in the Athenian democracy (See Humphreys 1985; Whitehead 1986; Scafuro 1994; Lape 2010; Kennedy
2014), Isaeus’ carefully constructed arguments concerning identity show that the performance of the routines and duties of daily life before witnesses from all strata of Athenian society was equally crucial in proving or disputing a person’s civic identity. Isaeus’ speeches also reveal the vulnerabilities of an identification process that relied not on public records but often on the untraceable routines of daily life. The witness testimony of relatives and close friends could be fabricated, and details, like the realities of Euctemon and Callippe’s marriage, could be glossed over. Isaeus clearly implied that immoral men like Androcles realized the vulnerabilities of this identification system and readily took advantage of them even to the point of inventing wives. In fact, in another speech on the estate of Ciron, Isaeus’ speaker, Ciron’s maternal grandson, accused his opponents of using the same tactics as Androcles, claiming that Ciron’s daughter, his mother, never existed (Isaeus.8.1; 8.9). That Isaeus was aware of the dangers of fabrications like this is clear. In his speech on the estate of Philoctemon, Isaeus’ speaker not only accused Androcles and his associates of inventing an Athenian woman to steal an estate; he also pointed out that, in doing so, his opponents damaged the system through which the Athenians established their civic identities. While Isaeus’ focus on the performative acts of everyday life in his speeches suggests that the Athenian process of identification was more fluid and complex than we have appreciated, his imagined women demonstrate the weaknesses of the system as well.

Session 2: Markets, Money, Land, and Contracts
Title: The publicani during the Roman Empire: the political economy of public Contracts
Name: Charles Frederick Bartlett

This paper disagrees with a prevailing account of the publicani during the early to high Empire, as reduced in power, relegated to provincial tax collection, and increasingly at odds with the imperial state. It argues that instead we should understand the publicani both as providing indispensable services throughout the empire and generating sizeable earnings in the process, and as legally protected in their position.

Badian examined the wealth and power of the publicani, or those who formed the societates publicanorum, during the Roman Republic, and demonstrated how increasingly from the end of the 3rd century BCE, these companies were able to parlay their wealth and social connections to win lucrative public contracts, most notably for the collection of taxes (Badian). Through the fulfillment of these contracts, which concerned a range of public functions, the publicani amassed even more wealth and influence. In addition to showing the reach of these companies, Badian also helpfully nuanced the traditional narrative, which held that these unscrupulous men often mistreated inhabitants of the provinces to the point that the Roman state had to intervene to protect the rights of the locals against undue abuse, by analyzing the complex relationship that these companies had with the senatorial class and with provincial magistrates. Other scholars have built on Badian’s call to move beyond class antagonism when considering the relation between the publicani and a monolithic “state,” incorporating the acknowledgement that, for instance, senatorial and/or imperial rhetoric might not match reality when taxes, and therefore administrative politics, are at issue (e.g., Rathbone).

Still, the misdeeds of the publicani are most often cited as the reason why their activities were, supposedly, increasingly curtailed during the first centuries of the Empire, until, somewhat paradoxically if we follow this argument, their operations were limited to the collection of certain taxes (most prominently Malmendier). The publicani of this period have not attracted as much attention, but it has been argued that from Sulla through Trajan, the powers of the publicani were increasingly restricted and their support from the state evacuated until they faded into irrelevance.

Notwithstanding this view’s complete disregard for the tremendous differences in conceptions of political institutions and of social participation and inter-relation, among much else, of the rulers during this period, the picture of the publicani as a group withering into non-existence is incorrect. In this paper, I
examine sources from the 1st century BCE through the 3rd century CE to argue that the publicani were still a powerful group until well into the 3rd century CE, and that we should understand imperial legislation as guaranteeing a position for them, as often as restricting their operations. In addition to Digest 39.4, whose texts date from across this period, the Customs law of Asia is crucial in the consideration of our question. As do the Digest texts, this law, which was promulgated in 62 CE but contains clauses that date back to 75 BCE and many intervening years as well, shows not only that the state guaranteed the position of the publicani in important ways, but that their interests likely extended beyond tax collection to include other jobs performed during the Republic. I suggest that the differing generic conventions and tropes of our few canonical literary sources ensure an incomplete picture of the operations of the publicani, and that we must also include epigraphic and juristic material. By doing so, we can see not only that the publicani continued to perform important functions well past the beginning of the Principate, but also how they might have dramatically influenced imperial policy.

Title: Nikophon’s Law on Contracts (SEG 26.72)
Name: Ephraim Lytle

Nikophon’s “Law on Silver Coinage” of 375/4 is already familiar to most students of Classical Athens and the ancient economy (SEG 26.72; Rhodes-Osborne, GHI 25). The inscription is largely complete and the text’s literal meanings generally well understood, yet despite continuous discussion since Stroud’s editio princeps (1974) the law’s basic motivation remains mysterious. Most previous discussions share two assumptions: that the law is concerned with the quality of the Athenian money supply and that it intends to regulate everyday retail transactions. I propose rather that Nikophon’s law is intended primarily to ensure the enforcement of contracts.

Nikophon’s law declares that approved Athenian silver coinage is to be accepted under threat of severe penalty and provides for the salarying of a public slave—a dokimastēs—to assay coin in Piraeus (an earlier law established a dokimastēs in the city). The most puzzling clauses concern the precise responsibilities of the dokimastēs, who, upon receiving silver coinage, is to remove counterfeit coins from circulation but “hand back” good imitations (lines 8-13). Stroud argued that such coins are thereby approved, but was unable to offer a compelling argument as to why sellers should be reluctant to accept such coins in the first place. Subsequent scholarship has preferred to argue that coin “handed back” is not approved but can be accepted at the discretion of sellers (Buttrey 1979 and 1982, most recently Ober 2016, with references). That interpretation allows us to imagine sellers refusing to accept at par imitation coins or gouging customers by only accepting at a discount even genuine Athenian coins (Johnstone 2011: 30-33).

But such discussions fail to solve numerous difficulties, including how establishing a dokimastēs would address the imagined problem given that the same “handed back” imitations would continue to circulate. No one has offered a plausible account of how the assaying process could have been practical in the context of everyday retail transactions. And all interpretations assume that assaying occurs after a price is agreed to but before the sale is effected. But in that case why does the law imagine that sellers will need to be forced to accept approved coinage? I argue that the key to understanding the law’s motivation is the existence of prior agreements on sale. By forcing sellers to accept approved coinage the law is in essence requiring that they honor contracts made before market conditions or other circumstances changed.

As shown by Cohen, Pringsheim’s ‘Athenian Law of Sale’—whereby a sale was only legally valid with the simultaneous exchange of goods and payment—is a clumsy scholarly fiction (2006). At Athens, as elsewhere in the Greek world and at Rome already by the 5th century BC, sales were regularly subject to consensual agreement. The importance of such agreements for our understanding of the Greek economy has been widely overlooked (with notable exceptions, e.g. Bresson 2016: 231-234). Especially common in wholesale transactions would have been the sale on condition of future delivery. In such contracts a
seller agrees to deliver at a specified time and place a specified quantity of goods for a specified price. The buyer frequently puts down a deposit and agrees to pay the remainder upon delivery. The greatest risk—change in market price—is borne equally by buyer and seller, but in cases of severe fluctuation the incentive to escape the contract is great. Buyers are constrained by the value of their deposits, sellers by liability and by the fact that such contracts leave little room for dispute since a buyer’s only obligation is to furnish legal tender, *khremata dokima*. But at Athens, where good imitations circulated together with genuine currency, reluctant sellers could plausibly argue that willing buyers had failed to meet that obligation. Wholesale buyers, the *nauklei*roi and *emporoi* whose interests are explicitly served by Nikophon’s law (lines 37-38), effectively close that loophole by establishing an assayer in Piraeus.

Title: Moral Intervention and the Roman Economy: The Case of the Edict of Maximum Prices

Name: Jane Sancinito

When the Edict of Maximum Prices was promulgated late in 301 CE, Lactantius tells us that, rather than cap prices and regulate the marketplace, the law resulted in bloodshed and a thriving black market: in short, the law was a dramatic failure. The scholarship discussing the Edict largely agrees with Lactantius that the law could not have succeeded as an economic policy (cf. Duncan-Jones, 1982; Williams, 1985; MacMullen, 1976). However, this position is based on assumptions about the intentions of Diocletian and the Tetrarchs that need to be reexamined. Previous scholarship has only recently begun to look at the rhetoric of the Edict and its own statements of purpose (Corcoran, 2000; Ando, 2000) and has not yet drawn out a satisfactory reason why the law was passed, given the evidence of Ammianus Marcellinus and the author of the *Historia Augusta*, who demonstrate that ancient audiences knew that price fixing was unlikely to succeed.

In this paper, I propose that the regulation of prices was a vehicle for the emperors to address broader concerns, especially the moral well-being of the populace. Using the preface of the Edict and several other imperial laws from the third and fourth centuries, I place the Edict in a category of legislation known as “hortatory law” which MacMullen (1976) described as legislation that sought to impress moral standards upon the populace and thereby reestablish the authority of the emperor as guardian of the unified state. I show that the contemporary discussion surrounding the Edict, and other examples of hortatory laws, was deeply invested in the sincerity of the emperors, a feature that is absent from other types of law and the commentary on them. This, I argue, is a core feature of this kind of law.

By re-classifying the Edict of Maximum prices as a hortatory law, it becomes possible to disentangle the Edict from the baggage of its economic failure and, instead, place it in dialogue with laws that had common moral themes, though different legislative purposes. The Edict’s failure, I argue, is only a matter of perspective and the law succeeded on other important fronts, most especially the aim of uniting the empire behind a common moral standard. I draw upon the theme of *avaritia*, which appears no less than seven times in the Edict’s preface, along with the writings of Lactantius on the subject, to argue that contemporaries of the Edict understood its moral purpose, and that, while the Edict may not have been able to regulate prices, it participated in and directed a discussion about morality and its role in the economy. Furthermore, this discussion implicated soldiers and merchants, the main protagonists and antagonists of the Edict, who were used to exemplify moral extremes, and fixated on the role of the emperor, the guardian of the state and all its components.

I argue that we can reassess legislation such as the Edict and to come to a more satisfying reading of Tetrarchic policy. We need not assume economic ignorance or carelessness in the promulgation of such a law. I conclude that Diocletian and the Tetrarchs were participating in a dialogue that defined what it meant to be a morally upright citizen and, furthermore, that they were actively presenting themselves as the benefactors and guardians of the state through a law that demonstrated their concerns and their ambitious goal for the unity of the Empire under a single moral vision. This paper and reading of the
Edict contribute to discussions about the social impacts of law and more generally to the social and economic history of the later Roman world and can offer fruitful material for future work in these fields.

Title: God and money in Horace (c. 3.16, Ep. 1.14) and Paulinus of Nola (c. 21, 28)
Name: Alex Dressler

Using Horace, *Odes* 3.16, as a window onto key monetary moments in the late fourth century poems of the radical Christian, Paulinus of Nola, this paper offers a case study in the representation of value in Latin literature. Where Horace uses poetry to establish a personal relationship, with a monetary dimension, with his patron Maecenas (Bowditch 2001, 31-63, 161-210), Paulinus uses money to establish a personal relationship, with a poetic dimension, with his patron, St. Felix (Brown 1981, 54-60; Trout 1999, 160-98). Precise examination of this process of reception elucidates, not only the use of the classical past by Christian authors, but also the specific forms of value in Latin literature (Mrozek 1984, 394), and above all, the reality of the economy in the imagination of the late empire (Giardina 2007).

*Odes* 3.16.1 begins with the image of “Danae imprisoned [in the] copper tower” (*Inclusam Danaen turris aenea*), which it half-rationalizes with the claim “entry was safe and easy for a god turned into money” (*7f.: fore enim tutum iter et patens/ converso in pretium deo*). At various points in his yearly meditations on the death-day of St. Felix, Paulinus uses the model of Horace’s relationship with Maecenas to elaborate what Trout (1999, 133-59; cf. Brown 2012, 208-40) terms his “salvation economics”: “No importunate poverty here/ and if I want more, you [Maecenas] don’t deny it” (*3.16.37f.: importuna tamen pauperies abest/ nec, si plura velim, tu dare deneges*). Both the personal relationship and the patron-mediated conversion of God and money appear in Paulinus’ longest autobiographical reflection (c. 21.443-5, with Trout 1999, 16-22):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{et quis me tantae uel spe modo possessorem praestitit esse rei? quis me rem compulit istam} \\
\text{spernere pro Christo, ut Christum mihi uerteretinrem?}
\end{align*}
\]

Who rendered me the owner, even if only in faith/speculation, of such a resource? Who made me reject that resource in exchange for Christ, so that Christ would be turned to my profit?

Who but you, my power forever great, Felix?

Horace next cautions Maecenas against becoming like those elite individuals who are “resourceless in great resources” (*3.16.28: magnas inter opes inops*). When Paulinus generalizes about his decision to renounce his wealth, he cautions fellow elites against becoming “resourceless in their resources” (*28.292: inter opes inopes*).

These intertextual clues from Horace’s ode find their place in a more general symbolic dynamic (cf. Nazzaro 1994). In the second half of *Odes* 3.16, Horace transitions to more contemporary references (ll. 26, 31, 33, 35) and focuses specifically on real estate. These references, which are elliptical in the *Odes*, are more explicit in the *Epistles*, particularly *Epistles* 1.14, where Horace explores, in Bowditch’s phrase, “the material conditions of the *aequus animus*” (221-239), by juxtaposing the “brambles from his mind” (*Ep. 1.14.4: spinas animo*) with the brambles of his farm (*5: res/rus*). The same language finds a place again in Paulinus’s c. 28.89: the anxieties of participation in elite culture appear as “brambles in the mind” (*spinae sunt animo*).
Against the background of Horace’s *Odes* 3.16, Paulinus’ reception in c. 21 and 28 implies two things. First, the generic promiscuity of late antique poetry, its prose-like assimilation of divergent genres (e.g., lyric and satire), suggests an increasingly polarized sense of literature and life. In other words, differences in genre matter less than the difference between reality and representation, and the apparently unmediated representation of reality as such becomes possible (Auerbach 2003 [1953], 63; Rancière 2013, x-xi). Second, where Horace used real property as a reflection of his experience, Paulinus in contrast bases his experience on real property. In terms of the old dispute of economic and cultural history (Polanyi 1957), Paulinus’ reversal of Horace suggests that, in late antiquity, the economy has achieved a kind of autonomy, an existence separate from the lives of individuals, which individuals subsequently recognized and took as the basis of culture (Giardina 1999).

**Title:** The Archaic Origins of Roman Land Allotment: Beyond Integration and Stability

**Name:** Tim Sorg

This paper argues for a systemic and comparative approach to Roman imperialism during the transition from regional city-state to territorial empire in the late fourth century BCE. Like the Athenians and Syracusans, the Romans were fairly unique in the pre-modern world in how they established the territoriality of their empire. Living in a profoundly agrarian world, members of ancient Mediterranean city-states often divided up by lot, or “allotted,” confiscated land as a way to share the fruits of conquest. Put another way, land allotment was the shared history of Mediterranean empires. But because the Romans achieved a form of durable imperial stability, modern historians tend to impose a sort of retroactive coherence on the Romans’ territorial empire that presupposes its ultimate success in central Italy—that land allotment was a tool of imperial control in service of an expanding, central state. In this paper, I argue that Roman land allotment in the mid–Republic created a form of intensive imperialism only because Roman state-formation had all but failed.

In recent years, Terrenato (2001), Bispham (2006), De Haas (2011), Robinson (2013), Pelgrom and Stek (2014), and Bellini et al. (2014) have all shown the local variations to colonial landscapes as a way to challenge the extent of a centralized, dirigiste model of Roman colonization (Salmon 1969). None of the studies, however, have developed what land allotment meant in Roman society if it was not, in fact, a mechanism to create propugnacula imperii. Furthermore, renewed interest in processes of social integration in imperial communities (Jehne and Pfeilschifter 2006; Roselaar 2012) reinforces a triumphalist reading of Roman imperialism in Italy. Instead, this paper explores the Archaic origins of Roman ideas about land and wealth to show how land allotment was a formative institution of the Roman state—a state that nevertheless did not have the kinds of vertical bonds and social commitments that created “insular” empires from Athens and Syracuse. To do so, I demonstrate the importance of a comparative perspective to the study of imperial territoriality.

My study develops through three sections. First, I use the case of Fregellae, a Latin colony in the Liri valley, after 314 BCE to illustrate broader trends in Roman land allotment. Literary (Livy 9.28; Diod. 19.101) and archaeological survey (Crawford *et al.* 1986; Chouquer *et al.* 1987; Hayes and Martini 1994; Coarelli 1998) evidence for the countryside of Fregellae suggest that the new landholders formed a rural farming community, less of a center of imperial stability. I also show that the new landowners were likely plugging into local forms of rural economic life (Hoyer 2012; Fracchia 2004), a signal that local, centrifugal economic forces were more formative than the centripetal pull of Rome.

Second, I look to structural trends in central Italy that developed during the sixth and fifth centuries to explain the Romans’ approach to imperial territoriality. In this pre-history to Rome’s transition to empire, I look to literary and material evidence to emphasize three processes that helped shape how the Romans thought about land allotment in the mid-Republic: the concentration of wealth (Pallottino 1984; Motta and Terrenato 2006), a political culture of privatization (Rathbone 2003), and horizontal social mobility.
among Latin communities (Smith 1995; Cornell 2000). Because a market economy with social capital was slow to develop at Rome, the trajectory of Roman state-formation created a distinctive approach to land allotment that transferred human capital from the metropole to new frontier communities. Finally, I turn to Rome’s broader Mediterranean context to briefly compare Roman land allotment to similar processes among the Athenians on Euboea and the Syracusans at Leontinoi in the mid-fifth century BCE. By emphasizing the particularities of each imperial repertoire, I distinguish between what was peculiar about land allotment in Roman society. A comparative approach accounts for why the Romans, relative to their Mediterranean counterparts, tended to privilege mobility from the center to the frontier at the expense of human capital at the metropole.

Session 3: Plato
Title: *Philosophia and Philotechnia: Hephaistos in the Platonic Dialogues*
Name: Emily L. Hulme

In Plato's *Critias*, Hephaistos is set apart from the other gods for his *philosophia* and *philotechnia*. As *philosophia* is a loaded term for Plato, this raises the question: what makes Hephaistos philosophical? And, can exploring this throw light on Plato’s conception of his own philosophical project? I argue that studying Hephaistos cult sheds light on three features of Platonic philosophy. It has always been understood that *techne* as a model for moral knowledge plays an important role in the dialogues. In brief, Plato comes back time and time again to the idea that the goal of philosophy is to find a kind of *techne* for living well. In the *Protagoras*, for instance, this is described as an ability to weigh future pleasures and pains. If we had this *techne*, we would (allegedly) know exactly what we should do in any situation. This theme has particularly been studied in the so-called "early" dialogues (Irwin 1977; Nussbaum 1986; Roochnik 1996).

So far, no one has fully captured the cultural resonances of this theme. I approach this topic via a study of Hephaistos, a god quintessentially associated with *techne*. In my presentation, I will lay out three features of the characterization of Hephaistos in the 5th and 4th centuries that are important for our understanding of the *techne* theme in the Platonic dialogues. First, Hephaistos cult was almost exclusively centered on Athens and grew in popularity during the 5th century. While the evidence for the worship of Hephaistos outside of Athens is very slim, the temple of Hephaistos in the Athenian Agora and the existence of two festivals celebrating Hephaistos—the Hephaisteia and the Chalkeia—suggest that Hephaistos worship was far more important in Athens than elsewhere. The prominence of Hephaistos in Athens relates to the status of craftsmen (and the *technai* they practice) in Athenian society, especially from the 5th century on, when the Hephaisteia seems to have been founded or re-organized and the Hephaistos temple was built (Barringer 2008). Plato’s treatment of Hephaistos, then, should be understood in light of this.

Second, Hephaistos is regularly characterized by the juxtaposition of his external ugliness and his internal knowledge or skills. In *Iliad* 18, for example, his crippled, sweaty physical body contrasts with his capacity to make the beautiful shield for Achilles. This makes him an important symbolic predecessor to a figure like Socrates, whose flawed physical body is sometimes contrasted with his intellectual prowess. The most well-known example of this is in Alcibiades’ speech in the *Symposium*, which contrasts the famous good looks of the young statesman with the astounding internal beauty of the old philosopher (218e).

Finally, the kind of intelligence that Hephaistos and the actual craftsmen in Athens have is different than the kind of intelligence that other Athenian elites- and particularly Plato's educational rivals- have. Plato generally criticizes poets, rhapsodes, sophists, and rhetors for not being able to explain how their skills actually work (*Gorgias*; *Ion*; *Phaedrus*). Their skills, thus, are more like magic or witchcraft than *techne*. In contrast, according to Socrates in the *Apology*, the craftsmen did actually know something and could explain what they were doing (22d). For that reason, then, Hephaistos and the craftsmen in Athens are
intelligent and philosophical. Plato, by comparing his project to the skills of these craftsmen, indicates that he, too, is in the business of rational explanations rather than pretentious quackery. Plato’s praise of Hephaistos, then, should be understood as a way he can define his discourse against those of his rivals.

By fleshing out the symbolic associations of Hephaistos in the fourth century, we get a clearer picture of the Platonic project. For a philosopher whose school’s grounds included an altar to Hephaistos (FGrHist 244 F 147; cf. Billot 1989), this is entirely fitting.

Title: Lysias and Polemarchus in Plato: Distancing Socrates from the Thirty
Name: Richard Fernando Buxton

A major crux in the biography of Lysias is establishing when he and his brother Polemarchus returned to Athens from Thurii. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the two’s close connections to Athens made them personae non gratae after the Sicilian Expedition, leading to a return post-413 (D.H. Lys. 1).

This, however, clearly contradicts the appearance of the two in Plato’s Republic and the references to Lysias’ presence in the city in the contemporary Phaedrus, both set around 420 (Brandwood 1990). Scholars have been right to stress the unreliability of the data involved, noting Plato’s penchant for anachronism in his dialogs and the unreliability of Lysias’ self-presentation in his speeches, from which Dionysius doubtless drew (Todd 2008; Dover 1968). This paper is less concerned to validate the claims of one author against the other than to argue for an under appreciated political-apologetic motive for Lysias’ inclusions in the Republic that could explain Plato’s purpose in employing a potentially glaring anachronism.

In Republic 1, which has been understood as an independent early dialog that was later repurposed as the introduction to the middle-period books that follow (Brandwood 1990; Nails 1997), Socrates while in Piraeus is invited by Lysias’ brother Polemarchus to the home of their father, the wealthy Cephalus. Although Lysias is noted as present, Socrates converses only with Cephalus and Polemarchus, both of whom treat Socrates as a friend chided for his infrequent visits (327c, 328c). Also present are Plato’s brothers, Glaucan and Adeimantus, and the noted Sophist Thrasymachus of Chalcedon. There is a poignancy to the scene, which I argues Plato would not want lost on his fourth-century Athenian audience: Socrates, executed by a democratic jury in part angry at his associations with the Thirty headed by Plato’s own relative Critias, is here shown on intimate terms with the family that would prove both an emblematic victim of the regime and a champion of its overthrow. Cephalus was Athens’ richest metic (P. Oxy 1606 I.153 4), and after his death his fortune was a prime target for the cash-strapped Thirty (Lys. 12.6; Xen. HG 2.3.21). This led to the execution of Polemarchus and Lysias’ escape into exile, from where he helped bankroll Thrasybulus’ resistance ([Plut.] Lys. 835f). Certainly there was a political dimension to Socrates’ prosecution (Brickhouse and Smith 1988; cf. Stokes 2012), against which Xenophon, free from the problematic family ties to the regime that saddled Plato, mounts an explicit defense (Xen. Mem. 1.12-16): Critias and the philosopher were friends, but the former’s crimes represented a repudiation of Socrates’ teachings. Republic 1, a dialog culminating in Socrates dismantling the claims of Thrasymachus that might makes right (338c), therefore dramatizes Socrates in the home of the Thirty’s famous victims rejecting the political approach of “doing whatever they wanted” (Xen. HG 2.3.23) that had justified the execution of Polemarchus (cf. Howland 2004).

Plato is engaged in a subtle vindication of Socrates—and his own family, vis-à-vis the presence of Glaucan and Adeimantus as guests—along the lines of Xenophon’s more straightforward defense. This very symbolic approach, which helps explain the absence of any references to Lysias’ family in Xenophon’s Socratic works, finds an elegant parallel in Plato’s depiction of the personal attraction but philosophical divorce between Socrates and his other politically inconvenient pupil: Alcibiades in the Symposium (Dominick 2013; Blanckenhagen 1992), a figure whom Xenophon pairs with Critias in his apologetic arguments. The presence of Lysias and his family in Republic 1 therefore eschews
Title: *Aporia and Insight in Plato's Parmenides*
Name: Darren Gardner

The hypotheses in Plato’s Parmenides, fascinating and seemingly obscure, are the subject to various interpretations: some argue that they present Plato’s late ontology, or emphasize a transition away from an earlier view of forms (e.g., Ryle, Rist, Kahn, Vlastos, Meinwald); some argue that the hypotheses are deeply ironic (Taylor, Rosen); and others, following the neoplatonic tradition, emphasize the eminence of the “one” of the first hypothesis (Proclus, Plotinus). I argue that the hypotheses should be seen aligned with the first part of the dialogue, namely, as an exercise program demonstrated for young Socrates. This view runs counter to those who would separate the first section from the second (Ryle) or who prioritize the third man argument over the structure of the whole (Vlastos). Such a demonstration is intended to help Socrates, and similarly, students of the dialogue, to overcome the aporiai that occur when trying to define forms in terms of participant individuals. This view is supported by Miller and more recently Sanday, but examines more specifically the under-appreciated explicitly educational aspect of the work. The hypotheses, I argue, are a propaedeutic for young philosophical learners, following from the example of Socrates, who, in the dialogue is himself a young learner, and is given a salutary exercise. The presentation of contradictory conclusions in juxtaposed hypotheses serve to provoke thought from the learner in such a way that the he or she can reconsider the nature of a form as radically different from that which a form articulates, namely, a participant example. A clue to understanding the propaedeutic function of contradiction, I claim, can be seen in Socrates’ presentation to Glaucon concerning philosophical education in book VII of Plato’s Republic: Socrates here famously discusses with Glaucon an educational program of study that would guide a practitioner towards dialectic and the forms. During this illustration, Socrates has Glaucon consider three fingers [Rep. 523b]. With respect to largeness and smallness, the fingers appear to reveal a contradiction: the middle sized finger is large with respect to the smaller one, and small with respect to the larger one — seemingly both small and large. While the example is basic, such a contradiction or aporia, claims Socrates, summons insight (noesis) in order to disarm the contradiction [Rep. 523e]. I argue that this thought summoning in the Republic is also employed and moreover, explicated in the hypotheses demonstrated to young Socrates in the Parmenides. By examining the structure of the first two hypotheses in particular [Parm. 137c-157b], I show not only that the hypotheses demonstrate a crucial educational function of summoning thought and insight (noesis) for the young Socrates that is similar to the more basic one proposed to Glaucon, but also that they function as an educational propaedeutic for the figure of Socrates as a young learner, and for students of the Parmenides.

Title: *Always Becoming: Final and Efficient Causal Explanations in Plato's Timaeus*
Name: Scott Carson

I argue for the following claims: (1) The overall cosmogony presented in Plato’s Timaeus ought not to be read literally but as an extended metaphor; (2) Reading the text metaphorically shifts the explanatory emphasis from efficient causation to final causation; and (3) in light of this approach I retain ἀεί at 28a1. Several recent scholars, including Vlastos 1996 [1965], Johansen 2004, and Broadie 2012, have argued that the cosmological μῦθος presented by Timaeus in Plato’s dialogue of the same name is properly read as giving a literal, if approximate, account of the order of events in a literal act of creation by the Demiurge. I argue that this reading of the dialogue errs by moving the explanatory focus away from final
causation in the direction of efficient causation, a move that I will show is contrary not only to the overall argument of the dialogue, but to Plato’s general metaphysical orientation.

At Timaeus 27d5–28a1 Timaeus says: “As I see it, then, we must begin by making the following distinction: What is that which always is and has no becoming, and what is that which becomes but never is?” (Zeyl 2000). It is made clear in what follows (28b7-c2) that the distinction is grounded in the conception of what is perceptible and tangible and hence material. This distinction tacitly endorses Plato’s view that what does not come to be, but always is, also is not material or perceptible; and explicitly claims that what does come to be always does so through some cause. The two sorts of cause that could give rise to the sort of “becoming thing” that is the cosmos are efficient and final causation. If, as some have argued, the Demiurge is external to the cosmos and literally brings it into being out of chaos (the literal reading), then the Demiurge is the efficient cause of the cosmos. However, it is worth noting that after introducing the Demiurge as a kind of “cosmos maker” who creates order out of chaos by imposing form on pre-material “stuff” of some kind, Plato shifts to speaking of Being itself as the “father” of the cosmos, the Receptacle as the “mother”, and what comes to be in the Receptacle as the “offspring”. Now, Plato famously speaks of what comes to be in the Receptacle as having the status of an image based upon a model, rather as the reflection in a mirror is an image of some other object. I suggest that this sort of relationship—that of reflected image and permanent model—is unlike the relationship between craftsman and artifact. When a carpenter makes a table, she does indeed impose “form” from the blueprint onto matter, but once that imposition is accomplished, the table sustains itself in existence with no further need either for the carpenter or the blueprint. But an image in a mirror will disappear as soon as the object of which it is the reflection moves away from the mirror. This sort of relationship, in which the becoming entity is sustained in its ontological state by reflecting or “pointing at” a permanent model, is clearly an instance of final causation.

If this is right, then it cannot be right to see the creation story as literally true, since the literal reading requires the Demiurge to act via efficient causation and to be external to the cosmos. Moreover, the μῦθος would seem to have greater explanatory power if it is appealing to the teleological nature of final causation, which explains ongoing existence through time in a way that is quite different from, and more consistent with Plato’s metaphysics, than efficient causation. Finally, if this reading of the dialogue is correct, then retaining ἀεί at 28a1 emphasizes that the “becoming” of what comes to be in the Receptacle is an ongoing ontological state rather than a one time act of creation.

**Title: Solon’s Egyptian Trip: Intertextual Resonances and Platonic Irony in the Timaeus**

**Name: Daniel Esses**

This paper develops a novel interpretation of the account of Solon’s Egyptian trip in Plato’s Timaeus. Plato’s purpose in having Solon travel to Egypt to acquire his fabulous story about Atlantis, I argue, is not to bolster the story’s authority and credibility, as is usually supposed (see, e.g., Joly 1982: 259-62; Capra 2010: 206-9, 213). Rather, his aim is to invite careful reflection on the story’s philosophical value. Both Solon and Egypt are venerable, authoritative sources, it appears; but there are rich intertextual resonances in Plato’s characterization of them that undercut this appearance. Reading Plato’s Solon and Egyptian priests against the backdrop of literary predecessors from within and outside the Platonic corpus, I reveal significant ironies in how these figures are portrayed.

As a traveling wise man, Plato’s Solon recalls Herodotus’ Solon, but there are nevertheless striking contrasts between the two portrayals of the Athenian statesman. Unlike Herodotus’ Solon, whose travels postdate his legislative achievements (Hist. 1.29), Plato’s Solon visits Egypt before helping Athens as a politician (Tim. 21c-d). With this reversal, Solon’s travels take on an altogether different meaning. Whereas in the Histories Solon is an accomplished sage who shares his wisdom with the likes of Croesus of Lydia, in the Timaeus he is a student with much to learn from those he visits. Herodotus’ Solon speaks
authoritatively and presciently, and a strong case can be made that his voice is closely aligned with that of Herodotus himself (Fornara 1971: 18-23; Lateiner 1989: 42, 143; Shapiro 1996). By contrast, Plato’s Solon tries to impress his Egyptian hosts with naïve genealogies, only for them to show him how mistaken he is (Tim. 22b4ff). Despite these divergences, Plato does in fact base his portrait of Solon on another figure from Herodotus: Hecataeus of Miletus. Like Platon’s Solon, Herodotus’ Hecataeus also visits Egypt to be cured of his ignorance by Egyptian priests (Hist. 2.143). This episode in Herodotus serves, at least in part, to alert the reader to the difference between Herodotus’ critical approach to history and his predecessor’s naivety (Lateiner 1989: 94; cf. West 1991: 149). Similarly, Platon’s portrayal of Solon as the Egyptians’ childlike student invites critical reflection on the putative sage’s reputation for wisdom and his authority.

As for the Egyptian priests: since they correct Solon’s historical errors and open up a wider temporal perspective for him, they might seem at first to be unimpeachable, genuinely wise authorities. A close look at how the Egyptians set Solon straight, however, shows that they too hold some questionable views. This becomes clear if we interpret what the Egyptians say against the backdrop of Platon’s Phaedrus. I examine the Egyptians’ rationalizing deconstruction of ancient myths and contrast it with Socrates’ criticism of that procedure in Phaedrus 229e-230a. I further argue that that in their reliance on writing and self-satisfaction the Egyptian priests exemplify a type of counterfeit wisdom. This is precisely the delusion that, according to Socrates in Phaedrus 274e-275b, Thamus feared would afflict his people after they adopted writing. Platon’s Egyptian priests, then, recall not only Herodotus, but also problems surrounding myth and writing that Platon flags in the Phaedrus. To someone familiar with Platon’s earlier work, the priests’ supposed wisdom should be deeply problematic.

Although a close look at the sources of the Atlantis story undermines its authority and credibility, this is not to say that we should be completely skeptical about the story’s value. What matters is not the content of the story, but how we interpret it. Solon and the Egyptian priests model perceptions of the story that are unbecoming of a genuine philosopher. They are examples, that is, of how we should not approach history and myth if our aim is to become wise. Most important is not what actually happened, but whether and how narratives illuminate humans’ nature and their place in the cosmos.

Session 4: New Outreach and Communications for Classics: Persons, Places, and Things (Organized by the Committee on Outreach)

Title: Classicists without Borders
Name: Christopher Francese

The purpose of this talk is to argue for a “service” model of outreach, and discuss two underused avenues for public service among professional classicists: podcasting, and digital project reviews. Classical outreach programs are proliferating. See, for example, the ones at Oxford, the University of Cincinnati, the Classics in Communities Project in the UK, and the variety of outreach initiatives at the SCS. The problem with the term outreach is the slight air of desperation. There must be people “out” there who have never heard our message, who need to be “reached.” Hands extend into a void, waving cheerfully at passersby, signaling for attention, anxious not to be ignored. I believe we should think less in terms of reaching out and more in terms of service, of finding places where our skills are needed or welcome, even when those are not the places that our ordinary professional lives typically take us. Possibly the best current example of this is the series of workshops run by Classics in Communities, bringing support to those in schools with no Latin programs who want nonetheless to teach Latin. Another is the work of David Meadows, aka Rogue Classicist, in collecting news about classical and archaeological subjects on the internet for thousands of followers. I can think of two other areas where there is a certain void, a space where the voices of Classicists without Borders would potentially be welcome, even useful, but have not so far been heard very much. The first is podcasting. The podcast medium is widely enjoyed as recreation by people as they exercise, walk, travel, go about housework routines, etc. This is an audience hungry for
new content, eager to explore new ideas, and interested in all sorts of things. Perhaps they studied Latin at school, or have always had a love of mythology. The mechanics of producing and delivering podcasts to this audience are well within the technological competence of most classicists (Allan 2015). Success in the medium, as with much teaching, requires a conversational style, a sense of humor, and an ability to tell stories. A second area is that of digital project reviews. The vast majority of people who are not professional classicists find their information about the classical world on the internet, and there is a heartening proliferation of good quality digital projects about the ancient world. Still, there is a good deal that is slapdash and ill-informed. Who can tell the difference? Classicists can. Where is there a reliable venue of critiquing, evaluating, and commenting on digital resources? Nowhere. The SCS Communications Committee (which I currently chair), among its other activities, is creating just such a venue as part of the SCS website and blog. When qualified review of open digital resources becomes as routine as it is for monographs, the prestige and the quality of open online publications will rise. The SCS Communications Committee has created a clear set of guidelines for such reviews, and is actively soliciting reviewers and projects to review.

Title: New Outreach for Classics
Name: Jason Pedicone

In recent decades, outreach and service learning have become buzzwords in higher education. For many fields, these terms connote issues both of relevance (how is our field applicable “real world” problems?) and of access to educational opportunities (how can we reach out to non-traditional groups of students?). This paper will address these questions as they apply to classics. Declining enrollments in Latin and Greek at both the university and high school level and a dismal academic job market necessitate that, for the field to survive and thrive, teachers and professors of classics creatively re-imagine how classics is taught, where classics is taught, what kinds of professions outside of academia are available to trained classicists, and how individuals outside of academia proper can remain engaged with the field. This paper will explore how this may be done, in part, through rigorous outreach initiatives.

The paper will not only address current successful initiatives, but also seek to define more clearly what outreach means today. Starting with fundamental questions about outreach, the paper will ask: what are the goals of outreach, to whom should we reach out, how should we reach out, and, importantly, how should we teach classics and increase access to classics without perpetuating an elitist and colonialist legacy. Ultimately, the paper will outline a model for outreach that looks both outward and inward – outward to increase access to classics by reaching non-traditional learner communities and teaching with non-traditional pedagogies, and inward to redefine the field by opening new avenues for engagement with classics and diversifying the voices within the field.

After addressing these questions, the paper will explore the lay of the land, and focus on two outreach initiatives of the Paideia Institute: the Aequora initiative, which engages teachers and graduate students to teach weekly introductory Latin classes in elementary schools and community centers in disadvantaged neighborhoods, and the Legion Project, which collects profiles of individuals who received graduate degrees in classics and now work outside of academia.

Through Aequora, Paideia reinforces English literacy through Latin for elementary and middle school students in disadvantaged areas through innovative active-language pedagogies. Many Aequora sites run in Spanish-speaking communities, and the curriculum emphasizes connections between English and Latin and Spanish and Latin, encouraging students to take ownership of all three languages. Students read texts and also produce their own compositions, using Latin as a means of creative self-expression. Since the program was founded in 2013 through a partnership between the Paideia Institute and Still Waters in a Storm, the program has expanded to six sites in New York and Philadelphia, and the Institute has developed a curriculum that can be easily replicated throughout the country.
The Legion Project collects profiles of individuals who earned undergraduate and/or graduate degrees in classics and are now pursuing successful careers in other fields. Through this project, Paideia is creating a resource for students in classics considering careers in other fields and redefining what it means to be a classicist by building a network of brilliant individuals who are passionate about classics and encouraging them to re-engage with the field.

Title: Reading Communities and Re-Entry
Name: Roberta Stewart

This paper summarizes a program of book groups that have now run in New Hampshire for eight years (premises, design, logistics, and sessions) and assesses recent innovations, particularly the development of all-female reading groups (2016) and an NEH funded collaboration with New Hampshire Humanities and Dartmouth College to develop a curriculum combining ancient and modern war stories and to train facilitators for the programs (2016).

The book groups ("From Troy to Baghdad: Warfare and Homecoming in Homer's *Odyssey*") provide a venue for a form of teaching as community outreach that facilitates individual engagement with a text as a basis for self-reflection and narrative construction about personal experience. The work of the groups is premised on the dialogical relationship of reader and text (Bakhtin), validating equally male and female, academic and non-academic readers as authoritative interpreters of Homer. While war can silence language, literature can break the silence. The groups parallel analytical studies of war stories as cultural artifacts by which individual societies have processed the experience of war in order to create a usable past (Moeller 2001) and critical studies of the value of communal discourses in personal narrative construction and identity formation (e.g. stories of recovery in Alcoholics Anonymous, cf. Holland and Skinner 1998).

The 2016 women’s group responds to a perceived need of female veterans for their own group and raises the challenge to develop strategies for reading and appropriating ancient male-authored texts in order to explore modern female experience and return from war. This paper will assess the capacity of the Homeric texts to counter the perceived invisibility that female veterans report experiencing as they transition from military to civilian status.

This project will bring team-facilitated discussions of Homer’s *Odyssey* plus contemporary texts to groups of veterans in four New Hampshire communities beginning in fall 2016. The combination of ancient and modern texts allows veterans to develop an appreciation of deployment and reintegration as human problems—products of war—across cultures and across time. The project innovates in the role developed for veterans who become both "subjects" of the book-group program and also authors of it. Veterans collaborate in identifying modern literary war stories to complement the Homeric narratives and so they gain control if you will, of the discourse about war and veteran’s experience about war. Veterans collaborate to train facilitator teams for the programs, to facilitate the groups, and to evaluate the work of the groups. At every level the program works to give veteran’s themselves authoritative roles in programming that is intended or designed to help them. The paper will describe the developed curriculum and the training workshops from the summer 2016.

The importance of this work cannot be over-stated. At a time when less than 1% of the population of military experience, the configuration of the grant and the reading groups model respectful and productive dialogue of veterans and civilian about the realities of war and create common ground based on a shared intellectual experience.
Outreach, it seems to me, is a simple numbers game. If we want to have maximum impact, we have to reach the maximum number of people and let them know who we are and what we’re doing. To that end, I suggest the SCS redirect its efforts away from labor-intensive projects that cannot scale, such as visiting individual high schools, and toward the largest possible venues, audiences, networks, and distributors. What does that mean in practical terms?

It means in the first instance going after Hollywood movies and TV documentaries. Think of what *Gladiator* did for the profession, or what *Passion of the Christ* could have done if we’d bothered. In 2009 several of us appeared as talking heads on an awful History Channel documentary about Greek Mythology. It was translated into many different languages and screened around the world. I still get emails about it—the most recent one came just yesterday. We should find out who makes, edits, publishes, or solicits the contents of these shows and make pitches to them.

In the second instance it means cultivating national radio programs (e.g. NPR) and those few magazines that have gigantic circulations (e.g. *AARP The Magazine*, c. 22,000,000/monthly). For example, Princeton University Press has just released a new translation of Cicero’s *De Senectute* in a boutique edition. The SCS should seek to spread the news of that translation to all of those turning 65 who might be interested in it—that is one demographic we have never sought to reach before, and new people are joining its ranks every day. Beyond that, there are specialist audiences for everything—they are bound to be curious to read an ancient take on their favorite hobby (or illness, relationship problems, etc.).

In the third instance it means leveraging social media: Facebook, Twitter, and Reddit, and not only through the SCS accounts but in tandem with the university or college accounts that we work at. Our universities are eager to show off what we faculty are doing. They should be partners in our outreach because they will engage the ranks of our alumni; we only have to do a better job of letting them know what we are doing.

In the last instance it might mean being a little less inflammatory, that is to say, more conservative, about the political positions we take or assume in public. I hope that we will have time to discuss this point in particular at our panel in Toronto.

As mediators between the past and the present, maps are a means for understanding antiquity in new ways. Yet what can you even do with linked data for over 35,000 ancient places, locations, and names? Pleiades.stoa.org has a few answers. The gazetteer, which began as a means of digitizing the Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World (2000), grows daily and provides extensive coverage for the Greek and Roman world. It is also expanding into Ancient Near Eastern, Byzantine, Celtic, and Early Medieval geography. In Pleiades workshops, we introduce the Pleiades community to participants. Editors will walk participants through the history and layout of the gazetteer, discuss the popular contribution and review of our linked geodata, and then help participants make a map of sites within the ancient Mediterranean. Persons at all levels of experience (from "interested" to "expert") are welcome to participate and to contribute at no charge… just like the Pleiades project itself. As this paper explores, GIS and mapping workshops function as a practical way of speaking to students, teachers, and the broader public about the creation and use of maps in the study of classical antiquity.
As a coda to this paper, I shall address the tension between using open source content management systems (CMS) like Pleiades and publishing on proprietary CMS like JSTOR, among the more important issues facing a new era in classical studies (and in all the humanities for that matter). My own choice is always for open source CMS, which I believe is not merely an economical decision, but also an ethical one, and one that speaks directly to the kinds of outreach that can and should be done for classical studies today. It is my hope that this last point will generate a good deal of discussion on our panel, and I look forward to hearing the thoughts of the SCS membership.

Session 5: Narrating the Self: Autobiography in Late Antiquity (Organized by the Society for Late Antiquity)

Title: The conversion of Ovid in early Christian poetry
Name: Ian Fielding

It should come as no surprise that Christian writers in late antiquity did not hold much admiration for Ovid, whose poetry was condemned in his own lifetime for corrupting public morals. In contrast with his close contemporary Virgil, he is almost completely ignored by patristic prose authors like Jerome and Augustine – and on the few occasions when his work is mentioned, it is disparaged and dismissed. Among late antique poets, on the other hand, Ovid was much more influential, and as this paper will demonstrate, that influence was not limited to style and versification: his autobiographical writing also offered a point of reference for Christian poets to describe their lifestyle choices. Tristia 4.10, Ovid’s account of his withdrawal from public life to cultivate his relationship with the Muses, was a particularly important model in this respect. Prudentius’ Praefatio – the first example that I will discuss – presents a similar narrative of retirement from politics to pursue a literary vocation. In this case, however, Ovid is identified with the kind of secular poetry that Prudentius renounces: it will be argued here that Prudentius’ references to his youthful lasciuia (Praef. 10) and nequitia (Praef. 12) can be understood as allusions to Ovidian poetics.

Not all Christian poets sought to oppose themselves to Ovid in this way. In the second part of this paper, I will suggest that Prudentius’ contemporary, Paulinus of Nola, aligns his biography with Ovid’s in Carmen 10, as he justifies his conversion to a more committed form of Christianity. It is Ausonius, Paulinus’ friend and former tutor, who initially (in Epistle 21 Green) compares Paulinus’ secluded ascetic existence to Ovid’s exile in Tomis. Paulinus responds that unlike Ovid, who claimed in exile to be less than he once was, his retreat into the wilderness makes him stronger, by bringing him closer to God. As he explains, his new Christian poetics are concerned with another kind of metamorphosis, from the transitory physical world to the eternal world beyond. Nonetheless, Paulinus does not fully reject this likeness to Ovid, whose own autobiography recounts how he was drawn, from a young age, to the study of ‘caelestia sacra’ (Tr. 4.10.19). Thus, Paulinus will be shown to represent himself to Ausonius as a latter-day Ovid, redeemed by his faith in the Christian God.

Title: Fighting a Civil War through Autobiography: The Emperor Julian’s Epistle to the Athenians and the Promotion and Consolidation of Roman Imperial Authority and Legitimacy
Name: Moyses Marcos

In summer 361 CE, while based at Naissus (Niš) in Illyricum, the Roman Emperor Julian wrote a series of open letters in Greek to various communities in Greece such as Athens, Corinth, and Sparta, as well as a letter to the Senate of Rome in Italy, all of which sought to explain his usurpation of Augustan rank in February 360 while Caesar or deputy emperor in Gaul. Of these letters, the Epistle to the Athenians alone has come down to us almost completely intact. This is an important imperial ‘letter’ that functions as an autobiography and apologia of the emperor and his actions, one which Julian produced for the purpose of advancing his bid for supreme power during the short and ultimately bloodless civil war with his cousin and Augustan superior Constantius II. In this context, the Epistle to the Athenians is a unique and
informative pronouncement that illustrates Julian’s ideology/political program during a critical period of imperial transition, a pronouncement which the emperor used simultaneously to consolidate his claim to higher rank and authority and to promote his legitimacy in holding such power, all the while undermining the authority and legitimacy of Constantius in the eyes of the public in the process.

Scholars such as Labriola (1975; 1991–2) have focused on the autobiographical quality of Julian’s Epistle where he comes off as a wronged man who is worthy of greater power; while Humphries (2012) more recently has explored it as an exposition of good and bad government by its negative depiction of Constantius as a “tyrant.” However, I will demonstrate that scholars have not appreciated fully how Julian employs the genre of autobiography in his Epistle not only to promote what he accomplished as Caesar in Gaul, but also what he would do as sole Augustus empire-wide. Indeed, as a genre, autobiography was a narrative type and strategy well-suited to advancing the imperial image and agenda such as utilized by Octavian Augustus in his Latin Res Gestae. While Constantius’ depiction in Julian’s ‘letter’ and autobiography is certainly polemical, it seems to have gone unnoticed that Julian, who had written two masterful panegyrics on Constantius c. 355/6 and 358/9, also uses his Epistle to the Athenians to build on his self-presentation in the Second Panegyric on Constantius (Or. 3, 86A–92C), which offers a political program for proper rule by the good king/emperor. In his Epistle to the Athenians, Julian thus makes subtle references to other texts that give this Epistle a particular intertextual quality which blurs the boundaries between autobiography and panegyric as narrative types and strategies. In so doing, Julian presents readers of his Epistle with both an autobiography and self-panegyric of Julian as a good king/emperor and an anti-panegyric and biography of Constantius as a bad and therefore a false one, a portrayal which Gregory of Nazianzus would challenge later by embedding a mini panegyric and biography of Constantius in his First Invective against Julian (Or. 4, 34–42, 45).

Title: Interiority and Selfhood in Fifth-Century Autobiography
Name: Ryan Brown-Haysom

Recent years have seen growing scholarly interest in the question of ‘selfhood’ and subjectivity in ancient societies. Much debate has focused on the question of whether modern, individualistic conceptions of the human subject have antecedents in premodern societies, and whether the early evolution of such a notion of human subjectivity can be detected in the ancient world. Late antiquity has been identified as a crucial moment in the ‘privatisation of the self,’ with a number of scholars suggesting that the flourishing of Neoplatonism and Christianity in this period produced a heightened awareness of inner states and new value accorded to personal experience, in contrast to the more ‘objective’ and collectivist conception of personal identity in earlier periods. In his classic History of Autobiography in Antiquity, Georg Misch (1950: II, 551) suggested that the fourth and fifth centuries saw “an inward turning of the mind” manifested in an efflorescence of ‘autobiographical’ literature and a new preoccupation with memory and emotions. More recently, Philip Cary (2000: 140) has argued that the greatest ‘spiritual autobiography’ of the period – Augustine’s Confessions – “stands at the head of the Western tradition of inwardness as it comes down to us.”

This paper will challenge the claim that ‘autobiographical’ writing of the fourth and fifth centuries points to a radically new preoccupation with interiority or with the ‘private’ self. It will argue instead that the notion of ‘selfhood’ underlying first-person life-histories of late antiquity can be understood primarily as a nodal point of intersecting social relationships, and that the autobiographical subject is characterised not primarily by interior states or dispositions, but rather by socially-recognised roles he or she performs in relation to others – including the gods – and to society at large. This argument will be illustrated with examples drawn from two important ‘autobiographical’ texts of this period: the Autobiography (Oration I) of Libanius and the carmina natalicia of Paulinus of Nola. In their different ways these two works illustrate the way that the construction of the autobiographical self in late antiquity centred primarily on interpersonal relations – including relations between human beings and the divine – and the dutiful
enactment of the roles that these relationships created. Libanius presents himself in a succession of such personae: he is a devoted teacher, a loving husband and brother, a loyal friend, and above all a phenomenally successful orator. Libanius represents himself as a model of successful interpersonal relationships above all because he enjoyed the special patronage of Fortune (Τύχη). Paulinus, on the other hand, represents himself as an effective bishop and leading citizen in large part because his special relationship with the patron saint of Nola, St Felix, who offers him patronage, and through him the whole Christian community.

These very different texts both illustrate what Christopher Gill (2008: 38-39) has called an ‘objective-participant’ conception of selfhood, emphasising “the capacity for interpersonal and social engagement” as opposed to the post-Cartesian emphasis on “unique individuality, ‘I’-centred self-consciousness and subjectivity.” Both Paulinus and Libanius construct their own self-presentation within important relationships – with the living, the dead, and the divine – that create the interpersonal networks from which the autobiographical ‘self’ emerges.

Title: Fragmentation and Recreation: An Ontology of fluctus and defluere in Augustine’s Confessions
Name: Joshua Benjamins

Among the many rich and multivalent metaphors which both enliven and structure Augustine’s Confessions, the imagery of watery ebb and flow (fluctus/defluere, mare, gurges) holds a place of particular prominence. Several scholars have explored this metaphor’s roots in the language of the Old Testament, particularly the Psalms (most fully Rondet 1954 with Chatillon 1954; see more recently O’Donnell 1992: 2:110,112), while others have highlighted its significance for Augustine’s philosophy of human emotion (McDuffie 2010) and his evaluation of the potentially destabilizing power of rhetoric (Rougé 1982). What is lacking in these analyses is a systematic account of the place of aquatic imagery within the broader movement of the Confessions. I propose a holistic reading of the metaphor by defining and analyzing a pair of interlocking lexical sets in the Confessions. The first set consists of terms for swelling and flowing (fluctus/defluere and cognates, from PIE *bʰleh), which recur with great frequency in the opening four books of the Confessions, including the beginning and end of the critical Books 2 and 3 (2.2.3-2.2.4, 2.10.18, 3.1.1, 3.2.3, 3.11.20). This terminology defines the destabilizing force of fallen mortality, which is repeatedly contrasted with the stability and imperturbability of the divine being. I argue that the language of fluctus and defluere is intimately bound up with another lexical set, namely the language of dispersion (dispersio and dissipare). Both in the first, ‘autobiographical’ half of the Confessions and the more ‘theoretical’ second half, the human tendency towards fragmentation and dispersion (dispersio) is pointedly contrasted with the divine action of conligare (1.3.3; 2.1.1; 10.11.18; 12.16.23). As several commentators have suggested, this image echoes the neoplatonic ontology of Plotinus’ Enneads (O’Donnell 1992: 2:106-7; Clarke 1995: 117). I argue that Augustine through the structural metaphors of fluctus and defluere reads his own intellectual and spiritual history through the lens of a broader cosmic tension between the stabilizing force of divine power and the impetus of fallen humanity towards fragmentation and hence non-being. Fluctus and defluere ultimately situate Augustine’s movement away from God (dissipare, echoing the parable of the prodigal son) and his return to God within an ontology of creation and of the human person, proleptically outlined in the opening paragraphs and fully worked out in the cosmological exploration of the final books (Books 10-13).

Title: Ennodius’s Eucharisticon and the poetics of ascetic autobiography
Name: David Ungvary

This paper argues that Ennodius of Pavia’s (473-521) disavowal of secular poetry in his autobiographical prose work, the Eucharisticon (written c. 511), constitutes an act of ascetic renunciation in line with a Christian Latin literary tradition.
In this confessional text, Ennodius describes how physical illness catalyzed his spiritual transformation from arrogant pursuivant of adulation through rhetorical and poetic composition to faithful and fully integrated deacon of the Catholic Church. The obvious parallels to the structure of Augustine’s ‘conversion’ moment, especially the turn from *venditor verborum* to consumer of scripture (cf. *Confessions* IX.5.13), have led some readers to criticize the *Eucharisticon* as derivative. Courcelle tracked Augustine’s influence on Ennodius’s text and determined it to be “a rather mediocre pastiche of the *Confessions.*” Fontaine, another Quellenforscher, went so far as to question the Christian character of the text. He suggested Horace as a potential model for Ennodius as poet-convert (citing *Epist.* I.1.10 where Horace swears off “*versus et cetera ludicra*”).

The prevailing critical chronology of Ennodius’s writings (Sundwall) has also negatively affected interpretations of the *Eucharisticon*. For it appears that Ennodius continued to write classicizing rhetorical and poetic works even after his apparent renunciation of such literature in the *Eucharisticon* (sections 4–7, 17). Accordingly, scholars like Kennell (1992) have labeled Ennodius’s autobiography a “fit of personal scrupulousness” after which “his basic rhetoricality prevailed”—a rhetoricality Auerbach once called “mannered to the point of absurdity.” For all this we are left with an image of Ennodius as an artificial, imitative self-fashiner and inconsistent thinker.

In this paper I attempt a reconsideration of Ennodius’s autobiographical technique through a twofold inquiry. First, I argue that the *Eucharisticon*’s literary-imitative character is in fundamental alignment with other spiritual autobiographies of Late Antiquity. If we consider Augustine’s famous conversion scene, for instance, we find his introspective moment in the garden to have been instigated by an introduction to ascetic literature—the *Life of St. Anthony* (cf. *Confessions*, 8.6.14). As Harpham has argued, this kind of reader-response is a pervasive feature of late ancient confessional writing and central to ascetic discipline in general, which he calls “a science of imitation made possible by the mimetic imitations of texts.” This interpretive framework allows for a reappraisal of the *Eucharisticon*. It is possible to see its imitative and rhetorical qualities as stemming from self-conscious and purposeful engagement with an ascetic literary tradition.

Accepting the influence of literary asceticism on the *Eucharisticon* enables a re-reading of Ennodius’s renunciation of secular literature. In the second part of the paper, I argue that the presentation of his literary turn away from “the fields of poetic composition” echoes rhetoric not found in Augustine’s *Confessions*, but that which belongs more properly to the Christian Latin poetic tradition. In particular, Ennodius’s concomitant disavowal of fiction, lies, and falsehood in the *Eucharisticon* (section 7) demonstrates a keen awareness of an ascetic poetics promulgated by Christian versifiers like Paulinus of Nola (cf. *Carm.* 20) and Sedulius (cf. *Carmen Paschale*, praef.).

In conclusion, to censure the *Eucharisticon* as a meager imitation of Augustine’s *Confessions* is to misunderstand the fundamentally imitative nature of late antique spiritual autobiography. It is also to miss the multidimensional nature of Ennodius’s imitative endeavor. Influenced by the ascetic “science of imitation,” Ennodius’s confessional text comprises an intentional and innovative repackaging of ascetic rhetoric culled from various strands of the Christian Latin literary tradition.

### Session 6: Change in Ancient Mediterranean Religions (Organized by the Committee on Ancient History)

**Title:** Rehistoricizing Greek Religion  
**Name:** Fred S. Naiden

The academic discipline of the “History of Religions” began mostly in Continental Europe about a hundred years ago. It emerged from evolutionary paradigms for the development of human culture, some Marxist, some rationalistic, some rooted in the sociology of Durkheim. In the English-speaking world,
this discipline never attained the status of a distinct specialty. Scholars of Greek religion were influenced by this discipline without belonging to it; to some degree, they practiced this discipline without being aware of it.

In this century, the remnants of this hidden or forgotten discipline have collapsed, both among the English-speaking scholars and in Europe. Scholars have lost confidence in analyses relating Greek religion to ancient religion in general; in analyses of Greek religion as a whole rather than the religion of certain places and periods; and in analyses of Greek religion as a precursor of Christianity or a preserver of primitive motifs. One measure of the decline of interest in the history of Greek religion is the new *Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Religion* (Eidinow and Kindt 2015), which does not have a single chapter devoted to historical developments as opposed to a plethora of other topics.

How can scholars of Greek religion recover the historical aspect of their subject? This paper will describe two paths open to them. First, the revival of periodization. Many differences between the Classical and Hellenistic Periods emerge from the abundant epigraphical evidence for the 4th through 1st centuries BCE. One part of the change from the Classical to the Hellenistic, the development of ruler cult, has been thoroughly studied, but other parts—organizational, economic, and multicultural—have not. For example, there is no general treatment of the evolution of shrine finance. Second, the revival of the issue of origins. For a generation, scholars have traced Greek borrowings from the religions of the Near East. Yet there is no general treatment of the influence of the Hittites on Greek religion, or of the influence of the Western Semites. By the same token, there is no general treatment that strikes a balance between influences from east to west and influences moving in the other direction, from Greece to the East.

**Title: Cultural Invention and Ritual Change: Tracking the Samothracian Mysteries at Rome**

**Name: Sandra Blakely**

Roman accounts of the Samothracian gods suggest concepts and contexts profoundly different from the Greek realities. Romans invented genealogies linking Salii, Camillae, and Penates to the island; Tarquinius Priscus and Dardanus were added to the heroic initiates; Aeneas is claimed to have stolen the island’s gods; the Capitoline Triad and the gods on the Velia were tied to the Samothracians (Dubourdieu 1989: 125-151; Lewis 1958: 79-89). A closer look at two specific aspects of the rites in the late Republican to early Imperial period—the first based on philosophical sources, the second on epigraphic—recommends Samothrace as a case study for religious change in the service of cultural reinvention and institutional obsolescence.

Varro, Cicero and Nigidius Figulus used a Neopythagorean lens to position the gods and their rites in the Roman landscape. These lenses yield divine identities, Earth and Sky, which no Greek ever claimed for the rites, but which served Varro’s desire to identify the cult with deep antiquity and cultural authority—a desire which responds to the shifting realities of the late Republican context (van Nuffelen 2011: 27-47). Closer examination of the Samothracian gods in situ suggests more coherence in Varro’s claims than dissonance. The cult was characterized by a broad, conflicting and intercultural semantic range (Dimitrova 2008; Cole 1984). Thracian, Greek and Anatolian traditions were combined and reimagined (Graham 2002). Pseudo-historical and mythic invention emerges as a Samothracian habit, a pattern which helps normalize the Roman response to the island and its gods (Blakely 2013). Varro’s description of Samothracian altars on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus suggests a context even more distant from the island sanctuary than the Roman lodgings, from Lararia to the temple of Vesta, for the Penates Aeneas brought from the island (Versnel 1974). The other gods on Varro’s spina, however, intersect with one of the most traditional elements in the Samothracian semantic range, the ritual assurance of safety at sea, which offers an attractive symbolic response to the *naufragia* of the circus. Varro’s appropriations emerge as less fantastic than informed, responsive to the most widely familiar elements of the cult as well as to the realities available only to those who had traveled to the site.
Institutional shifts occasioned by the expansion of Rome did, however, have immediate impact on the infrastructures which helped turn Samothrace’s ritual promise into practical reality. Samothrace’s maritime promises were a pragmatic reality in the Hellenistic Mediterranean, in which the island’s grants of *proxenia* and *theoria* created networks of communication, cooperation and resistance to piracy (Blakely 2016). By the time of the early empire, however, proxeny ceased to function as the means of interstate cooperation, and the promise was reduced the level of metaphor (Mack 2015). The brevity of the cult of the Lares Permarini in Rome suggests an analogous diminution of this association in Rome. M. Aemilius Lepidus’ Republican temple to the Lares Permarini fulfilled a vow he made in the sea battle against the king of Antioch (Livy 40.52.4-7). The temple appears in the Fasti Praenestini, but then disappears until a brief mention in Macrobius (Coarelli 1997: 258-68; *Saturnalia* 1.10.10). The memory of these Samothracian powers persists into the imperial period (Ovid *Tristia* 1.10.45-50; Aelian *de Natura animalium* 15.23, fr. 90; Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 7.283a), at the same time that their practical reality was a thing of the past.

Both Varro’s writings and the fate of Samothrace’s maritime powers highlight a model for change which contrasts the impact of geospatial remove with changes occurring over time. The consistencies between Rome and the island suggest a successful crossing through geographic space which enables local translation and the maintenance of existing ritual dynamics. The changes emerging over time and the growth of empire emerge are far more essential, and are legible only through the combination of epigraphic and literary data.

**Title:** Change, Continuity, and Roman Religion at Palmyra  
**Name:** Nathanael Andrade

As Roman provincial subjects, the Palmyrenes accommodated the Roman imperial cult alongside the worship of their traditional divinities. Their activity enables broader reflection on the relationship between continuity and change in ancient religion. For example, in 167 CE a Palmyrene priest named Rabbel had statues raised for the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. In an accompanying Greek inscription (*IGLS* 17.1.351), he identified himself as the “grand-priest and symposiarch of the priests of the greatest god Bel, and also priest of these same emperors.” He also claimed that when he was symposiarch, the Palmyrenes received a letter from the emperors regarding gifts for the establishment of incense sacrifices (Gawlikowski and As’ad 2010: 44-46; Delplace 2005: 312-13). In such ways, Rabbel’s inscription celebrates how he worshipped both Roman emperors and the Palmyrene divinity Bel.

Rabbel’s inscription is not isolated. At Palmyra, other grand-priests and symposiarchs for Bel are known to have officiated the imperial cult or to have arranged for honorific statues to be raised for emperors (for example: *IGLS* 17.1.157; Kaizer 2002: 148-51; Gawlikowski and As’ad 2010; Bru 2011: 101-5). In certain respects, Rabbel’s inscription anticipates the career of the grand-priest and symposiarch Septimius Haddudan, whose priests celebrated in Palmyrenean inscriptions how he had accommodated the emperor Aurelian and earned senatorial rank in 272-73 (Gawlikowski 1971: 412-21; *PAT* 1358 and 2812). The Palmyrenes even apparently “exported” the imperial cult outside the Roman empire itself (*PAT* 1062=SEG 7.165). But Rabbel’s example invites broader exploration of how or whether the Palmyrenes expressed subjectivity as Romans through their religious practices. This is a complicated issue. Cult and culture at Palmyra have long been recognized as definitively local, *sui generis*, and indebted to an array of Arabian, Aramaean, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, or Parthian traditions. The Palmyrenes also expressed their religious orientations primarily in Palmyrenean or to a lesser extent Greek.

A diachronic perspective on Palmyrene religion helps us delve into such a topic. The Palmyrenes’ unique religious life is notable for its seeming lack of Roman influences (for example, Sommer 2005: 190-91) even after Palmyra became a Roman colonia in the third century (Smith 2013: 130-32). But practices that appear to be longstanding Near Eastern traditions may have been newly constituted during Palmyra’s
integration into the Roman empire (Kaizer 2002: 25-27). Moreover, the semantic values of the Palmyrenes’ religious practices arguably transformed at various stages of Roman imperialism (Andrade 2013: 1-35 and 171-210). When we probe the continuities and changes of Palmyrene religion over time, we encounter certain cues through which the Palmyrenes demonstrated cognition of their place in the Roman imperial system even as they nurtured a critical mass of distinctly local or regional religious practices. The activity of Rabbel as priest for both Bel and Rome’s emperors is just one example of this phenomenon. By delving into Palmyrene inscriptions and material culture, this presentation will explore others.

**Title: Prodigy Reporting in the Early Roman Empire**  
**Name: Susan Satterfield**

In this paper I will show that the decline in prodigy reporting in the early Roman Empire reflects broader political and religious changes in this period. Prodigies were reported and expiated almost annually during the Roman Republic, but during the Empire, there were sometimes decades-long gaps between reports. I will provide reasons for this shift, but I will also examine the continued, though diminished, activities involving prodigy reports and expiations under the emperors. No longer routine, prodigy reports were closely controlled by the emperors, who used them to reference the Republican past and make claims about their own relationship to the gods and the state. In this time of great political change, the very traditional practices of prodigy reporting and expiating came to acquire an entirely new meaning: they confirmed that the emperors’ exceptional power was not only ordained by the gods, but also in line with Republican precedent.

In a famous passage of his histories (43.13.1-2), Livy complains of a decline in prodigy reporting in Rome. Prodigies were aberrations in nature, such as a talking chicken or the birth of a hermaphrodite, or destructive natural phenomena, such as a lightning strike or deadly plague. Almost always bad signs, they communicated the gods’ anger toward Rome. During the Republic they had been reported annually and expiated in public and high-profile ceremonies, typically conducted by the consuls before they left for their provinces, and often involving elaborate ritual responses (such as the introduction of new deities) and broad community participation. But after Augustus consolidated political and religious power in his own hands and the state became indistinguishable from his person, he naturally wanted to avoid the impression that the gods opposed his rule. Instead, omens focused on the emperor himself assumed the role of public prodigies. In this way, the emperor deprived the consuls and Senate, who posed the greatest threat to his position, of their control over prodigy and expiation, and he freed himself as leader of the state from the responsibility of performing or delegating onerous expiatory ceremonies each year.

Given the emperors’ obvious interest in suppressing prodigies, it is not at all surprising that reports declined, but rather that they continued at all. In this paper, I will examine the activities surrounding prodigies and the traditional tools of expiation (the Sibylline books and haruspices) during the early empire, from Augustus to Otho. These will include the prodigy reports of 17 BCE (leading to the performance of the Ludi Saeculares) and of 16 BCE, Augustus’ editing of the Sibylline books and relocating them from the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter to Apollo’s Palatine Temple, Claudius’ revival of reports of earthquakes and birds of ill omen as prodigies, and Nero’s consultation of the Sibylline books after the fire of 64 CE. As I will show, the emperors maintained the traditional tools of expiation in order to preserve the authority of the Roman state, and hence of themselves, as the arbiters of divination. But they rarely used these tools. Under the emperors, prodigies were reported, accepted, and expiated very deliberately and with one purpose: to evoke memories of the Republic. Ultimately, this is the best evidence to support Livy’s claims of a decline in reporting: the emperors, like Livy, saw prodigies as a symbol of a lost past.
This presentation surveys theoretical developments in ancient Mediterranean religion related to social history. It examines one phenomenon, the rise of Christianity, as a case study for detecting how the same commitments can lead like-minded researchers in opposing directions depending on the theories and methods they use. This topic was famously studied by sociologist Rodney Stark in his widely-cited The Rise of Christianity: How the Obscure, Marginal Jesus Movement Became the Dominant Religious Force in the Western World in a Few Centuries (1997). In the past decade, classical scholars and social historians began to re-evaluate the same question (Harris 2005). This development took place at the same time that religious studies scholars, New Testament researchers, and scholars interested in Late Antique Christianity also became fascinated by the “cultural turn,” by which it was asserted that very little about the past was recoverable beyond the rhetoric and ideologies of surviving texts (Martin and Cox Miller 2005). Unfortunately, these widely divergent methodologies and intellectual commitments have worked to obscure, rather than sharpen, one of the most important social historical topics of the Roman Empire. In order to move forward, this presentation explores two main intellectual commitments which are currently in tension in the fields of history, classics, literature, and religious studies. These are: (1) the current religious studies direction of problematizing rigid social and cultural labels by drawing upon anthropological and sociological constructions of identity and boundaries; and (2) the earnest desire by social and cultural historians to re-construct plausible narratives of change over time. Although there are benefits to both approaches, this presentation shows that a heavy reliance on frameworks borrowed from one or the other has stymied investigation into an important political topic. The question of how the Roman Empire became a dedicated Christian state is one such central question which must be re-opened. Although many continue to follow the lead of important scholars such as Peter Brown, whose work presumes a growing widespread conversion to Christianity over the course of the fourth century (Brown 2012), new models suggest that the creation of a Christian state was not dependent on the overwhelming majority of the Empire’s citizens having a “come-to-Jesus” moment (Boin 2015). A greater attention to the social differences within Christian communities in Rome can thus suggest a different way of writing about how and why Christians succeeded in banning non-Christian practices throughout the Roman Empire.

My presentation suggests that, while theories and methods adapted from anthropological and sociological research are a necessary part of the discipline in ancient Mediterranean religion, they cannot be substituted for a rigorous, contextual social-historical analysis of documents and artifacts, all of which needed to put in the service of building new, plausible models to account for social change during the fourth century Roman Empire.

Session 7: Vergil and Tragedy (Organized by the Vergilian Society)

Title: Tragic Poetics in Vergil’s Aeneid
Name: Timothy Wutrich

The well-known mosaic in Tunis’s Bardo Museum that depicts Vergil flanked by the Muses offers more than an idealized representation of Rome’s great epic poet. In the mosaic Vergil appears seated reading a scroll open to Book One, line eight of the Aeneid – Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso. To his right a muse stands upright, shoulders squared, dressed in a green tunic with a gold cloak; she is thought to represent Clio, muse of history. To Vergil’s left stands another muse dressed in a red tunic decorated with golden designs, a green cloak draped over her shoulders. She holds her head with her right hand while in her left hand she carries a mask. Her right foot, clad in the tragic cothurnus, crosses in front of her left and similarly-clad weight-bearing foot, while she leans toward Vergil, supporting her right elbow on the back of Vergil’s chair. This muse represents Melpomene, muse of tragedy. The presence of the muses provides the response to the poet’s invocation. Moreover, the appearance of Clio and Melpomene
suggests two important literary influences at work on Vergil in his composition of the *Aeneid*. Critics will acknowledge, of course, that Vergil’s *Aeneid* embraces more than history and tragedy. Many muses danced for Vergil as he composed his epic. But the presence of Clio and Melpomene points to more than literary influence. Clio with her scroll reminds the viewer of the text that Vergil *wrote*; she is a bookish muse who records the deeds of the past and can recall them at the poet’s summons. She practices her art on the written page. Melpomene also delves into the deeds of the past, and while her creations can take textual form, she practices her art in *performance* on stage. But as Aristotle observes the difference between poet and historian is not that one writes in verse and one in prose. Rather, while Clio records human deeds as they actually happened, Melpomene offers generalized views of human action. This distinction is, in fact, the one Aristotle records in the *Poetics* when he distinguishes between the historian and the poet and remarks that “poetry...is more philosophical and more excellent than history” (*Poetics* 1451b.) Additionally, the tragic muse with her mask and her *cothurni* signals the importance of *mimesis* in tragedy. Tragedy is not just for silent reading.

While much has been written about historical allusion in Vergil’s *Aeneid*, and much also about bookish influences in general on Vergil’s compositions, while scholarship on Vergil and tragic drama has increased, comparatively little has been written about the impact of tragedy as a *performing art* on the *Aeneid*. The *Aeneid* is a poem worthy of tragic performance and the mask and *cothurni* of Melpomene, a phenomenon that early readers of Vergil like Martial noticed (5.5.8 and 7.63.5). Contemporary scholarship acknowledges the importance of both written and performed versions of Vergilian poetry. However, in this essay I would like to draw attention to the importance of dramatic literature and theatrical performance in the poetics of the *Aeneid*. Keeping in mind the essentially performance-oriented texts of Attic Greek and Republican Latin tragedy, Vergil’s readers today might unlock new understanding of the poem that many moderns consider the apex of epic composition. In a final, more provocative section of the essay, I speculate on the place the *Aeneid* might have held as a performed text in the Empire, observing its continued popularity as both a written book and a performed poem in an era when new literary tragedy was a rarity and pantomime reigned as a performance art.

**Title: Virgil’s Tragic Shepherds**  
**Name: Julia Scarborough**

This paper will argue that Virgil’s use of pastoral elements in the *Aeneid* draws on tragedy to create a destabilizing incongruity between readers’ expectations and epic outcomes. In the *Eclogues*, peaceful shepherds devote themselves to song; in the *Aeneid*, in contrast, shepherds enter the epic action at crucial junctures with catastrophic results, culminating in war between Aeneas’ Trojans and the Italians with whom they are fated to join in a new nation.

The clash of pastoral and epic in the *Aeneid* has troubled both ancient and modern critics. Macrobius suggests in his *Saturnalia* that Virgil, lacking a Homeric model, simply does not know how to start an epic war. Modern scholars have read the pastoral episode of *Aeneid* 7 as deliberately evoking the bucolic world of the *Eclogues* and have identified the outbreak of war as a generic transition from pastoral and georgic to martial epic (Putnam 1970, 1995; Thomas 1999). Some critics have seen this juxtaposition of pastoral echoes with epic warfare as a conflict of values, arguing that Aeneas leads an “imperialist invasion” that destroys an idyllic pastoral society (Putnam 1970, Nethercut 1968). In reaction, other scholars have argued that war is a natural extension of hunting and that shepherds’ participation in violence should not be seen as transgressive (Tarleton 1989, Horsfall 2000).

The role of herdsmen in the *Aeneid* has engaged and divided critics chiefly because herdsmen become active participants in battle. Unlike herdsmen in the *Eclogues*, who are exclusively victims, those in the *Aeneid* repeatedly commit or catalyze acts of violence (Chew 2002, Suerbaum 2005, Kronenberg 2013). The aggression of Virgil’s Latin herdsmen cannot be explained by appeal either to bucolic or to epic
models. There is, however, a third genre in which herdsmen do take an active part in violence, both by precipitating crises unwittingly and by starting fights in which they are outmatched. This is Attic tragedy.

Although scholars have long recognized echoes of tragedies such as Euripides’ *Bacchae* and *Heracles* in the events of *Aeneid* 7 (Reckford 1961, Zarker 1969, Wigodsky 1972), discussions of the influence of tragedy on the *Aeneid* (Fenik 1960, Hardie 1997, Panoussi 2009) have not examined the role played by herdsmen. In Attic tragedy, shepherds bring disruption onto the stage; their good intentions combined with inexperience make them dangerous. Euripides’ *Bacchae* and *Iphigenia at Tauris* show groups of herdsmen choosing to launch attacks that go wrong, with disastrous consequences. Sophocles’ *Oedipus the King* hinges on misguided choices made by two shepherds with the best of motives. This paper will argue that the appearance of herdsmen within the larger tragic structures of *Aeneid* 7 activates expectations from tragedy – that shepherds will leave their ordinary sphere of activity and will unwittingly cause disaster. This tragic role offers a paradigm for the part played by herdsmen in the *Aeneid*, including the poem’s most important shepherd: Aeneas himself (Hornsby 1968, Anderson 1968, Chew 2002). Invoking tensions inherent in the figure of the shepherd in tragedy, Virgil transforms the Homeric metaphor of the hero as shepherd of his people to explore the tragic ironies in which Aeneas is implicated as he struggles to accomplish his constructive “pastoral” mission by inevitably destructive methods.

**Title: Euripides’ Hippolytus in Aeneid IV**

**Name: William D. Bruckel**

Euripides’ *Hippolytus* has received only occasional or passing attention as tragic source material for *Aeneid* IV (Hardie (1997), Harrison (1973, 1989)). I argue that Euripides’ play forms a significant intertext for *Aeneid* IV and provides a framework for Dido’s principal ethical dilemma (15ff). Dido, Anna, and Aeneas map allusively onto the figures of the *Hippolytus*, and Euripides’ illustration of Prodicus’ Virtue and Vice gives Vergil an ethical foundation on which to set the action of his *epyllion*.

In the first part of the paper, I show that in the characters of Phaedra and her nurse Euripides dramatizes those of Virtue and Vice from the Heracles anecdote attributed to the sophist Prodicus by Xenophon (*Mem.* 2.1.21-34). In the second I argue that in *Aeneid* IV Vergil mobilizes both the tragedy and its sophistic source in his treatment of Dido, Aeneas, and Anna in an effort to exonerate the queen of ethical liability in her indulgence and therefore augment our sympathy for her demise. I follow the approach of Panoussi (2009), who claims that an extended allusive program in the *Aeneid* imbues the characters of Dido and Turnus with the virtues characteristic of both Sophocles’ Ajax and of his Homeric source; she argues that these “heroic ideals” are qualities absent from the empire which the epic’s hero prefigures (Panoussi 2009, 196f). My argument that Vergil also alludes in Book IV to the *Hippolytus* and its source material extends this tragic effect to the virtues Dido exhibits even in her erotic indulgence.

In the second part of my paper I point out a system of allusions in *Aeneid* IV that aligns Dido and Aeneas with their tragic counterparts, Phaedra and Hippolytus. On the most fundamental level, Phaedra and Dido are aligned by both their victimization at the hands of Aphrodite/Venus, which each characterizes as a
wound, and by the goddess’ explicit apathy for their suffering. Multiple references to hunting, meanwhile, structure Aeneas as a Hippolytus figure as well as allude to Euripides’ play.

Dido’s sister, Anna, too fits into the *Hippolytus* schema: like Phaedra’s nurse, she helps to advise Dido on the best course of action in coping with her sudden and apparently illicit erotic affliction. However, unlike the nurse or Vice who are willing to sacrifice ethical principles for expediency, Anna instead appeals to Dido’s civic preoccupation. Anna assuages Dido’s anxieties over her late husband by insisting the dead have no interest in the living, advising her to consider a bond with the Trojans a political advantage and so a reasonably just course (*Aen. IV*, 31-53). In exchanging indulgent expediency for civic responsibility, Vergil adapts the Vice-like advisor character and inverts it to render its advice *virtuous*, despite catastrophic results. Civic duty is the only basis on which Dido will allow herself to abandon her celibacy, and so her indulgence is as virtuous as Anna’s advice since it corresponds by analogy to Phaedra’s concern for her children’s reputation. With Dido exonerated, the tragic impact of her death at the hand of the gods and its necessity for the foundation of Rome is augmented.

**Title:** The Ajax in Aeneas: Tragedy and Epic in the Boxing Ring in *Aeneid*

**Name:** Alice Hsu

Allusion to Ajax has long been identified as a vector for the introduction of “further voices,” particularly voices questioning Aeneas’ leadership, into the *Aeneid* (Lyne, Panoussi). Most notably, in *Aeneid 12*, Vergil deploys an allusion to Ajax’s tragic tradition that shows Aeneas “as playing the role of the tragic Ajax” in a way that is “significant, and disturbing,” and that undermines the strain of the epic that portrays Aeneas as a selfless, dispassionate leader (Lyne).

I take as my starting point Lyne’s comment that “the suggestion of an Ajax in Aeneas is not large; it would welcome confirmation.” I focus on *Aeneid 5*, a book that scrutinizes Aeneas’ transformation into a proto-Roman and *pater*-figure for his followers. Given that *Aeneid 5* functions as an *Aeneid in parvo* (Galinsky), whatever further voices Vergil builds into Aeneas’ pivotal transition in this book will guide our assessment of the hero overall and his actions at the climax of the epic.

In a close reading of the boxing match of Anchises’ funeral games, I show that Vergil deploys a network of allusions to Ajax. The episode mirrors *Iliad 7*’s duel between Hector and Ajax: just as when Hector issues the challenge to a duel, no volunteers step up to fight the champion Dares. When Dares throws down his well-worn seven-layered gloves, the spectators tremble, just as the *Iliad*’s Trojans tremble when Ajax steps forward with his signature seven-layered shield. At this point in their respective scenes, both Vergil and Homer linger on the objects’ unusual size, make, and history (Hom. *Il.* 7.206-25; Verg. *Aen.* 5.387-406). Affinities between Entellus and Ajax are further reinforced when the lumbering Entellus, tripped up by the nimbler Dares, falls, likened to a besieged city or tower (*Verg. Aen.* 5.393-400)—the tower being Ajax’s customary simile in both epic and tragedy (Hom. *Il.* 17.128-34, Soph. *Aj.* 158-9). I argue further that Entellus’ fall is an aggregate of Ajax’s humiliations and losses in *Iliad 23*’s funeral games. But, I argue, alongside heavy allusion to the Homeric Ajax are strong resemblances between Vergil’s Entellus and the tragic Ajax, particularly when the victorious Entellus substitutes animal sacrifice for human sacrifice at the end of the boxing match. Entellus’ substitution aligns with Ajax’s unwitting slaughter of sheep instead of those who awarded Achilles’ arms to Odysseus. The effect of this combination of epic and tragic Ajax in Entellus is to suggest that Entellus, like Ajax, exemplifies individualistic and asocial Achillean heroism at a time when Achillean heroism is increasingly outmoded, ambivalent, and potentially destabilizing to the collective and society.

Vergil’s casting of Entellus as an Ajax-like figure turns the boxing match of *Aeneid 5* into an exploration of Ajax’s heroic identity, its potential dangers, and its obsolescence. Exactly such a debate about the advantages and drawbacks of various styles of heroism had, by Vergil’s time, assumed a kind of
paradigmatic status: the contest between potential successors to Achilles, whether Ajax, Odysseus, or Neoptolemus (Michelakis, cf. Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 13.1-398. This debate ultimately bears on our assessment of the hero Aeneas. If we understand *Aeneid* 5 as an *Aeneid in parvo*, then Aeneas’ role presiding over his father’s funeral games, as Achilles presides over those in *Iliad* 23, prefigures Aeneas’ identification as an alter Achilles in the *Aeneid* final half. Much of our interpretation of the *Aeneid* hinges on how we interpret that wildly ambiguous identification of Aeneas as a potential successor to Achilles. Is Aeneas an alter Achilles in the same sense that tragic tradition casts Ajax, the best of the Achaeans after Achilles, as an alter Achilles: a too-Achillean hero who has outlived his era? I find that the suggestion of Ajax in Aeneas is, in fact, a large one, and that the boxing match, with its heavy allusion to Ajax, enacts *in parvo* the central debate of the last half of the *Aeneid* about Aeneas’ heroism and his identification as an alter Achilles.

---

**Session 8: Greek and Latin Linguistics (Organized by the Society for the Study of the Greek and Latin Languages and Linguistics)**

**Title: Limited Grassmann’s Law in Latin**

**Name: Michael Weiss**

Following the lead of Walde 1906, Weiss 2011:156 posits the dissimilation of the first of two successive aspirates when the intervening syllable contained a liquid. The examples cited are:

*bʰarʰeh₂* ‘beard’ (cf. OCS *brada*, OE *beard*) > *bardʰā* >> *barba* not † *farba*.

*dʰragʰeti* ‘drags’ (cf. OE *dragan*) > *dragʰeti* > *traʰiti* not † *fraʰiti*  
*ɡʰlädʰros* ‘smooth’ (cf. OE *glœd* ‘bright’, OHG *glat* ‘smooth’ < PGmc. *glada*) > *gladʰros* > *glaber* not † *laber*.

This talk will examine alternative explanations for this data, investigate the phonetic plausibility of the conditioning environment (why should the presence of a liquid favor dissimilation?) and, following the methodology of Weiss 2010, collect and analyze synoptically the evidence for the reflexes of biaspirate roots in Italic.

**Title: The Perfect Participle Active in Homer: Against an Aeolic Phase**

**Name: Jesse Lundquist**

Two forms of the perfect participle active are held to offer evidence for a discrete Aeolic phase in the prehistory of Homeric diction. The first is paradigms declining *-ōτ*– (pro *-ότ*, e.g. τεθνη-*ōτ*– II.17.161 et passim, κεκμη-*ōτ*– II. 23.232 al., etc.), which would preserve the syllabic weight of putative original Aeolic participles in *-οντ*, though they would owe their present form to an Ionic “compromise” to *-ῶτ*–. The second piece of evidence is κεκλή*γοντ*– ‘clamoring’ which would attest directly the Aeolic participle in *-οντ*– preserved in epic (so e.g. Nagy 2011:167ff.). That these participles are of Aeolic provenance is the majority opinion and as such is found in standard commentaries (e.g. Wachter 2001:101). Against this approach, I will argue that the participles in *-ῶτ*– represent an inner-epic evolution of Proto-Ionic *-η-ϝότ*– > *-εῶτ*– with quantitative metathesis over w-loss (and scanned with synezeis τεθνε*ωτ*– ‘to the dead one’ Od.19.331), which was then reformed metri causa within the epic tradition. These forms have been treated as metrical lengthenings in older treatments, with which I will agree (Debrunner 1917; Meister 1921:174-5; Werner 1948:52ff.). We can defend the analysis of metrical lengthening and advance its explanation here by appealing to a richer typology of inner-epic analogical innovations, into which the phenomenon at hand nicely fits (see Nikolaev 2013: n.40, following Rau 2008). The perfect participle in *-ōτ*– will offer testimony for Old Ionic to Neo-Ionic developments, and the response to these changes by singers within the tradition. An argument to this effect will have a bearing on what admixtures of Aeolic and Ionic constitute the dialectal basis of epic diction, and in particular whether the prehistory of epic
diction knew a discrete Aeolic phase or whether the evidence points rather to an internal Ionic evolution with borrowing from neighboring Aeolic. Our discussion of the perfect participle active will also provide an opportunity to revisit κεκλήγοντ- ‘clamoring’. Diagnosis of Aeolic origin comes solely from the ending –οντ-, since the item is not attested in Aeolic and does not show Aeolic phonology, i.e. we find κλητ- for expected *κλάτ-. I will suggest that we may have instead an Ionic archaism: there is clear evidence for ancient thematic inflection in precisely this class of intensive perfects, e.g. μέμηκον ‘bleated’ (Od.9.439), γεγονέμεν inf. ‘to shout’ (Il.8.223,11.6), etc. (cf. Chantraine GH 1 §207). Such thematic forms of the intensive perfect are without doubt of at least Proto-Greek vintage. I will argue that the perfect participle in –οντ- may be a relic of Old Ionic date, *kekλάγont- > κεκλήγοντ-, and was preserved thanks to its metrical structure, but was refashioned wherever possible, hence nom.sg.m. κεκλήγων competes with metrically equivalent κεκλήγως.

Title: The Act of Truth
Name: Daniel Walden

The “Act of Truth” in Indo-European sacred and magical discourse is the ritual pronunciation of a truth that effects a change in the physical and/or social cosmos. It has been treated on most extensively by Calvert Watkins (1979, 1995), and is most readily visible in Sanskrit, Avestan, and Old Irish poetry. This act in its most ancient form is associated with kings and rulers, and so is dubbed the “Ruler’s Truth” by Watkins. Its presence in Hesiod has already been noted by Watkins and others, and indeed its absence forms a central part of the poetic background of the Works and Days.

Another topic central to discussion of the Works and Days has been the question of Hesiod’s appropriation of regal or kingly discourse. West (1966, 1978) argues that the poetic investiture with the symbols of kingship in the Theogony points us toward reading his subsequent speech as regal or kingly, and Martin (1984) notes that the poetic investiture parallels the investiture of an Irish king, suggesting at the very least that the poet’s speech has acquired regal qualities and functions.

These are sensible readings, but this paper will contend the reverse: that the Works and Days distinguishes rigorously between the Ruler’s Truth and what can be called the Poet’s Truth, and furthermore, that the poet is conscious of this distinction and of the inadequacy of the Poet’s Truth for filling the social and ritual gap left by the abuses of the δωροφάγοι βασιλῆες. Consideration of the evidence in the Hesiodic corpus alongside other Indo-European evidence of the Act of Truth and Ruler’s Truth allows us to make a primary distinction between Ruler’s and Poet’s Truth on the basis of performative and referential functionality: the value of the Ruler’s Truth lies in its being enacted within its appropriate social/ritual context, whereas the Poet’s Truth conveys traditional lore and is valuable for its content. Both can have the effect of calming discord and restoring healthy social relationships, but in the case of the Ruler’s Truth this is intrinsic to its performance, whereas it is a secondary by-product of the content of the Poet’s Truth.

The paper first establishes δίκη as tied to regal speech-acts based on parallel Homeric and Hesiodic evidence, and then establishes the semantic complex that indicates discourse about the Ruler’s Truth and what can be called the Poet’s Truth, comparing passages exhibiting this semantic complex with similar examples from the Audacht Morainn and the Rigveda in order to definitively establish the Act of Truth, including the Ruler’s Truth, as a primarily performative rather than referential speech-act. The paper then surveys the social function of the poet, particularly as compared with that of the indolent kings, throughout the Works and Days, concluding that the Poet’s Truth is at all times referential, depending for its value and power on its content and subject matter, and that a great deal of the poem is taken up by the poet’s enumeration of the inadequacy of his own speech-acts for rectifying the social problems created by corrupt kings.
This reveals the Hesiodic corpus as even more valuable to the study of Indo-European poetics than originally supposed, for it shows us a poet with a deeply sophisticated self-awareness about his own social position and the typologies of poetic and ritual discourse that he inherits. The diachronic dispersal of performative poetic utterance from kings and poets in archaic periods down through all levels of society is charted admirably in the last segments of Watkins 1995, and the Works and Days offers us a rare “insider’s view” of this process and, it seems, a protest against it.

**Title:** Gk. Χείρων, Hitt. kiššeraš₉UTU-uš and Rudrá ‘of healing hand’

**Name:** Laura Massetti

Gk. Χείρων (Hom.) / Χῑ́ρων (Pind.) has long been interpreted as ‘having (good) hands (χείρ)’, (Kretschmer 1919). However, the form <Χιρων>, occurring on both Attic vase paintings and in one inscription from Thera (7th–6th. B.C.) has recently led some to think that Χείρων was a secondary form of the name, ultimately based on a Volksetymologie (Wachter 2001, Pelliccia). This paper shall now stress that Chiron shares some inherited characteristics of Anatolian and Vedic medicine-gods, namely the association with (1) the ‘healing hand’ and (2) hunting activity, which may lend support to the interpretation of Χείρων/Χῑ́ρων as ‘the one with good hands’:

(1) The ‘healing hand’ is a distinctive feature of Chiron as a teacher of physicians, matching that of the Vedic god Rudra, cf. Pind. Nem. 3.55 τὸν φαρμάκων δίδαξε μαλακώχειρα νόμον “(sc. Asclepius), whom he (sc. Chiron) taught the gentle-handed province of medicines” (Race 1997); RV II 33.7 kṣva syá te rud.ṛa mṛlayākun’ hásto yó ásti bheṣajā jālāsah “where, o Rudra, is that merciful hand of yours, which is a healing remedy (…)?” (Jamison and Brereton 2014). A similar state of affairs may underlie some Anatolian divine appellatives, namely Luw. Kiššaraššaš ‘God of the Hand’, probably a deification of the body part, and kiššeraš dUTU-uš ‘Sun-God of the Hand’, who is invoked in a ritual against bewitching (KBo 12.126 i 22 : CTH 402).

(2) Χείρων, Rudrá- and kiššeraš dUTU-uš are associated with hunting:

- Chiron, ‘the divine beast’ (φήρ ... θεῖος, Pind. Pyth. 4.119) trains heroes in hunting, as clearly stated by Xenophon, cf. Cyr. 1.1.1f. τὸ μὲν εὐρήμα θεόν, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Αρτέμιδος, ἄγραι καὶ κύνες· ἐδόσαν δὲ καὶ ἐτίμησαν τούτῳ Χείρωνα διὰ δικαιότητα [...] καὶ ἔγένοντο αὐτῷ μᾶθητα κυνηγεσίων [...] ‘chase and dogs are the invention of gods, of Apollo and Artemis. They bestowed it to Chiron and honored him therewith for his righteousness […] and he had for pupils in hunt (sc. Cephalus and others)’. Moreover, he is connected with arrow-wounds in classical sources (Il. 829–32+) and dies shot by Herakles’ arrow (Diod. Sic. IV 12.8+).

- Rudra, who is compared to a ‘terrible beast’ (mrgāṃ nā bhīmām, RV II 33.11c), is referred to as having good bow, good arrows and dogs, cf. RV IV 52.11a tām u śūtiḥ yāh saviṣūḥ sudhānvā “praise him, who has the good arrow and the good bow” (Jamison and Brereton 2014); AVŚ XI 2.30 rudrāṣya [...] idām mahāsyebhyaḥ svābhyaḥ akaraṁ nāmah “to Rudra’s […] great-mouthed dogs I have paid this homage” (Whitney and Lanman 1905). Furthermore, he causes illness with his terrible missiles (RV II 33.14+).

- In the Ritual of Alli from Arzawa against Bewitching (KBo 12.126 i 49–53 = CTH 402), kiššeraš dUTU-uš is opposed to a hunter clay-figure, which probably represents the bewitchers (Mouton 2010). Thus, the state of affairs reflected by the Hittite passage turns out to be reverse and complementary to the Vedic and Greek ones:

[krjšēraš dUTU-uš LÛ.GI-aš=(š)a LÛ-aš peran nu=(š)ši tāšPAN=ŠU čēz[r]]
In conclusion, the common features Chiron and Rudra share speak for a common mythological ancestor, probably a divine figure connected with young men’s age-groups (Männerbünde), that was associated with hunting and medicine. The comparison with Hitt. kiššeraš ṚTU-uš supports the interpretation of Chiron’s name as ‘the one with good hands’. Even in the case of a secondary re-interpretation, the Volksymologie Χείρων : χείρ was based on inherited material, while a potential etymological match (Χείρων : kiššeraš ṚTU-uš : Rudrá– hásto yó ásti bhesajó) may go beyond the mere formal coincidence.

Title: The Invention of the Greek Accent Marks
Name: Philomen Probert

Aristophanes of Byzantium is credited with inventing the signs for Greek accents, breathings, and vowel lengths, according to a single source: a passage found in two sixteenth-century Paris manuscripts. The passage has a doubtful history, but the story it tells generates considerable interest (see Prauscello 2006: 33–40, with bibliography). This paper argues that at least for the material on accents the passage had a source that was in Latin, and whose subject was the Latin accent.

Background

One of the manuscripts (Par. Gr. 2102), in the hand of Jacob Diassorinus, presents the passage as part of Book 20 of [Arcadius]’ epitome of Herodian, Περὶ Καθολικῆς Προσῳδίας. Book 20 is missing from all other copies of [Arcadius]; Diassorinus clearly compiled (or as it is often put ‘forged’) this book from other sources, to repair the loss of the original Book 20—a point that does not itself tell us where the material came from in the first place. In the other manuscript (Par. Gr. 2603) the passage appears separately from the text of [Arcadius] (which this manuscript also contains): see Nauck (1848: 12 n. 2); Lentz (1867: xxxviii); Laum (1928: 99); Roussou (forthcoming, §2.2.1.4). Evidence for a Latin source has not been noticed before, and adds a new wrinkle to debate about the text’s history.

Summary of the argument

Initial evidence for a Latin source comes from features with better parallels in Latin sources than in Greek ones. For example:

• The term ὀξυβαρεῖα (or ὀξυβαρύς) for ‘circumflex’, otherwise only at [Sergius] iv. 531. 19 Keil.
• The point that the grave accent is capable of spreading itself out over more of the word than the acute or circumflex; the best parallel is [Sergius] iv. 532. 12–14 Keil.
• The idea that the accented syllable κυριεύει τοῦ ὄνοματος ‘dominates the word’; for this verbal expression cf. Diomedes’ regens uerba ‘ruling words’ (i. 430. 30 Keil).
• The expression οὐδὲ ἂν ἐπιμήκιστον εἶν τὸ ὄνομα ‘(the accent goes no further back than the antepenultimate syllable) even if the word is very long’. Such allusions to possible word length are standard in the Latin tradition, not the Greek one: quotlibet syllabarum sit dictio (Donatus, Ars Maior 609. 8 Holtz; Diomedes i. 431. 13–14 Keil); neque enim refert plurium syllabarum esse partem orationis (Diomedes i. 431. 11–12 Keil); si quantarumuis sermo sit syllabarum ([Sergius] iv. 482. 20 Keil); in quantouís numero syllabarum ([Sergius] iv. 483. 11–12 Keil).
A new examination of the manuscripts yields the new reading ὁπότε δὲ αὐτὸς ἐκσταίη τῆς λέξεως ὁ τόνος, τηνικαῦτα περισπώμενος γίνεται ‘whenever this accent (i.e. the acute) abandons the word, then the accent becomes a circumflex’. For the idea that an accent that is not present has ‘abandoned’ its place cf. Cledonius (v. 32. 8–10 Keil): loca quae circumflexus aut acutus dimiserit, grauis possidet... dimissum ab alis possidet ‘the grave occupies the places that the circumflex or acute has abandoned...it occupies (the place) abandoned by others’. Compare Pompeius’ sibi sermonem uindicat ‘(the acute or circumflex) claims the word for itself’ (v. 126. 16 Keil).

Moreover, the clause ὁπότε καὶ κυριεύοι τοῦ ὄνόματος ἡ παρὰ τὸ πέρας, ἢ τρίτον ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος may derive from an expression meaning ‘depending whether the penultimate syllable or the antepenultimate was the dominant syllable of the word’—a complete set of options for the Latin accent, not the Greek one. Later on we read, oddly, that the circumflex is ‘mostly found at the end’ (φαίνεται δὲ καὶ οὗτος τὰ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ πέρατος). Latin sources tell us that Latin accents (whether circumflex or acute) are not usually found on the final syllable: it will be suggested that such a claim has been ineptly adapted for Greek, with the removal of ‘not’.

A working text will be provided.

SECOND SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS

Session 9: War and Revolution in the Roman World
Title: Horace's Island of the Blessed: A Lyric Evaluation of a Pastoral Idea
Name: Jeffrey Peter Ulrich

In ancient conceptions of space, mythical geography is often inextricably connected to the phenomenological experience of time. Homer’s Phaeacians experience time differently on the periphery of the world, and the Island of the Blessed exists in a kind of prelapsarian state. One useful theoretical model to explain this phenomenon is Bakhtin’s chronotope of the literary image (Bakhtin (1982)). According to this framework, space and time are so intricately interwoven that we cannot speak of one without talking about the other. Moreover, the various chronotopes are especially tied to genre and generic landscapes. A second model one can deploy to discuss the temporal experience in mythical paradises is Mircea Eliade’s illud tempus (Eliade (1960)), an alternative temporality unlike ‘modern’ quotidian city-life.

In this paper, I use Bakhtin’s theory of the chronotope blended with Eliade’s illud tempus in order to understand Horace’s depiction of the Island of the Blessed as a genre-specific ascription of value in landscape. By comparing Epode 16 with its two primary intertexts – Vergil’s Eclogue 4 and Pindar’s Olympian 2 – we can see how Horace chooses to depict a particular mythical locale in the lyric genre as a response both to the genre of Latin pastoral and to the inherently performative genre of Greek lyric. The written retelling of the mythical paradise is thus a rejection of Vergil’s bucolic landscape in which the poet prophesies a returning aureum saeculum, and simultaneously an appropriation of Pindar’s lyric world, where the audience is transported to an alternate spatio-temporality through performance. Horace utilizes the inherited meaning of two generic landscapes to provide his readers with a different experience of time.

I open the paper by considering how Horace’s lament about the degenerative cycle of ages offers a response to Vergil’s prophecy of a returning Golden Age in Eclogue 4. We can see in Horace’s altera aetas a rejection of Vergil’s ultima aetas (Feeney (2007)), and thus of the chronotope of the pastoral world. Horace proposes that the solution to civil war in Rome is voyage to the Island of the Blessed – a suggestion that is riddled with paradoxes. Horace’s eschatology ironically plays upon the poetic trope of
the Argo as a symbolic rupture between the prelapsarian state of mythic space-time and the constraints of historical time and connected space. The answer to the problems plaguing Rome is sailing, which was itself the catalyst for the fall from a prelapsarian state. The poet, however, does not offer only pessimism to his readers. In the second portion of my paper, I analyze the way in which Horace imbues the Island of the Blessed with a new literary meaning through a ritual retelling akin to that of his Greek lyric predecessor (see Barchiesi (2008)). By appropriating a Pindaric ode in the lyric mode about this mythical place, Horace promises to the reader an escape from the degenerative cycle of saecula through his poetic creation. In conclusion, I suggest that it is the readerly experience of enjoying the poem that conveys the reader, in a sense, to an Island of the Blessed. Horace harnesses the power of performance inherent in Greek lyric and uses it to send his readers to an alternate landscape – a return to a kind of illud tempus of the Eliadean framework.

Title: Boudica’s Revolt: An Act of Imitation?
Name: Caitlin Gillespie

Titus and Dio use intratextual references in their accounts of the Boudican revolt to indicate the sameness of provincial uprisings, as well as the uniqueness of Boudica as an individual. Boudica stands apart as a female leader, and her sex allows each author to meditate on the impact of Rome on the lives of women. Boudica poignantly demonstrates the psychological effects of servitude and the destruction of family life.

Past scholars have emphasized native uprisings occur after people have been conquered and are experiencing the influence of the Romans. Images of women and children suggest the Roman impact on private life, particularly the practice of raising hostages in Rome (cf. Rose 1990; Ferris 1994: 28). Dio suggests locals may not realize their cultural transformation until oppressed by a corrupt governor (e.g. Dio 56.18.2-3); Titus notes that Roman markers of civilization are indices of servitude (Tac. Ag. 21). By comparing revolts, we see common issues on the limitations of acculturation (cf. Dyson 1971; Brunt 1960), and how authors use revolts to reflect on politics in Rome (e.g. Keitell 1978). Scholars have noted similarities in the omens that precede the Varian disaster and Boudican revolt (e.g. Simpson 1996; Standing 2005: 373-4), as well as the thematic import of the flashback to Varus in Titus’ Annals (Pagán 1999), opening up avenues for further comparisons.

Dio’s Boudica ends an exhortation to her troops by proclaiming, “Let us show them that they are hares and foxes trying to rule over dogs and wolves!” (Dio 62.5.6). Here, she commands her warriors to view themselves as fierce protectors defending their kin. Her words echo those of Bato, leader of the Dalmatian revolt of 6-9 CE: Bato justifies his actions to Tiberius, saying, “You all are the cause of this, for you send as guardians of your flocks not dogs or shepherds, but wolves” (Dio 56.16.3). The metaphor of aggression aligns the two revolts, but complicates the position of Rome. Titus emphasizes the cruelty of the Romans; in the attack on Arduba, the women throw themselves and their children into the flames of the burning city or into the river, preferring death to servitude (Dio 56.12.2). The courage of the women reflects that of Titus’ Boudica, who states that women choose to win or die trying, and challenges her men to do the same (Tac. Ann. 14.35.2). The actions of women in both revolts betray an anxiety concerning the fate of families after defeat. This is especially clear in Britain (cf. Dio 62.6.3).

While Dio aligns Boudica with Bato, Titus uses the Varian disaster of 9 CE as the catastrophe against which all others are measured. Titus refers to the clades Variana in his elucidation of the general complaints of the Britons (Ag. 15.5), and builds on this reference in his Annals, where Boudica’s rebellion is another clades (Ann. 14.32.3, 14.33.2; cf. Roberts 1988: 124). Boudica’s revolt could have ended Roman expansion in Britain, as the Varian disaster ended expansion to the north (cf. Benario 2003: 402). The similar use of language invites readers to examine Arminius and Boudica as comparable leaders, dedicated to freedom and family. Arminius regrets the capture of his pregnant wife, and is enraged that...
Thusnelda and his son must endure servitude; years later, his people do not trust his son to lead, confirming he has been corrupted by the foreign habits of the Romans (Ann. 11.16). Boudica condemns the Romans, who violated her daughters and know no limits to avarice and lust (Ann. 14.31.1, 14.35.1; cf. Ag. 15.2). Both leaders are disparaging of a culture that values luxury over courage, servitude over freedom.

Narratives of native resistance present the Romans as destructive to family life. I conclude with a consideration of Boudica’s place in the works of Tacitus and Dio, and how her emphasis on family life counters the gradual destruction of the house of Nero at the time her revolt occurs.

Title: Lucan’s Melian Dialogue: Pharsalia 3.298-374
Name: Jacqueline Stimson

In Book 3 of Lucan’s Pharsalia, Caesar is temporarily detained in his rapid march towards Spain by representatives of Massilia, who seek neutrality on behalf of their city. Their appeal, in the form of a long, impassioned monologue, fails to convince their antagonist; after delivering his own speech in response, Caesar besieges the city and engages the Massilians in an extended naval battle that spans over 250 lines. This episode has attracted attention for its historical inaccuracy, and for the bizarre and grisly naval battle that follows.

Compelling arguments have been made about the thematic significance and purpose of the siege of Massilia. Robert Rowland, for instance, has aligned Massilia’s treatment by Caesar and its fate with that of Rome itself, while C. M. C. Green finds mythological influences on the depiction of Caesar, particularly the rex nemorensis. However, I believe another significant parallel has gone unnoticed. In this paper I argue that the interaction between the Massilians and Caesar represents Lucan’s Romanized version of the Melian Dialogue, modeled after Thucydides’ History of the Peloponnesian War (5.84-116). Though sources are scanty on Lucan’s brief life, we know that he received a rigorous education from his extended family, including his uncle Seneca, and the Greek Stoic philosopher Cornutus; he would have been well-acquainted with Thucydides. Although there is no dialogue proper, Lucan’s characterization of both the Massilians and Caesar offers many salient parallels with the Melians and Athenians respectively.

I begin by demonstrating how Lucan’s introduction to the confrontation and to the overall characterization of the two parties closely corresponds to Thucydides’ account. It has been widely noted that Lucan took great liberties in his portrayal of the Massilians, and I argue that such changes are meant to align them with the moralistic, isolated Melians. Moreover, Caesar’s limitless ambition and ruthless nature bear a remarkable resemblance to the characterization of the Athenians, as outlined in the famous Corinthian speech (Thuc. 1.70). Next, I show how the organization and content of the Massilian speech mirror the Melian Dialogue, including the themes of neutrality, justice, and their ability to successfully resist any siege. Caesar’s shrewd and rational response counters the Massilian speech in the same manner as the Athenians. I discuss further thematic parallels in their speeches, specifically the futility of hope, the advantage of fear, and the argument for the stronger versus the weaker. Finally, I highlight similarities between Lucan and Thucydides’ descriptions of the aftermath of the exchange, including Lucan’s decision to end the naval battle without revealing that Caesar had in fact spared the Massilians.

By viewing the siege of Massilia as an adaptation of one of Thucydides’ most famous episodes, we can account for many of Lucan’s choices in the content and presentation. To conclude, I argue that both Thucydides and Lucan emphasize how each aggressor focuses on the present, rather than the future. In the short term, this seems to be a highly successful strategy, judging by the superiority of Athens and Caesar during these episodes. Yet the authors also indicate that it is ultimately their undoing. While scholars have often interpreted Caesar as a profoundly negative figure in the Pharsalia, understanding the Athenians as a
model gives a more nuanced characterization to Lucan’s portrayal. Instead of treating Caesar as a one-dimensional and unrealistic caricature, as some have argued, Lucan turns him into a symbol of Roman imperialism. This parallel is particularly salient, for Rome is in many ways the successor to Athens as a world power; while such a comparison may be favorable in certain areas, here it is more disquieting. Thus, the themes which run throughout the Melian Dialogue and the History of the Peloponnesian War as a whole find their complement in the siege of Massilia and Lucan’s epic, which stands as a commentary on Rome’s own development as an imperial authority and the irrevocable and unforgiveable ways it achieved its power.

Title: The Curious Case of Uspe: Legalism, Profit and Terror in Roman Imperialism
Name: Tristan S. Taylor

Tacitus’ brief narrative of the destruction of the town of Uspe of the Siraci in the Bosphorus in 49 CE (Ann. 12.16-17) provides valuable insight into the use of massacre in the exercise of Roman imperialism. It shows, inter alia, a tension, inherent in imperial rhetoric and ideology, between the ideal of clementia and the perceived necessity for exemplary violence in the context of expanding or maintaining Rome’s empire. Such a tension is inherent in Augustus’ Res Gestae, for example, where he highlights the fact that he spared conquered people, yet only where safe to do so (RG 3.2). Tacitus provides insight into these issues through his inclusion of what appear to be the Roman deliberations that followed an offer from the Uspenses – after the first Roman siege assault – to spare the free population of the town in return for 10,000 slaves, ultimately leading to the Roman decision to reject the surrender and to massacre the town’s inhabitants on the basis that: trucidare deditos saeuum, tantam multitudinem custodia cingere arduum: belli potius ture caederent (Ann. 12.17.1). This paper will argue that Tacitus’ narrative – probably owing its origin to the original commander’s dispatch (Syme 1958) – shows us four key points about massacre and imperialism. First, it will be argued that the deliberations are notable for their studied legalism (Ando 2011) in the insistence that the surrender would be refused so that the Uspenses could be killed in accordance with the ius belli: that is, the custom that those who did not surrender prior to the commencement of a siege assault could expect no mercy (eg, Caes. BG 2.32; Cic. De Off. 1.35; Levithan 2013). This legalistic approach suggests some Roman anxiety that mass violence be seen as justified or legitimate and that quite technical ‘legalities’ were seen as providing such justification. Second, the deliberate rejection of the surrender – and the apparent contemplation of the consequences of massacring even those who had surrendered – show that the Romans intended to commit a massacre as a form of ‘conspicuous destruction’ to intimidate other Siraci. Indeed, the strategy was effective, compelling the king of the Siraci to surrender (Ann. 12.17.3). Thus, an opportunity for clementia was passed over to achieve deterrence through terror, as was the case in other examples from Roman history (eg, Polybius 10.15; Mattern 1999; Harris 1979; Van Wees 2010). Third, terror is here accorded priority not only over clementia, but also over potential profit in the rejection of the offer of 10,000 slaves. The statement that it was arduum to guard them stands in contrast to other reports of mass-enslavements, such as Caesar’s claim of enslaving and selling on the spot some 53,000 people after taking one town in Gaul (BG 2.33). Indeed, the presence of such a large number of slaves in Uspe suggests a thriving local slave trade (Furneaux 1907) that theoretically would have enabled such a number to be readily disposed of, which in turn suggests the argument to be more specious than real. Thus, the possibility of profit did not always militate against massacre when there were other Roman goals, such as provoking fear (Levithan 2013; Van Wees 2010). Finally, the passage is notable for the impression of military discipline that it conveys, with the soldiers waiting until a signal (signum caedis) before commencing the massacre. This concern for discipline reflects the discomfort found in Greco-Roman writers with the general undisciplined behaviour of soldiers during the sack of a city. This discomfort can result in overly-schematic descriptions of Roman practice, such as Polybius’ description of the staged sack of New Carthage (Polybius 10.15-16; Ziolkowski 2002; Levithan 2013). Thus the curious case of the destruction of Uspe suggests a paradoxical view of massacre in Roman imperialism: at times an imperial necessity trumping clementia or profit, yet also provoking such anxiety as to require some justification, even if only in a legalistic manner.
Session 10: Forgery
Title: Disputed Illyricum: The Purpose and Date of a Late Antique Forgery
Name: Jason Osequeda, University of Chicago

A peculiar rescript of Theodosius II, ostensibly dated between August 421 and August 423, claims to abrogate his decree of 14 July 421 that the patriarch of Constantinople should have jurisdiction over Illyricum, in satisfaction of a request of Honorius. This rescript, found in the Collectio Thessalonicensis (Vat. Lat. 5751), has remained a troubling piece of imperial legislation because the earlier decree remains both in the Codex Theodosianus (16.2.45) and the Codex Justinianus (1.2.6) while the rescript abrogating it does not. One possible explanation for this is that upon Honorius’ death in 423 Theodosius II changed his mind and nullified his rescript. However, such an explanation fails to account for the numerous problems plaguing the document, such as anachronisms and factual inaccuracies. Whoever wrote the rescript seems to have had little knowledge about the situation of the Roman Empire at the time of its purported authorship. Furthermore, as Mommsen pointed out, the legal procedure of abrogating the decree was improper (Mommsen 1893). For these reasons, scholars have doubted the authenticity of the rescript (Chrysos 1972), although there is no fixed consensus on the matter. Still uncertain is the true purpose and date of the rescript, assuming it is in fact a forgery.

The authenticity of the rescript is dubious for many reasons. In comparing the rescript to the instigating letter of Honorius before it, it is clear that the author of the rescript was merely recycling the language of Honorius’ letter, often using the exact same phrases and only changing the person of the verbs. Given the circumstances, one would expect that Theodosius II would have put some more consideration into a reply to his uncle and imperial colleague. A closer inspection reveals further anomalies in the letter. For instance, at one point the author of the rescript mentions more than one praetorian prefect of Illyricum, even though there was only one. There are also phrases present in the rescript that were not used in the east, especially during the early fifth century. Such unawareness of the administration of the Roman Empire and unusual word choice make it unlikely that the author was a member of the imperial court.

One possible origin of the rescript is in the midst of a sixth century dispute over the patriarch of Constantinople’s right to depose bishops in Illyricum. Theodore of Echinus compiled a dossier of papal and imperial letters in 531 to present at a synod in Rome concerning the patriarch of Constantinople’s removal of Stephen of Larissa. Theodore argued that the patriarch of Constantinople had no authority in Illyricum because it was under Roman jurisdiction. To prove his case, Theodore presented over twenty documents concerning the papal vicariate of Thessalonica that demonstrated Roman jurisdiction of Illyricum. Alternatively, another possible origin of the forgery comes about during the papacy of Nicholas I (858–867), who asserted Roman control of Illyricum and sought to prove his case with corroborating documents. Among those documents were those that Stephen of Larissa had used and this presents another opportunity for the origin of the rescript, which was included in the Collectio Thessalonicensis when it was compiled in the late ninth century. In either case, the purpose would have been to strengthen Roman claims to Illyricum with the insertion of a document that abrogated the decree of 14 July 421. However, because of the peculiarities of the forgery, it is more likely that it came into being during the case of Stephen of Larissa in 531. Ultimately, this forgery reveals an alternate strategy of remedy for Christian clergy in the Roman Empire who disputed the historical validity of religious topography as the imperial government mapped it, but lacked a higher venue of appeal.

Title: Tiro’s Cicero: A Case of Manuscript Forgery?
Name: Thomas Hendrickson

Various ancient sources make reference to a copy of Cicero’s speeches hand-made by his freedman, Tiro. The consensus of recent decades has been that this manuscript was in fact a forgery made in the second century. I argue that Tiro’s Cicero was not a single, purpose-made forgery, but rather that the name was
applied to a whole series of spurious copies that arose accidentally. This argument has implications not just for the validity of the particular readings attested for Tiro’s Cicero, but more broadly for the existence and nature of forged or spurious manuscripts in the Roman world.

Until the 1970s, there was no question that the references to Tiro’s Cicero provided valuable witness to an authoritative text of the orator. A change came when Zetzel argued to the contrary that the manuscript in question was actually a second-century forgery. Most scholars since then have followed Zetzel. Yet this paper does not just take its place in the narrow question of the authenticity of this particular text, but in the larger phenomenon of literary forgery. Recent studies of literary forgery have focused on pseudepigraphy: texts that are “forgeries” in the sense that their authors are not who they seem to be (e.g. Peirano, Martinez). But there is also a different kind of literary forgery: spurious manuscripts (often, though not exclusively autographs) of genuine works. Such fakes are worthy of study because of their importance both for the textual tradition of the works in question and for our understand of the role books played as high-end commodities.

I argue that the ancient references to Tiro’s Cicero do not actually refer to a single, purpose-built forgery, but rather to several manuscripts that had been more-or-less mislabeled. The references to Tiro’s Cicero are found in Fronto (Ad Caes. 1.7.4), Gellius (1.7.1, 12.10.6, 13.12.16), and a subscription to a fifteenth-century manuscript of the De Lege Agraria made by Poggio Bracciolini (Vat. Lat. 11458, 56v). These references recorded specific readings that were different in Tiro’s Cicero from what was found in the vulgate text. When Zetzel analyzed these readings, he pointed out that the Tironian readings are in almost every case worse than the vulgate, usually because they are archaic variants that would have been out of place in Cicero’s speeches. His conclusion was that Tiro’s Cicero was fabricated with an eye to the archaist tastes of second-century book-buyers. I agree that the manuscript probably was not genuine, but I argue that it was more likely the result of mistaken attribution than of purposeful deception. If someone who was copying a manuscript also copied a first-person subscription, the new copy might be perceived as an original. At some point Tiro probably did make a copy of Cicero’s speeches, and it could have spawned a legion of apparent originals.

The example of the De Lege Agraria subscription shows how this might have happened. The manuscript preserves a double subscription, which reads emendaui ad Tironem and then Statilius Maximus rursum emendaui ad Tironem. I would point out that this double subscription necessitates not two but at least four acts of subscription. First, someone checked a manuscript against Tiro. Then, Statilius Maximus copied that subscription and added his own. Third, unless we accept that Statilius’s personal copy survived over 1200 years to find Poggio, at least one other person copied both subscriptions into a manuscript. Fourth, Poggio copied the subscriptions. A reader lacking the resources of paleography and codicology could easily see Poggio’s manuscript and believe that “I, Statilius Maximus, corrected this.” We might wonder whether, around the third stage, it would be fair to say that the manuscript that copied both subscriptions became a “forged” Statilius Maximus edition. Tiro’s Cicero is just a single case, but it is one of our best-attested cases of forged manuscripts. It suggests that perhaps fake manuscripts arose not at the stage of production, but of consumption.

Title: What’s in a Name? A Counterpoint to Unitary Authorship for the Historia Augusta
Name: Martin P. Shedd

My talk outlines manuscript evidence and internal authorial references to argue against the currently dominant, unitary authorship theory for the Historia Augusta. In 1889, Hermann Dessau published a thesis arguing that the Historia Augusta was not the work of the six authors whose names appear over various of the short biographies in our extant manuscripts, but rather a single writer, masquerading as a collective (Dessau, 1889). This argument relies on several passages within the work where a writer given one name claims to have composed a life attributed to a different one of the six. Sir Ronald Syme
championed the unitary authorship theory, following Dessau’s principles, and brought the theory to
general acceptance (Syme 1971, 1983). Computer studies since have alternately decided in favor of
unitary authorship and the uncertain possibility of six authors (Marriott 1979, Gurney & Gurney 1998).
Each return to the question of authorship considers only the possibilities of one author or the six as
named. I show that by removing the six names to which the lives are attributed as permissible evidence,
the case for unitary authorship becomes weaker than a continuation model of authorship.

I begin by setting out the internal evidence for the six authors as they appear in our manuscripts for the
Historia Augusta. The author never once references another writer as a collaborator or even gives direct
indication that a multi-authored work should be considered probable. On the contrary, when three of the
six attributed names appear within the work, it is in contexts no different from the falsified sources that
the author cites. Proceeding to the manuscript tradition itself, I show that there is disagreement within the
manuscripts about the authorship. I will make clear that the only instance in which the lives attributed to
an author perfectly match the works of theirs cited in the Historia Augusta is a construction of later
scholarship, not based on the manuscript evidence. I then turn to other evidence for later invention of
authorial attributions in the Middle Ages. Using collections such as the Greek Anthology, I discuss how
unattributed works were frequently ascribed to authors either historical or fictitious. The presence of
falsified names within the Historia Augusta, particularly those for whom no works are specified or those
whose works closely aligned with the short biographies, provides ample material for making such
ascriptions.

Returning to the Historia Augusta itself, I set out the conclusions that were drawn about authorship solely
on the assumption that the six names were an original part of the work. When that assumption is removed,
the data supports the conclusion that a group of historically well informed lives within the work, often
called the Primary Lives following Mommsen (1890), were written separately from the rest of the work as
it survives. Though the secondary lives frequently refer to material in the primary lives and reference
them as sources, the primary lives never directly reference the secondary lives. Stylometric analyses
aiming to show either unitary or multiple authorship have only been able to show results tending toward
their conclusion by suppressing data.

Accepting the premise that the six names are not original to the work leads to the conclusion that the
Historia Augusta represents a literary method in vogue at the end of the fourth century AD: continuation.
From the continuator of Cassius Dio to Jerome’s continuation of Eusebius’s Chronicon, continuation of
historical works was becoming a common endeavor in the period in which the Historia Augusta was
written. Understanding the work in this context changes our understanding of it from being an
unprecedented literary farce to being an example of current literary taste. I close with evidence from
medieval book catalogues for unattributed collections of imperial biographies that may describe the work
now known as the Historia Augusta in a fuller, continuous form that begins with Julius Caesar, as the
author claims his work should.

Session 11: Episodes, Portraits, and Literary Unity in Cassius Dio
Title: Truth, autopsy and the supernatural in Cassius Dio
Name: Julie Langford

In his influential work, A Study of Cassius Dio, Fergus Millar defends the senatorial historian from the
“scorn which some have poured on” Dio’s work because of his interests in the supernatural (1964, 77).
For Millar, Dio made no effort to rationalize supernatural events, “as was common with his time,” even
those events he claimed to have witnessed: “To him, they were significant events in his life whose nature
required no elucidation” (180). Ultimately, Millar concludes that Dio’s supernatural episodes are
“harmless” (77). Contrary to Millar’s claims, Dio frequently inserted interpretations of dreams and omens
both in those that occurred before his own day and those he claimed to have seen himself.
How to interpret these insertions? Recent cultural studies and studies, in particular William Harris’ *Dreams and Experience in Classical Antiquity* and Kimberly Stratton’s *Naming of the Witch*, demonstrate the manner in which the Roman elite men claimed authority for deciding upon the validity or proper interpretation of supernatural phenomena; they do so by demonizing or mocking any experiences with threaten their own authority or position. With these and like studies in mind, this paper will compile and analyze the most obvious instances in which Dio employs his authority both as a senator and an historian to offer his politically motivated interpretations of the supernatural manifestations.

Dio’s reports of supernatural phenomena do not consistently offer explicit interpretations. In some instances, he breaks into the narrative of supernatural manifestations to offer his interpretations so that the reader cannot misunderstand them. For example, after listing a number of fearsome prodigies that Nero experiences after murdering his mother, Dio authoritatively remarks, “One might surely have recognized the hand of Heaven” (61.16.5 καὶ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἃν τις ἐτεκμήρατο ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου γεγονέναι). This is clearly a statement meant to trump any other possible interpretations. In others reports, however, Dio “merely” reports dreams or omens. Like a two-bit huckster in the forum, he lures his audience to supply their own onirocritical interpretations to the narrative. This invitation causes the reader to become more invested in Dio’s project, to become complicit in his narratives, interpretations and senatorial bias. Yet even Dio’s “mere” reports of supernatural phenomena are suffused with his political agenda and his senatorial class, gender and ethnic biases to subtly shape his readers’ opinions. This is most obvious when Dio reports public spectacles such as political demonstrations in the Circus Maximus in which the crowd shouts in unison or the emperors’ *adventus*. When he wishes to cast aspersion on the crowd’s judgment or behavior, he describes the event without additional editorial interpretation, but he refers to the observers by the derogatory terms such as ὅμιλος or ὄχλος. For example, Dio describes the crowd lifting one another aloft at Severus’ *adventus* after the completion of his civil war with Albinus as an ὅμιλος and quickly follows this vivid image with his judgment that the crowd was deluded: (ὥσπερ τι ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἠλλοιωμένου), as if his Tyche had changed (but it hadn’t) (76.1.4-5). By contrast, the crowds that shout in unison to protest against Dio’s whipping boys, Didius Julianus and Plautianus, do so “as if moved by divine inspiration” (75.4.6 οὕτω μὲν ἐκ τινος θείας ἐπιπνοίας ἐνεθουσίαν) called δῆμος or πλῆθος, far more neutral words. This signals Dio’s approval of their behavior and their proper interpretation of the event.

The passages that I will discuss in this paper will thus illuminate the ways in which Dio harnesses the supernatural in order to bolster his authority as an historian and promote his own political agenda. In many of these supernatural manifestations, Dio claims autopsy. As such, these episodes not only support his boast that was the only man living who could write history with such an accurate knowledge (78.18.4). They also demonstrate the inferiority of any rival narratives or supernatural interpretations, including those of the soldiers, plebeians and most especially the emperors’.

**Title:** Readings at a Funeral: Dio's Obituary for Augustus and the Historiography of the Monarchy

**Name:** Adam Kemezis

In his extended description of Augustus' funeral (56.34-47), Dio provides several layers of post-mortem evaluation of the first emperor, from Tiberius' extended direct-discourse speech (§35-41) to the anonymous comments of his contemporaries (§43) to the narrator's own *propria persona* assessment (§44). This paper will examine the structure and content of these various assessments alongside the narrative to which they are a coda: my contention is that Dio is offering us a model for how to understand the various ways in which subjects in the post-Augustan monarchical state can comment on and react to the version of events put forward by their rulers.

The funeral-speech and its associated events have been much commented on in existing literature in Dio, but the aim has usually been to divine Dio's authentic view of Augustus (Manuwald 1979) or to derive
from the episode his view of an ideal monarchy (Giua 1983). Efforts have also been made to establish the relationship of the speech to the parallel episode in Tacitus (Ann. 1.9-10, see Swan 2004) as well as to the larger sub-genres of laudatio funebris (Kierdorf 1980) and Thucydidean-style epitaphios. But just as Dio's Augustus is in many ways paradigmatic for future emperors, so the post-mortem assessment of him should be seen as a pattern for the interpretive acts to which those emperors will be subject, both from their own contemporaries, from Dio's narrator and ultimately from his readers. These kinds of contextual or meta-literary readings of Dio's speeches have not been common but have started to become more so of late (e.g. Davenport and Mallan 2014) as more attention has been paid to Dio's literary artistry.

Consideration of how emperors are evaluated in Dio, and of political discourse under the emperors, needs to begin with his observations earlier in Augustus' reign (53.19) about the difficulty of obtaining accurate information about events in a monarchical state. Dio explains his account will thus consist of describing events "just as they were publicly reported, whether they really happened that way or some other way" (ὡς που καὶ δεδήμωται φράσω, εἴτε ὄντως οὕτως εἴτε καὶ ἕτερως πως ἔχει). This lack of a straightforward informational basis for judgement requires that imperial subjects instead generate a hidden (though still accessible) transcript in reaction to the public version of events put out by emperors.

The first part of the paper will consist of an extended reading of this episode from Dio, with the parallel passages in Tacitus used for contrastive purposes. This starts with Tiberius' version of events, in which the speaker uses standard funerary tropes to establish a model of reception based on the audience's supposed intimate knowledge of Augustus' actions. This model runs contrary to Dio's narratorial statements about information under the monarchy, and indeed the content of Tiberius' speech is highly tendentious and frequently contradicted by material from Dio's own narrative. This in turn is interpreted by contemporaries based on anecdotal reflection and on immediate contrast with Tiberius. Dio's narratorial comments, while no better informed as to the facts of Augustus' life, are informed by a longer historical perspective.

After examining these various phases of the funeral narrative, the paper will address various places in Dio's remaining books where such a layered perspective is also in evidence, such as Dio's comparison of Caligula with Tiberius (59.5) and Titus with Augustus (66.18), and his final verdict Pertinax (74.73.10). Consideration will also be given to how the dynamics of this interpretive process change for the portions of Dio's narrative in which he is himself a contemporary witness.

**Title:** From salvation to catastrophe: the biographical narrative of the Flavian dynasty  
**Name:** Jesper Madsen

One of the main methods of interpretation of Cassius Dio's Roman history has been through the author's biographical sketches or depictions of particular reigns (e.g. Millar 1964: 119-173, Manuwald 1979, Pelling 1997). This paper examines the various depictions of the Flavian emperors as a thematic unit, a portion of Dio's history that has received relatively little comment (with the notable exception of the commentary of Murison 1999). The main argument of this paper is that the biographies of the Flavian emperors demonstrate how the reigns of the Flavians moved from competent and stable under the experienced and able Vespasian to tyrannical in the reign of the young and inexperienced Domitian, thus serving as an interpretative piece as Dio's history moves from the familial succession of the Julio-Claudians to the adoptive success of the Antonines.

Dio portrays Vespasian as a capable senator and experienced military man who ends the civil war, includes the senate in every decision, and ruled in a fair and respectful manner (e.g. 65[66].10.4-11.3). His relationship with the senate was mutually respectful, and Vespasian is praised for his mildness and for not killing any senators. In Dio's narrative Vespasian is the emperor who returned Rome to a path of ideal (or semi-ideal) monarchy. He followed not only the civil war but also the reign of Nero the low point in
the Julio-Claudian era and reestablished a functional form of government by including a more able senate ready to take on political responsibility, a body that was neglected and marginalized by the latter Julio-Claudian emperors. In Dio's narrative, the reason behind Vespasian's success was his many years of experience as a senator and military commander, which meant that he from the start had a constructive and mutually respectful relationship with a senate that valued his leadership.

Titus is likewise celebrated for not having killed any senators (66[66].18.1, 19.1), and his rule comes across as well balanced. The only indirect criticism is Titus' failure to prosecute Domitian, who eventually ends up killing his older brother in order to assume the throne (66[66].26.2-4). While Titus comes across as a bit naïve and as the emperor who fails to take the necessary measures to remove Domitian, seemingly because of their fraternal relationship, Dio goes one step further and asks whether Titus is seen in a positive light because he ruled for a short period of time (66[66].18.5). Dio offers a comparison with Augustus, who was criticized at first but was then seen as the good emperor and wonders, out of context, whether it would have been the other way around had Titus ruled for a longer period. This questioning of Titus is, I suggest, tied to Dio's reluctance towards dynastic succession. Despite his proven worth in various respects, Titus' decision to favor family relation over the good of the state leaves him open to criticism.

Dio goes on to portray Domitian as a complete failure (e.g., 67[67].1.1, 6.3). Young and inexperienced, he ignores and tyrannizes the senate in order to compensate for his lack of skill. He is the personification of the unstable and incapable ruler unable to govern the empire (e.g. 67[67].11.3). Titus' seemingly singular failure appears to have manifested itself fully, overturning the generally positive reigns of the two previous emperors.

Dio's narrative of the Flavian dynasty is an interlude between the malfunctioning Julio-Claudian dynasty and the adoptive emperors in the second century, Dio's golden age (cf. 72[71].36.3). It starts well with Vespasian, but because familial succession is untenable in Dio's eyes, the dynasty of the Flavians is bound to fail eventually, if, for no other reason, to prove Dio's point of how monarchic rule, where the successor was chosen among proven senators, was the only suitable way of governing Rome.

Title: The narrative function of Julia Domna in Cassius Dio's Roman history
Name: Andrew Scott

Of the extant literary sources, Cassius Dio's Roman history provides the fullest portrait of Julia Domna (despite its epitomized nature) and remains the earliest extant account of the empress' actions and role in the court of Septimius Severus. Analyses of the figure of Julia Domna, combining the literary evidence with the vast repository of visual media (numismatic, epigraphic, sculptural, and monumental) related to the empress, have portrayed her as a powerful empress who wielded a significant amount of influence (e.g. Williams 1902, Ghedini 1984, Levick 2007). Recent studies, however, have begun to revise this view, both in terms of Julia's actual power (Langford 2013) and her specific role in Cassius Dio's history (Mallan 2013).

Building from these more recent studies, the goal of this paper is to better understand the portrayal of Julia Domna in Cassius Dio's Roman history. While she appears only a handful of times in Dio's history (perhaps as a result of the epitomized nature of Dio's text), Julia Domna is consistently presented as both foreign and power-hungry. This depiction appears to be a product both of Dio's own anxieties about female power and eastern despotism, perhaps informed by his experiences under the Severans, as well as a method for Dio to link the two halves of the Severan household and provide narrative continuity to a fractured dynasty.
This paper begins from a reading of Dio's obituary of Julia, which is the author's longest statement on her character and motivations. After briefly considering Dio's equation of Julia with powerful female regents, directly in the case of Semiramis and Nitocris (79[78].24.3) and through intratextual reference to the death scene of Cleopatra (51.11-13), I move to an analysis of Julia as a rival of Plautianus (76[75].15.6-7) and her Syrian craftiness (πανουργία, 78[77].6.1a[Exc. Val.]; 78[77].10.2[Xiph.]). This striving for power and Syrian cunning, at least in Dio's depiction, then serves as a link between the two halves of the Severan dynasty, as Julia Domna's background and ambitions effectively serve as predecessors to the Syrian house of Severus, including Elagabalus and the seemingly powerful Julia Maesa and Julia Soaemias.

The contemporary portion of Dio's history has generally been considered a collection of anecdotes and observations, lacking significant analysis or organization (e.g. Millar 1964: 119-122, 171-173), and examinations of Julia Domna's depiction in Dio have been executed along the lines of whether or not Dio thought positively or negatively of her (reviewed by Mallan 2013: 735n3). In reality, Dio was not writing his history serially as each event occurred, and his portrait of Julia Domna was most likely shaped by his observation of the subsequent reigns of Elagabalus and Alexander Severus, which featured other similar female figures. Therefore, Dio's image of Julia as an influential or powerful empress needs to be understood within the context of this portion of his history and as part of his overall narrative strategy.

As a final consideration, these observations tie in more generally with other arguments about Dio's portraits of various characters throughout his history. As Pelling (2009: 515) has noted, character motivation is Dio's primary method of interpretation. This claim is crucial to a general understanding of Julia Domna in Dio's text, as each of Julia Domna's appearances in the history is laden with Dio's judgment of her reasons for action. This motivation, specifically an aiming at imperial power, functions as a narrative strategy in Dio's text, and may reveal more of Dio's historiographic method and personal biases than historical reality.

Session 12: Gods and the Divine in Neoplatonism (Organized by the International Society for Neoplatonic Studies)

Title: 'Our endeavor is to be a god': Humans as Visible Gods in Plotinus
Name: Eric Perl

Plotinus' seemingly hubristic insistence that "our endeavor is not to be out of sin, but to be a god" (I.2.6, 2-3) goes further than the Platonic and Aristotelian commonplace that the goal of human life is to become as godlike as possible for a human being. In V.1., he includes "we ourselves" along with the cosmos, the sun, and the other stars, as things that are gods in virtue of soul, which is therefore a superior god (V.1.2, 40-45). Such statements are best understood in relation to Plotinus' account of the celestial bodies as visible gods, that is, immortal living things animated by perfectly rational souls. In II.9, Plotinus castigates the Gnostics for claiming that human souls are "immortal and divine" but denying any divinity to the heavens and the stars (II.9.5, 1-14). "Now certainly the whole earth is full of varied and immortal living things, and all things up to the sky are full of them: why then are not the stars, both those in the lower spheres and those in the highest, gods, borne around in order and circling in well-arranged beauty? Why should they not possess virtue? What hindrance prevents them from acquiring virtue? The things are not present there that make people here below bad, and there is no evil of body, disturbed and disturbing" (II.9.8, 29-36). In IV.8, Plotinus explains that there are two ways in which soul can animate body: the higher, in which the soul exercises providence toward the body without ceasing to "abide in the best," that is, to contemplate intelligible reality, and the lower, in which the soul directs its attention to the body and thus allows itself to be affected by what happens to the body (IV.8.2, 27-31). The former is the way in which the world-soul and the souls of the sun and the other stars animate their bodies (IV.8.2, 31-42). In such a case "the soul has not sunk into the interior of the body and does not belong to the body, but the body to it" (IV.8.2, 46-48). It is more difficult for human souls to relate to their bodies in this way,
because our bodies are made out of inferior elements and the rational soul, “by which we are ourselves,” is “another soul” which comes “when the body has already been generated” (II.1.5, 8-14, 21-24). In other words, unlike the souls of the celestial bodies, the rational human soul must deal with a corruptible body animated by a lesser, sub-rational soul. Nonetheless, Plotinus insists that at least some humans are able to keep the rational soul, or “true man” (I.1.10, 7) pure and contemplative even while the lower soul animates the body. “There is an escape from evils in the soul for those who are capable of it, though not all are capable. Although matter is present in the sensible gods, evil is not present, nor the vice that humans have; nor [is it present] in all humans” (I.8.5, 30-33). The best of humans are therefore gods in the same sense as the sun and the stars. The visible gods thus serve as models for humans to emulate, and the truly wise and virtuous man, whose higher, rational soul is altogether undisturbed by the animal composite of lower soul and body, will be “a god or spirit who is double, or rather who has with him someone else” (I.2.6, 4-6). Such a human can truly declare, in the words of Empedocles, “‘Hail! I am for you an immortal god’” (IV.7.10, 39).

Title: Holy Places: Some Theorizations of Sacred Space
Name: Radcliffe G. Edmonds III

“We prefer to appear before the gods in holy places, even though they are everywhere.” In his commentary on Plato’s *Phaedo* (§499), the 5th century CE Neoplatonist Damascius makes this curious, even paradoxical statement when explaining a detail in the myth Socrates tells of the judgement of souls. The souls gather in a particular place to be judged, but, as Damascius notes, they could be judged anywhere. The gods are everywhere, and yet certain places are somehow holy, sacred, superior for contact with the gods. In the long tradition of Greek hymnic poetry, from Homer to Proclus, the invocation of the god always starts with an enumeration of his special and holy places. But why are these places special? What makes a place holy? What makes a space sacred?

Damascius does not answer this question, and indeed ancient sources rarely provide direct answers to such questions. Modern scholars are thus left largely to our own devices, grappling with modern theories of sacred space to try to understand what made certain places more holy than others for the ancient Greeks. While some modern theories stress the social aspect – a space is sacred simply because the community decides that it is, others emphasize the importance of particular factors in the decision – a particular perception of divine power or presence or the fact that the place falls betwixt and between, either spatially or conceptually. Such modern theories suffer from the same problems that all modern, etic theorizations must – they are separated in space and time from the people whose ideas they are attempting to describe and they can only offer a way for us to understand the culture from the outside.

The few ancient texts that do offer abstract and systematic explanations of why some spaces are sacred thus provide the opportunity for scholars to test our modern theoretical understanding of sacred space directly against the ancient evidence, and Neoplatonic texts like Iamblichus’ *de Mysteriis* supply some of the most elaborate and intricately worked theories available in the evidence. However, such ancient theorizations of sacred space present the modern scholar with something of a dilemma. On the one hand, the ancient authors present us with first-hand ideas, internal to the culture, of what sacred space meant and how it was defined. Because they come direct from inside the culture, they are free from the accumulated biases of the centuries, the new models of religion, the holy, and the sacred that have arisen from millennia of Christian theological speculations. However, such theories are, like any other text, grounded in the particular historical situation in which they were generated; the author has an aim in mind in writing the text and a point to make in defining sacred space in the way he does. Moreover, we should not overlook the fact that choosing to theorize, to present a systematic account is in itself a polemical move, aimed at relegating alternate ideas to an inferior status. This polemic is clear in texts such as Iamblichus’ *de Mysteriis*, but even a geographer like Strabo has a point to make by theorizing. Modern scholars thus need to be cautious when an ancient theory of sacred space seems to align too neatly with a
modern one. Modern theories can illuminate the scanty remains of ancient theorizations, but the variety of theories in the ancient evidence shows us that the ancient Greeks thought about sacred space in many different ways.

Through a comparison of theories of sacred space in Plato, the Hippocratic corpus, Strabo, Iamblichus, and Damascius with modern theories by Eliade, Durkheim, and Douglas, I show the ways the modern theories can illuminate the ancient ideas. Such an examination of these ancient theorizations can help us assess the strengths and limitations of our modern models in understanding ancient ideas of sacred space – and thus to get a better understanding of Damascius’ paradox.

**Title: Proclus’ Paeonian Chain: Healing the World from Body to body**

**Name: Svetla Slaveva-Griffin**

This paper examines the nature and stratigraphy of Proclus’ Paeonian chain which brings together the Body of the universe and the body of the individual in one and the same cascade of healing power and ontological proliferation. It unfolds from the Demiurge, through Apollo, Athena, Asclepius, Heracles, angels, daemons, heroes, individual healing souls, animals and plants.

Plato lists the three main principles the Demiurge takes into account in crafting the body of the universe at *Ti*. 32c5–33b1: 1) the universe as a living being should be “as whole and complete as possible” (*Ti*. 32d1); 2) it should be just one world (*Ti*. 33a1–2); and 3) it “should be ageless and disease-free” (ἀγήρων καὶ ἄνοσον, *Ti*. 33a2). As a result of all the above, the Demiurge fashions the world “as a single whole, composed of all wholes, complete and free of old age and disease” (*Ti*. 33a6–8). To the lesser gods he bestows the task “to weave what is mortal to what is immortal,” “to fashion and to beget living things,” “to give them food, to cause them to grow, and when they perish, to receive them back again” (*Ti*. 41d1–2). The latter presents Plato’s explanation of the nature of the human being as the interwoven compound of a divine soul and a mortal body. In comparison to the body of the universe, designed by the Demiurge, the body of the human being – despite the presence of a divine seed in it, i.e. the soul – is of a markedly lower order: it grows, it ages, it catches diseases, and it dies. In other words, the human body is everything the world’s body is not.

The legacy of Plato’s contrasting paradigm above has directed the development of the concept of the body in late ancient philosophy and especially in Platonism. Just shy of ten centuries later, Proclus revisits Plato’s original in light of the advanced stratification of post-Plotinian metaphysics. In his commentary on the aforementioned passage of the *Timaeus* (*in Ti*. 2.63–64), he posits a specific healing chain which he names after the healer of the Olympians – Paeon – and which he adds to the distinguished group of the Hermeic and Apolloniac named chains. The new ontological chain stems from the Demiurge who makes the cosmos free from “age and disease” and ends in the physicians’ repair of what has gone wrong with the individual body. The top and bottom of the Paeonian chain, Proclus further elaborates, represent the two kinds of health at work in the universe.

At the top is the Demiurgic health which maintains the health of the universe “in the highest degree.” This kind of health instantiates the Demiurge’s fashioning of the universe: “so, then, the Creator of the universe, too, when he makes it both ageless and incorruptible (ἀγήρων τε καὶ ἄνοσον) with the intellectual power of medicine (διὰ τῆς νοερᾶς ἱατρικῆς) which restrains in advance all that is unnatural and does not permit it to subsist” (*in Crat*. 174.94). At the bottom is the Asclepian health which contains “all forms of mending what is contrary to nature” (*in Ti*. 2.63.29–64.10). This kind of health is in the hands of the practicing physicians who “spend their time on the lowest works of nature that are the most deeply embedded in matter” (*in Ti*. 1.6). With the Paeonian chain, Proclus constructs a health register, which brings the health of the universe and the health of the body in a linear ontological progression which finds a proper place for the aging and diseased human body not as the ontological antithesis of the
In *Statesman*, Plato offers a critique of regimes based solely on law in favor of wise kingships (*St.* 293 ff.). This assessment is supported by a number of complaints, summarized collectively under a single broad claim: law, absent the corrective discretion of a political expert, is too simple to govern the complexities inherent in human affairs (Lane 1998). In particular, the dialogue notes that legislation will always be general rather than tailored to individual needs (*St.* 294-95), whereas ruling experts are able to grant particular accommodations as circumstances require; in these cases, the authority of wise rulers supersedes the authority of the law. When such political expertise is not present, however, law-based rule remains deficient in part due to its generality.

This critique of legal authority in *Statesman* has rightly been recognized as having resonances for the legislative project outlined in Plato’s *Laws* (Irwin 2010; Nightingale 1999; Klosko 2008; Kraut 2010). However, an examination of law’s generality in the latter dialogue has escaped significant comment. This paper identifies a section of the *Laws* describing legally-imposed marriages for certain inheritances (*Leg.* 925 ff.) as explicitly taking up the issue of legal generality. While the arranged marriages are sound on the whole, particular pairings will pose undue burdens by requiring partnerships harmful for those involved (*Leg.* 926).

In its provision for a council to adjudicate individual requests to avoid such marriages, I argue that this passage provides a means of mitigating the problem of generality raised both in *Laws* and in *Statesman*. While those individuals for whom the general law is unduly burdensome will still initially be subject to its prescriptions, its arbitration provision will eventually excuse them on the basis of their particular situations. As the council is composed of citizens without political expertise (*Leg.* 926), this policy corrects for legal generality without requiring the presence of political experts able to override the law. This passage in the *Laws* thus offers a more optimistic assessment of rule by law than that advanced in *Statesman*, demonstrating its potential viability even when a political expert has not arisen or cannot be found.

**Title: Thucydid’s Use of Counterfactuals in the Pylos Narrative**  
**Name: Anne Begin**

This paper focuses on counterfactual statements within the Pylos narrative, contained in Thucydides Book 4. Thucydides recounts a battle that took place around modern day Messenia for control over the island of Sphacteria. Thucydides is clearly very interested in the event, and considers it a turning point in the first phase of the war. There are two examples of counterfactual narratives within the text in question (4.1-45), one which corresponds to the Spartan point of view, while the other corresponds with the Athenian point of view. Using narratology, this paper draws some conclusions about Thucydides’ narrative technique, while also suggesting that Thucydides uses such devices as a covert means of intervening in the narrative. A counterfactual passage from Herodotus Book 7 serves as a means of comparison for the remainder of the paper, along with the important observation that Thucydides is more likely to use a counterfactual statement of this nature more so than Herodotus.
The Pylos narrative is carefully crafted, and the two counterfactual narratives occurring at critical moments of the narrative seem to serve as the focal points of the entire narrative. Critical to understanding Thucydides’ argument is the observation that both counterfactuals are preceded by prolepses that give away the ending of the episode before Thucydides actually narrates it. Thucydides also carefully balances the prolepses with the counterfactuals to create a sense of narrative symmetry and balance.

The first counterfactual is focalized from the Spartan point of view, and centers upon the disappearance of one of the ship-captains, Brasidas, who is wounded in action. The implication of the counterfactual is that had Brasidas not fallen so soon into the action and been successful in forcing his own landing, the outcome could have been very different. Also by implication, the Athenians were fortunate, otherwise they might have suffered worse consequences. From a grammatical point of view, this counterfactual is not obvious. Thucydides seems to make an argument from what did not occur. However, the counterfactual nature of this segment of narrative is obvious.

The second counterfactual is similar in nature to the first. However, the second counterfactual clearly occurs at an even more intense high point of the narrative. The struggle for Pylos is coming to an end, and the point at which the counterfactual occurs is the decisive moment. Like the first, there is a prolepsis that gives away the ending and the reason why the Athenians were ultimately successful. Grammatically, it is a series of potential statements taking place within the mind of the Athenian commander Demosthenes. It is much more explicit than the first counterfactual, and the outcome is even more dramatic than the first. The Spartans had managed to hide on the wooded island, making an assault on the island seem impossible for the Athenians. By some chance, someone had accidentally set the wood on fire, clearing the way for an Athenian attack. The counterfactual statements occur after Thucydides has informed the reader that the woods had burned down; Demosthenes is considering how he might attack the island while the wood was still intact, highlighting the initial difficulty facing the Athenians.

After careful analysis, it becomes evident that Thucydides tells his readers what he believes is the underlying cause behind the turn of events: luck. The disappearance of Brasidas early into the first battle was fortunate; the accidental fire on the island was also a stroke of luck for the Athenians. Thucydides uses the counterfactuals to highlight their good fortune, by suggesting alternatives. The counterfactual narratives set up alternative timelines in the mind of the sensitive reader, suggesting the precariousness of the situation. It is a kind of narrator intervention, where Thucydides leads his careful readers to his conclusion about the true nature of the events at Pylos.

Title: Harry Potter and the Descent to the Underworld: Katabasis in the Final Installment of J.K. Rowling's Septology
Name: Joseph Slama

This paper examines the presence of criteria for a *katabasis* in Classical authors, focusing on Vergil's *Aeneid*, and relates them to Harry’s journey to the afterlife in Rowling’s *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*. Throughout Harry’s descent, we see several elements strongly paralleling Classical tradition, but in the end, Rowling produces her own work entirely.

I employ a set of criteria for defining what constitutes a *katabasis*. Citing Erling B. Holtsmark's essay “*Katabasis* in the Modern Cinema,” (2010) I set forth the following criteria: (1) Distinct physical features separate the location of the hero's journey from the rest of the narrative’s setting; (2) the realm in which the *katabasis* occurs is inhabited by a number of creatures characteristic of death and darkness; (3) the presence of a companion or multiple comrades; (4) the hero undergoes significant character change, often “increased responsibility and leadership” (26); and (5) he may even have experience a rebirth of sorts. In addition to the *katabatic* elements laid out by Holtsmark, I also add one of my own, that the death of a character leads the hero to make his journey to the Underworld.
Both the *Aeneid* and *Hallows* have elements which serve to satisfy the criteria given above by Holtsmark and myself. In addition to fulfilling these, both texts share certain narrative parallels. First, the hero's descent begins from a location that contrasts with the depths to be entered, a location that is characterized its loftiness and nobility. Both authors use *katabasis* to elaborate on their philosophical worldviews, through which the protagonist and the audience gain greater personal understanding. Finally, prophecy plays a significant role as a device that heightens the connection between the physical and spiritual world.

In *Aeneid* 6, Aeneas, with the prophetess Sibyl as his companion and following the death of his crew member Palinurus, goes down from the “high (altus), holy places of Apollo,” which provide the contrast with “Sibyl's deeps, the immense caverns” (Lombardo, 2005, 6.9-10), which provides the physical marker of a removed location. As they travel through the circles of the Underworld, they pass a number of evil spirits, hybrids, and personified ailments, and Aeneas meets figures such as Palinurus, Dido, and comrades from the Trojan War, providing the opportunity for reminiscing the past. He is then reunited with his father, and Vergil uses this meeting to expound a philosophy of death and rebirth and to look toward the future. Upon reascending, Aeneas experiences a near-literal rebirth as he exits through the Ivory Gate. By traveling to the Underworld, both Aeneas and we the audience gain a clearer vision of the task Aeneas has to carry out.

The climax of *Hallows* closely follows the criteria for *katabasis* in Classical tradition. However, Harry's *katabasis* is not only a literary convention. He experiences a literal death, the most direct path to the afterlife, which sets him apart from the Classical heroes and casts him as a Christ figure. Harry, realizing he must die to fulfill the prophecy given shortly before his birth, begins his descent from the high place of Dumbledore's office tower. He reaches the Forbidden Forest, patrolled by centaurs and crawling with Voldemort's dark creatures, and from there has as companions several of his deceased friends and family members. He experiences a literal death, thus creating a kind of *katabasis* within a *katabasis*. Speaking to Anchisean Dumbledore, Harry receives an overview of his life's journey while the dead headmaster elaborates on his philosophy of love and death and what the future may hold, and then proceeds to exit his limbo state and return to the world of the living, mirroring the Resurrection. The end product of Rowling's unique *katabasis* is one that blends Classical and Christian elements.

**Session 14: Neo-Latin Around the World: Current Issues (Organized by the American Association for Neo-Latin Studies)**

**Title:** "Out of Greeke into Latin Verse": Nicholas Allen’s Latin Translation of the *Phaenomena* of Aratus (1561) and its Predecessors  
**Name:** Anne-Marie Lewis

In 1561, the English poet Nicholas Allen published in Paris his translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, a popular and much-admired Hellenistic poem in dactylic hexameters that described the fixed constellations and a variety of weather signs, both celestial and terrestrial. Allen’s translation offers an unparalleled opportunity to analyze the practice of poetic translation from the Greek during the sixteenth century because it stands at the end of a long history of Latin translations of Aratus’ poem that were published during a period of over 1,500 years. The Latin translations that precede Allen’s translation vary from a strictly verbatim (*verbum de verbo*) to a more literary (*sensus de sensu*) approach to the original and include, from antiquity, three lengthy verse translations in dactylic hexameters by Cicero (ca. 90 B. C.), Germanicus Caesar (A. D. 4-17), and Avienus (ca. A. D. 350) as well as a smaller-scale translation of individual verses, also in dactylic hexameter, by Vergil in G. 1.356-465 (29 B. C.); from the Middle Ages, an anonymous word-for-word prose translation written in the mid-eighth century perhaps at Corbie in France; and from the Renaissance, a word-for-word translation in prose, unattributed and entitled “Apparentia,” which was published in Basel in 1534 in a volume of scientific works including the Greek *Phaenomena* edited by Iacobus Ceporinus, and a prose translation from the early sixteenth century attributed to the German scholar Joachim Camerarius. A brief discussion of Allen’s identity and his
personal associations (which placed him in some danger during the early years of the reign of Elizabeth I), will locate his Latin translation generally in its cultural, historical, and literary contexts. A general evaluation of his translation will provide evidence for Allen’s knowledge of Greek, his education in Latin, his familiarity with Latin literature from antiquity through the sixteenth century, and his ability at Latin versification. A close linguistic, thematic, and stylistic analysis of several excerpts from the astronomical and meteorological portions of Allen’s translation in comparison with parallel excerpts from the previous Latin translations will provide evidence for how Allen’s translation follows the Greek original, for how his translation adapts the phrasing of the ancient, Medieval, and Renaissance translations of Aratus’ poem, and for how his translation departs from its predecessors. These comparisons will serve to highlight the importance, heretofore unrecognized, of Allen’s translation not only as a *Phaenomena* for its own time and place but also as a worthy rival of the extant hexameter Latin verse translations from antiquity in regard to its elegant balance of inventiveness and faithfulness to the original.

**Title: Count Zinzendorf’s Philadelphia Oratio**

**Name: Tom Keeline**

On May 26, 1742, Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf (1700–1760) gave a speech in Philadelphia, in the British colony of Pennsylvania—in Latin. It was his birthday, and he had come to a momentous decision: he would renounce his nobility and be known henceforth simply as John. Aware that even the best educated men in Philadelphia would have trouble following his Latin oration, he took care to have copies of the text printed in advance by the city’s foremost printer, Benjamin Franklin, which were then distributed to his audience. But after thundering through several pages of thoughts cloaked in the obscurity of a learned language, he had a crisis of confidence; he declared that he needed to consult with some of his friends in Germany and collected the copies of the speech. The bemused crowd thought that he was crazy. James Logan, William Penn’s secretary and one of the most learned men in the colony, called him “cracked” and compared him to Don Quixote. Logan had also been tapped by Zinzendorf to prepare an English version, but the Count’s baroque Latinity foxed him: “It was done in Latin, but in a style much more odd than even his French—in some parts carrying a show of elegance but little propriety, in other places mere balderdash; in some places plain enough, and in others perfectly unintelligible.” A glance at almost any passage from the speech will confirm this bafflement. The first sentence, for example, runs: *quae nobis hodie mane lucet, ultima lux est, auditores conscripti, hebdomadum sex, quas uiuo, optimae prima.* This apparently means: “The day that dawns on us this morning is the last, ‘conscript auditors,’ of the 42 years that I have lived, and the first of the best (sc. which will follow).” That is to say, “this is my 42nd birthday, and my life is about to get so much better after I’ve renounced my nobility.” (In slightly more conventional terms he will later describe himself as *tertium hunc supra quadragesimum annum inchoans.*)

These obscure turns of phrase were not a function of deficient Latinity. Far from it. Zinzendorf had received the best Latin education available, as his schoolboy notes and exercises—preserved today in the Moravian Archive in Herrnhut, Germany—abundantly demonstrate. He, at least, knew what he was doing in this speech, as we can deduce from an annotated copy of the printed text with his own alterations and improvements. Not being conversant in English, he chose to use Latin as the universal language of communication. He had come to Pennsylvania on missionary work as bishop of the Moravian Church, and his decision to renounce his nobility was in large part a calculated ploy to ingratiate himself with the local populace; he thus wanted his decision to be widely understood and well publicized. Zinzendorf, however, had completely misjudged his audience; the convoluted style and recherché vocabulary that would have been prized in a contemporary European court was entirely out of place in colonial Pennsylvania. His speech fell on confused and decidedly unappreciative ears.
In my paper I will briefly sketch the social context, background, and significance of Zinzendorf’s speech, the most enigmatic Latin text printed in colonial North America. I will then undertake an analysis of the speech itself, which has not been reprinted since Franklin’s first edition and has never been translated into English. It is a fascinating product of late humanism, packed with allusions that range from Vergil to the New Testament, and from the intrigues of contemporary European courts to New World gossip. In an unfortunate irony, Zinzendorf’s very choice of the “universal language” of Latin ensured that he would not in fact be understood by his intended audience. 275 years later I hope at last to make his message clear and to explain its sophisticated (if ill-chosen) rhetoric in cultural and historical context.

Title: Michael Serveto vs. John Calvin: a Deadly Conflict
Name: Albert R. Baca

Michael Serveto or Servetus was born in Spain in 1511 and on his mother’s side, belonged to a distinguished family of converted Jews. After a brilliant career as an author and physician, he was burned at the stake for heresy in Geneva in 1553, an act for which Serveto held John Calvin primarily responsible.

One of the main charges of heresy leveled against Serveto was that he questioned the infallibility of the description in the Bible of the Holy Land as a place of milk and honey, by saying that visitors actually found it an arid and dreary place. This offending description was attached to a map of the Holy Land in an edition of Ptolemy’s *Geography* of 1535 which Serveto had edited (using the *nom de plume* of Michael Villanovanus). For a second edition of this work in 1541, Serveto was astute enough to eliminate the offending description, but it did him no good. The charge had been made and it stuck.

Perhaps the offensive description alone would not have constituted grounds for Serveto’s execution, but, in combination with his anti-trinitarian views in his *De Trinitatis Erroribus* and *Christianismi Reconstitutio*, works in which he had challenged the theological and institutional foundations of Christianity, Serveto brought down on his head the wrath of both Protestants and Catholics.

In this paper I review the history of the editions of Ptolemy’s *Geography* (*Claudii Ptolemaei Alexandrini Geographicae Enarrationis libri octo*) which Servetus edited, in order to show that indeed he was not the author of the offending description; rather, evidence points to Willibald Pirkheimer as the most likely candidate as the author of the passage that tragically contributed to Serveto’s death.

Title: The Poetry of Paradox: Book I of Petrus Lotichius' *Elegies*
Name: Joseph A. Tipton

One of the greatest obstacles encountered in the study of the early modern period is one of definitions. For the two major intellectual movements there is a wide range of opinions as to how they should be defined. Scholasticism is alternately a philosophy rejected by the humanists or a methodology appreciated and appropriated by them, while humanism is either a cultural program, a movement towards civic-mindedness, a secular challenging, if not flaunting, of norms, or a development driven by real religious fervor. One of the greatest victims of this definition crisis is a large group of writers and thinkers who in cultivating the *artes liberales* bear a striking resemblance to the humanists, but in their espousal of the Protestant Reformation appear committed to the "Old Learning." The trend is to treat these "Protestant humanists" as either humanists or reformers according to the work in question. If a writer's dialogues are discussed, he is a humanist; if a biblical commentary is in question, he becomes a reformer. The resulting picture is one of literary and intellectual schizophrenia in which these writers appear to wear two different, sometimes incompatible, hats.
This picture, while far from satisfactory, still contains a germ of truth. Protestant humanists did often find themselves committed to programs whose commitments sometimes did not harmonize. However, to proceed on the assumption of a "schizophrenia" obscures the fact that these Protestant humanists themselves were acutely aware of being committed to two sometimes dissonant programs. Not only that, but it also hinders literary criticism by obfuscating an important function of their literary activity: mediation between their humanist and Protestant identities.

This function of Protestant literary activity is most evident in the first book of Latin elegies published in 1551 by Petrus Lotichius Secundus, one of the century's most celebrated Neo-Latin poets (Auhagen & Schäfer). In my paper I have examined this short book of ten elegies as an artistic whole instead of interpreting Lotichius on the basis of individual poems. Specifically, I have charted how the leitmotif of the book, war and peace, gradually unravels as the book progresses. Depending on the poem, Lotichius either celebrates peace as a humanist or recognizes the need for war as a Protestant. This seeming inconsistency is reconciled, however, when one recognizes that Lotichius is using the whole book to take his readers through experiences, ostensibly "his," of a soldier during the Schmalkaldic War. Rejecting the biographical approach (Zon), I have argued that Lotichius thus explores the polarities of life in war and peace so as to bring to the surface the dilemma Protestant humanists found themselves in between their humanist ideals and the demands of their conscience. The one side of this dilemma is brought to a head in Elegy IV, where Altus, the addressee, is exhorted to convey Lotichius' necessity to fight to their mutual friends, while the other surfaces in the last elegy, Elegy X, where Lotichius celebrates the restoration of peace and characterizes his book as a requies grata mali.

The resulting picture is paradoxical. This book of elegies, in which war is so clearly decried, issues from a persona committed to the war effort. However, I have argued that the paradox is the point. To abstain from war jeopardizes the Protestant cause; to engage in it threatens to brutalize the humanitas he has cultivated since youth. Lotichius responds to this dilemma by creating a paradox in his poetry, leaving it unresolved, and instead drawing attention to the function of his book as a requies grata mali. In doing so he creates a way to give himself over to the war effort without being brutalized by an excessively partisan enthusiasm for it. The result is a hitherto unexplored use of Neo-Latin poetry as a mechanism to mediate between the demands made on the individual by the Protestant and humanist programs.

Session 15: Classics, Classical Archaeology, and Cultural Heritage: Toward a Common Understanding of Professional Responsibilities for the Study of “Exceptional Objects”
No abstracts

THIRD SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS

Session 16: Genre and Style
Title: Post Longa et Tristia Dyaboli Bella: Allegory and the End of the Aeneid
Name: Luca A. D'Anselmi

Recent scholarly work on Maffeo Vegio’s Supplementum to the Aeneid (1428) argues against the importance (or existence) of Christian allegory that was once thought to suffuse the poem. Building on arguments made by Hijmans (1971) and Ross (1981), Putnam (2004) claims that Vegio “avoids any step that would lead the reader toward any medieval, anagogical interpretation of the hero’s life Vegio is inexorably classicizing.” (xviii). He adds the sweeping interpretive dictum that “it is in the classical literary background that [Vegio’s] interest lay and that should be the focus of attention for his contemporary readers as well.” (xviii). While this approach adds to our understanding of Vegio’s relationship with Virgil on a linguistic and thematic level, it largely ignores Vegio’s own writing on allegory in his De Perseverantia Religionis (1448). Vegio clearly advances allegorical interpretations of Virgil’s Aeneid and Ovid’s Metamorphoses, even allegorizing his own Supplementum at the end of his
analysis of the Aeneid (DPR 1.5): Nam post multas mundi vexationes, post longa et tristia dyaboli bella, proculcatur mundus, vincitur dyabolus, animae bene consultitur, vita ducitur tuta et tranquilla, immortalisque demum et eterna beatitudo acquiritur. (DPR 1.5). Simply put, I argue that Vegio intended his Supplementum as a Christian allegory, and that attempts to discourage this allegorical reading should be reconsidered. Following Brinton (1930) and Fichter (1982), I will contextualize Vegio’s Supplementum within the tradition of “medieval” allegorical readings of Virgil and Ovid, examining several of Vegio’s striking departures from his Virgilian and Ovidian models that demonstrate his allegorical intention in the Supplementum (e.g. 617-19). Finally, I will briefly contrast Vegio’s allegorical ending to the Aeneid with other approaches taken by Renaissance continuators of Vergil, exploring the uniqueness and importance of Vegio’s allegorical reading and writing in the history of Virgilian reception.

Title: Kata Moiran: Ideology and Style in the Odyssey
Name: Ben A. Radcliffe

This paper investigates a stylistic oddity in several scenes of the Odyssey from a sociological perspective. The scenes in question involve precise manual practices: Polyphemus milks his sheep and goats (Od. 9.244ff., 309ff., 342ff.); sailors equip their ships for sea (Od. 4.783ff., 8.54ff.); and Nestor sacrifices a bull at Pylos (Od. 3.457ff.). Each activity is construed as a sequence of contrasting objects, colors, and directions densely packed into three or four lines. The milking scene, for instance, adds a new polarity in each line: it distinguishes between goats and sheep (Od. 9.244), adult animals and their young (245), milk and cheese (246), and, more implicitly, between the black wool of the sheep and their white milk. The sailing and sacrifice scenes follow the same pattern, and various poetic devices render the use of dichotomy more conspicuous. The style is “dichotomous.”

I make sense of this peculiar verbal texture by exploring the political stakes of everyday work in Homer. In particular, the activities in each of the aforementioned scenes are said to be performed kata moiran (“according to portion,” “correctly”). This formula frequently expresses a sense of ideological correctness. Characters speak kata moiran when they affirm the authority of kings over subjects (Il. 1.286), gods over mortals (Il. 1.278), and elders over the young (Il. 10.169, 15.206). Dichotomies of this sort (“X over Y”) constitute a style of social authority in Homer. The scenes of milking, sailing, and sacrifice, I argue, are performed kata moiran precisely because, on a formal level, they exhibit the dichotomous style of more overt affirmations of social authority.

In the second part of the paper, I refer to a sociological theory advanced by Pierre Bourdieu to understand why dichotomy, as an ideologically-operative style, is embedded in the gestures and comportments of certain manual activities in the Odyssey. Previous scholarship has illuminated stylistic variations in Homer by approaching the represented practices in ethnographic terms: the styletics of heroic speech in the Iliad mirrors speech practices in oral societies (Martin 1989); similar work has addressed the language of bathing rituals (Grethlein 2007) and commensal sacrifice (Stallings 1984, Kitts 2011). I extend this line of scholarship through the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. In his Logic of Practice (1990), Bourdieu draws on fieldwork in French and Berber agrarian communities to show that deeply-engrained, embodied habits (“habitus”) play a central role in a number of sociological phenomena. Subjects rely on these habits, which operate without conscious reflection, to perform practical tasks, from handicrafts to rituals to formulaic speech. Such habits may involve, for instance, a propensity to structure words and gestures into dichotomous series. Diverse aspects of social existence—including traditional discourses about political authority—exhibit traces of these underlying habits and therefore take on a certain stylistic consistency.

Bourdieu’s arguments shed light on our Homeric example. The formula kata moiran designates a dichotomous style of speaking, gesturing, and tool-use that is at once practical and ideological. Homeric
characters deploy this style when they affirm traditional social authority (of kings, gods, elders) and when
they perform rote activities that require a degree of technical know-how, i.e. milking, sailing, and
sacrifice. An engrained habit, a kind of muscle memory, engenders the same style in these disparate
contexts. This perspective, I argue, allows us to read style in certain Homeric scenes as a nexus of
corporeal and ideological forces.

Title: Much Food in Fallow Ground: Nemean 7 and the Enigmatic Tradition
Name: Kyle Sanders

This paper analyzes three types of enigmatic speech in Pindar’s seventh Nemean: etymologizing, number
play, and kenning. I describe these figures as “enigmatic” because, first, each asserts a unity of opposing
qualities, a hallmark of archaic enigmatic speech (Kahn 1979), and second, because these types of figures
appear frequently in collections of enigmatic material (e.g., the Greek Anthology, q.v., Berra 2008).
The idea that Pindar’s poetry is difficult or deliberately conceals meaning is certainly not a new one
(Hamilton 2003). But I argue that in the eyes of his own riddle-loving milieu, Pindar’s mastery of
enigmatic forms would not have marked his poetry as alienating or incomprehensible. Encountering
enigmatic speech in the late archaic period meant reading colonization oracles (Dougherty 1992),
participating in the playful games of the symposium (Bowie 2013), and engaging with received poetic
authority (Nagy 1990). Overall, enigmatic speech brought people together in common social endeavors
more than it divided them. In this way, the paper expands Nagy’s understanding of Pindar as
ainigmatōdēs from merely speaking darkly to echthroi to include his speaking playfully to philoi.

Though etymologizing has always been noticed in Pindar, its significance has remained largely
undiscussed (Barkhuizen 1975). I begin with the prooimion to Nemean 7, which describes life as the
unity of “seeing light and darkness” (3). The phrase etymologizes the name of the victor’s father,
Thearion, in connection with both the verb theaomai and less certainly, the office of thearos at Aegina, as
discussed by Currie (2005). The significance of this play is objective and subjective. Objectively, it
valorizes the erotic gaze of the symposium upon “glorious-limbed youth” (4). Subjectively, it develops
vision as a faculty by which signs (e.g., sama 20) must be interpreted, an idea which finds precedence
throughout the Pindaric corpus (e.g., O. 8.41). Moreover, within Nemean 7, vision serves to distinguish
Pindaric poetics from the “blindness of heart” (23-24) suffered by readers of Homer.

Like etymologizing, number play was associated in the Greek mind with riddling forms from very early
on (West 2007). At N. 7.48, Pindar states that “three words will be enough for well-named justice,” a
remark which has attracted varied interpretations over the centuries, most of which presume “three” to
mean only “a few” (Teffeteller 2005). Drawing on comparative evidence from the Pythagorean tradition
and Heraclitus, I show that justice (díkē) was considered a secret name of the number three (tria), insofar
as it was understood as a unity of two opposing injustices. I then discuss how “two wrongs make a right”
can be usefully applied to an interpretation of the myth of Neoptolemus.

Commentators are still uncertain as to what the kenning “tender bloom of marine dew” (79) refers.
Following a scholiast, the preferred choice has always been coral, a prestige object of some value in the
ancient world (Carey 1981). However, Egan (2004) has argued on linguistic grounds for the weed-like
herb rosemary, which would certainly be opposite in value to the crown’s ivory and gold. My discussion
of the passage emphasizes that in either case, the passage plays off Homeric precedent by one-upping
the traditional wordplay on “ivory” by means of paronomasia and careful sound-weaving.

The paper concludes with a novel reading of the poem’s controversial ending (102-105), which, I submit,
plays on the name Neoptolemus by echoing the Homeric phrase neios tripolos (“thrice- plowed fallow
field”). Thus once again, an enigmatic feature in Nemean 7 plays with the language of literary tradition.
Whereas previous commentators have understood these lines either as a rejection of wrongdoing to the
Aeginetans (Slater 2001) or as the culmination of an apology (Lloyd-Jones 1973), my etymological reading instead stresses poetic self-fashioning. Though my conclusions are not mutually exclusive with either of the historicizing hypotheses, the purpose of this reading is to ask qualitatively different questions, and to show Pindar at work within a cultural discourse which enjoyed broad popular appeal.

Title: Situating the Problemata Genre in the Context of Hellenistic Exegesis
Name: Kenneth Yu

“Question-and-answer” texts, variously called problemata, zetemata, and aporemata, have long been a source of scholarly frustration, especially as to their purpose and methodology (Mayhew 2015). In an attempt to clarify certain central features of the problemata genre, as well as its relationship to other ancient technical literature, I compare specific examples from the pseudo-Aristotelian Problemata to the Homeric D-Scholia, arguing that they evince remarkably similar modes of inquiry. Both implicitly exemplify Aristotle’s idea that philosophical inquiry results from encounters with the wondrous (Met. 982b17-20), and they share the Aristotelian or Peripatetic conception that philosophical knowledge is predominantly causal in nature (APo. 89b25-31).

My paper proceeds in two steps. First, I highlight four methodological similarities of the Problemata and the scholia that reveal certain assumptions about the nature of knowledge: 1) a versatile, quasi-encyclopedic form in which solutions to difficulties can be added or subtracted anonymously over time; 2) a basic pattern in which questions focus on “why” (dia ti) something odd occurs, thus characterizing knowledge as primarily causal in form; 3) a particular epistemic in which truth pertains more to the dialectic mode than to demonstrative reasoning, that is, they adhere to endoxa (“reputable opinions,” Top. 100a18-21; 104a5-7; EN 1145b2-6) and ὁσ ἐπὶ το πολὺ statements (“as a general rule,” Met. 1027a20-21; APo 87b19-22) rather than first principles as starting points for inquiry; and 4) the overwhelming focus on subjects for which there is little to no possibility of empirical verification or observation.

In the second part of my paper, I argue that the generic and formal qualities shared by the Problemata and the scholia are partly due to the influence of the Aristotelian conflation of realia (that is, physical, anthropological, and religious phenomena) and poetic representations (cf. Poetics book 25). In other words, Aristotle seemed to have approached textual problems and puzzling phenomena with a similar hermeneutic, effectively merging the art of poetics with his inquiry into the physical and human sciences. This conflation evidently influenced other technical genres that centered on human conduct and religious behavior (e.g., ancient paradoxography and periegesis). In short, I would like to propose that question-and-answer texts, and a significant portion of related Hellenistic and Imperial Greek technical compendia of various sorts, bear traces of this Aristotelian method of interpreting phenomena like textual difficulties to be resolved.

Title: Longinus' Architectural Metaphor at περὶ ὑψους 10.7: Problems and Solutions
Name: James A. Arieti

ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐξοχάς ὡς <ἂν> εἴποι τις, ἀριστίνδην ἐκκαθήραντες ἐπισυνέθηκαν, οὐδὲν φλοιῶδες ἢ ἄσεμνον ἢ σχολικὸν ἐγκατατάτοντες διὰ μέσου λυμαίνεται γὰρ ταῦτα τὸ ὅλον ὡςανε ψύγματα ἢ ἀραιώματα ἐμποιοῦντα μεγέθη συνοικονομοῦμενα τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσει συντετειχισµένα.

D.A. Russell closes the note in his commentary on Longinus 10.7 (Russell, 1964) with some words from David Ruhnken (1723–1798) that ought to make anyone fear to begin: locus vehementer vexatus, verumtamen posthac non amplius vexandus. Still, critics who write about 10.7 are forced, no matter what they do, to differ with Ruhnken, although those of us who think we have found the solution secretly echo his words.
The sentence that takes up 10.7 is notoriously hard to read, and, I argue, it was made so deliberately by the author. Once we see that Longinus is doing what he so often does—imitating in his own prose the vice or virtue of what he is discussing (Arieti and Crossett 1985; Porter 2015)—we can work out the relationship of the parts to the whole.

Longinus has just explained that great artists, like Archilochus and Demosthenes, can contract or expand, with no damage to the structure of their work either way. When they expand, they polish the conspicuous projections (ἐξοχάς; 10.7), like masons who smooth and polish stones before putting them into a wall. The crux-sentence then opens with an explanatory continuation of what preceded; the subject is ταῦτα, which has for its antecedents three terms, the literary vices of φλοιῶδες (bombast or swelling), ἄσεμνον (frigidity), and σχολικόν (misplaced emotion), “for these things damage (λυμαίνεται) the whole (τὸ ὅλον).” In his sentence, Longinus very carefully chooses a vocabulary that can refer to both rhetoric and architecture. For example, the word μέγεθος means primarily “great passages in literature”; it seems also to have a secondary meaning of “great structures or buildings” (Roberts 1899). It is the subject of ἐμποιοῦντα: great passages produce (i.e., within themselves) “gaps or interstices” under certain conditions; these conditions are the literary vices catalogued above. Parallel to this meaning is the architectural image, which perhaps begins with ἀραίωμα, certainly with συνοικονομούμενα, the word that follows μεγέθη and modifies it.

Drawing on evidence from Vitruvius and Pliny’s letters (Sherwin-White 1985), I suggest that Longinus seems to have had in mind a complex of buildings, and that the verb “to help build a wall” (συντειχίζω) referred to the way in which the various buildings were supposed to “help” each other support the whole both structurally and aesthetically—in short, to form an “architectural unit.” Such unity is what Longinus saw, for example, in Sappho’s poem at the beginning of the chapter (10.1), where he said that the poet “binds together the intense emotions.” The parts of Sappho’s poem, as well as of Archilochus’ poems and Demosthenes’ speeches, are unified by “being set together one on another” (ἐπισύνθεσις; 10.1 and 10.7). So, too, various buildings being unified into an architectural whole are to achieve their unity by ἐπισύνθεσις.

A close reading of Longinus’ sentence, in 10.7, shows that he is imitating the vices he is describing, plus a few more: (1) by his triple hiatus he calls attention to the notion of “gaps”; (2) words like ψύγματα, σχέσις, and συντετειχισμένα are good examples of harshness (Demetrius, On Style 49); (3) the conceit of the passage, in which he compares σύνθεσις and the periodic sentence to the military procedure wherein allies helped each other build a fort, is a good example both of a high-point that has not been sufficiently polished and of the vices that he has catalogued, for it is at once φλοιῶδες, ἄσεμνον and σχολικόν.

Title: Trust and Charm: Late Hellenistic Authors on the Value of Poetry
Name: Kathryn Wilson

The controversy between Asianist and Atticist orators, or between advocates of grand and plain styles of oratory, is well-worn territory in the study of ancient rhetoric. The third, middle style is often neglected in favor of the two extremes, or misunderstood as merely a halfway point between the two. In this paper, I argue that Cicero defines the middle style as a set of aesthetic and ethical criteria quite distinct from the plain and grand styles. I then apply those criteria to the orators of the Brutus and trace a distinct genealogy or tradition of orators who were exemplary particularly by the heuristic of the middle style. I argue that this tradition has been overlooked, its exemplars often wrongly assigned to an Atticist camp. By taking a new look at this style, I aim to contribute to a more complete view of Cicero’s discussion of developments in oratorical style at Rome.

The neglect of this style is partially a consequence of Cicero’s own focus on the opposition between advocates of the plain and grand styles, sometimes to the exclusion of the middle style. This bipartite
scheme, however, as Gotoff and Fantham pointed out decades ago, is strategic, allowing Cicero to associate himself firmly with the grand style and to avoid criticisms associated with the middle style. The middle style, when executed badly, strayed into rococo over-ornamentation and an emasculating failure to arm oneself adequately for contests in the forum. When done well, however, it was a useful and indeed admirable mode of speech for Roman orators. In Cicero’s *Orator* (91-6), he writes that the middle style gives an orator unlimited license to use metaphors, figures, and prose rhythms to demonstrate artistic virtuosity, unlike the plain style, which demands that art be concealed. And compared with the intense exertions and vehement appeals to emotion characteristic of the grand style, the orator in the middle style is relaxed, congenial, and easygoing. The middle style thus both borrows and avoids qualities from each of its two counterparts (20-1). Its labor is aesthetic or artistic, rather than emotional (grand style) or intellectual (plain). Its effect is therefore impressive as well as likeable, but not as overwhelming as inescapable logic (plain) or as thundering *pathos* (grand). Cicero also uses evocative metaphors of light, water, elasticity, and other corporeal phenomena to distinguish the middle style from its counterparts.

We can apply this set of criteria to Cicero’s *Brutus* in order to detect orators who were known especially for this kind of style, and renowned for “bright,” “sweet,” “liquid,” or “mild” ways of speaking. I trace a series of such orators, including Laelius, Catulus, and most notably Calidius. In the *Brutus*, Cicero pairs Calidius and Calvus as two of the most promising and accomplished orators of the younger generation. His description of Calidius is remarkably elaborate, idiosyncratic, and positive, although not without reservations. Despite Douglas’ demonstration that Calidius does not fit Cicero’s descriptions of Attic or plain style orators, scholars have continued to mischaracterize or ignore him. I show that not only Calidius but these other, earlier orators cultivated qualities matching Cicero’s description of the middle style. These orators constitute an appreciable and distinct diachronic group who sidestepped the controversy between the other two styles, while achieving considerable reputations for eloquence in their own right. Their styles influenced philosophy, declamation, and historiography—the natural territory of the middle style, in Cicero’s scheme (*Orat*. 62-6)—as well as oratory itself. By shining a light on this style’s defining characteristics, and by setting against its stylistic siblings instead of letting it fade into the background, we gain a fuller comprehension of ancient aesthetic theory and literary criticism.

**Session 17: Political and Social Relations**

**Title:** Acting Your Age on the Roman Stage: The Plautine *adulescens* in Middle Republican Rome  
**Name:** Evan Jewell

Age roles were fixtures both on the stage of Roman comedy and in the hierarchies of Roman society after the Second Punic War. The comic plot frequently turned upon tensions between the age roles of the *adulescens* and *senex*. Scholars have long recognized the “stock” quality of the *adulescens* in Roman comedy, among a host of other roles (Duckworth 1994). Metatheatrical commentary within the comedies themselves reveals that Roman audiences could expect to see certain types of characters appear in a comic plot (Plaut. *Capt.* 57-58, *Men.* 7-10, 72-76; *Ter. Phorm.* 6-7, *Eun.* 35-40). The use of distinctive types of masks for certain roles, including the *adulescens*, also seems probable in a Roman context (Marshall 2006, Petrides 2014). In sum, the *adulescens* would have been immediately recognizable to a Roman audience through both verbal and visual signs.

As performative fixtures in a specific social and historical context however, age roles in Roman comedy—here confined to the *fabula palliata* of Plautus—have not yet received any level of comprehensive analysis approaching that applied to other social phenomena on the stage, particularly slavery (cf. Parker 1989, McCarthy 2000, Stewart 2012, Richlin 2014). This paper remedies the lack of attention paid to these age roles as Roman phenomena in a historical context, arguing that the performance of these roles actively engaged with contemporary conversations in Roman society about how *adulescentes* should perform—or act—their age on the social stage of a rapidly changing Rome recovering from the Second Punic War. Building on the work of Claude Pansiéri (1997), Timothy Moore
(1998), Matthew Leigh (2004) and Amy Richlin (2014) which has sought to restore Roman comedy to its historical contexts and to analyze its interaction with a segmented audience, my paper begins with a survey of the references in Plautus to age groups beyond the fourth wall of the comic stage, focusing on *adulescentes*, but including other age groups, such as the *iuventus*, *pubes*, *pueri* and *senes*. The cumulative sum of these references suggests that our understanding of the segmentation of the Roman audience should extend beyond class, education, gender, and legal status to include age groups.

My study then proceeds from this baseline to analyze how the Plautine *adulescens* interacts with legal developments affecting the *adulescentes* in the audience of Middle Republican Rome. I first focus on references to *leges* which specifically regulated the actions of *adulescentes*, most famously the contemporary *lex Laetoria* (Plaut. *Pseud.* 303, *Rud.* 1381 with Di Salvo 1979) and the way in which Plautus’ *adulescentes* attempt to circumvent or rhetorically subvert these *leges*, as in the coda to the *Mercator* (1016-1026) which sees the *adulescens* Eutychus call for applause from the *adulescentes* in the audience when he proposes that a law be made to regulate the amatory activity of men over the age of sixty. Further Plautine plots which emphasize the legal and fiscal impediments to the activities of *adulescentes*, such as the *Trinummus*, will then be considered against this legal backdrop.

Moving from contemporary *leges*, I conclude with an analysis of father-son relations in the Plautine corpus, but honing in upon moments where the institution of *patria potestas* appears to be invoked or challenged by the comic discourse. In this regard, I propose that the devastating demographic effects of the Second Punic War upon Rome’s adult male population (Brunt 1971, Rosenstein 2004), and so too its audience of *adulescentes* who grew to maturity during the war—many left fatherless and, consequently, *sui iuris*—need to be understood in relation to Plautus’ *adulescentes* and his ambiguous articulation of *patria potestas*. By considering the Plautine *adulescens* as a character who deliberately spoke to the *adulescentes* in the audience and their contemporary concerns, this paper argues that Plautus should be viewed as participating in a broader Roman conversation occurring at the beginning of the second century BCE about the norms regulating the actions of *adulescentes*.

**Title:** *Quibus patet curia:* Livy 23.23.6 and the Middle Republican Aristocracy of Office  
**Name:** Cary M. Barber

In this paper, I will reconstruct the three groups of citizens who were eligible for selection into the Senate at the time of the Hannibalic War. In the face of catastrophic senatorial casualties during the war’s opening years, so Livy tell us at 23.22.1, the surviving *patres* reflected upon the ‘*solitudinem curiae*’ which had enveloped the Senate House, and deliberated the potential solutions to this urgent political crisis. Eventually, the *patres* empowered M. Fabius Buteo in 216 BC to hold an emergency adlection. As a result, the dictator-cum-censor enrolled 177 new senators from among three narrow swaths of the citizen body. As Livy 23.23.5-6 suggests, the initial two rank-groupings are relatively clear: the first group comprised the curule magistrates not yet adlected since the last census; and the second included those who had been plebeian aedile, tribune of the plebs, or quaestor, in that order. Buteo’s third group described at 23.23.6, however, has been consistently misidentified for centuries. Sigonius’ emendation of the manuscript at 23.23.6 has left us with ‘*tum ex iis qui [non] magistratus cepissent,*’ and his interpolation of [non] has been followed by nearly every modern scholar since the sixteenth century. Consequently, we have supposed that this third group included any Roman who had either won the *corona civica* or who had enemy armor attached to his home. Unfortunately, the manuscripts clearly indicate otherwise. Selection to the Senate, as I will show, could include only those citizens who had held a magistracy at some point in their lives, and of those holding office below the quaestorship, only those with military accolades could reasonably expect inclusion into the *curia*.

Buteo’s unprecedented adlection of new *patres* marks a critical moment in the Republic’s existential struggle against the Carthaginians. Indeed, as Livy 23.24.1 suggests, it was this irregularly-enrolled
Senate which directed the Republic’s response to Hannibal in the days that followed, and their efforts, of course, would eventually succeed in repelling the Carthaginian host. This singular adlection marks a key moment for modern researchers of the Senate as well. Here, we have the rare opportunity to witness senatorial enrollment in action, and with it, the general requirements for membership within the senatorial aristocracy. Determining which groups of citizens were eligible for enrollment in the Senate can tell us a great deal about the degree of permeability of talent into the Republican aristocracy, and this, in turn, can help us tremendously as we seek to understand the Roman political community. Considering the scarcity of evidence for this fundamental feature of the Senate, the correct interpretation of this passage is therefore of paramount importance.

The implications of all of this are extremely significant. By showing that non-magistrates were ineligible for enrollment even in a crisis as serious as that of 216 BC, it should become clear that under normal conditions, those without an office would have never stood a chance. Thus, we can strengthen the argument that the political elite of the Middle Republic, at least by the Hannibalic War, was a true aristocracy of office, and that only those capable of a political career could have entered the Senate. For the average centurion, there would be no bootstraps to pull up which could lead to the calceus senatorius. Further, not only can we reconstruct a hierarchy of office within this magisterial elite, but we can also use the ordering in Buteo’s list to recreate a specific cursus in the years before the lex Villia Annalis. Buteo’s ordering should reflect, for instance, the roll call of the Senate. Considering the competitive behavior of Romans in all things, we should consequently imagine fierce rivalries among the elite for the tribunate of the plebs, and thus explain the office’s supportive role within the nobilitas. Clearly, we can gain much from restoring Livy’s 23.23.6. A renewed analysis is thus a critical step in improving our understanding of the Roman aristocracy of the Middle Republic.

Title: Not Set in Stone: The Asculum Bronze and the Durability of Political Alliances in the late Republic
Name: Kathryn L. Steed

This paper argues that a case study of the Asculum Bronze (ILS 8888 = ILLRP 515 = CIL VI.37045 = CIL 1.2.709) provides evidence that political alliances in the late Republic were of short duration and depended on immediate personal interest rather than on enduring personal or familial connections. Its conclusions contribute directly to the ongoing scholarly debate over the nature of political life and of aristocratic political maneuvering in the late Republic.

The long-standing interpretation of Roman political life as dominated by aristocratic “parties” composed of family networks and lasting multiple generations, has been thoroughly refuted (see discussion at Hölkeskamp (2010), pp.6-10), but its replacement is far from clear. Already in 1968, E. Gruen noted that political loyalties could be fragile and shifting (Gruen, 1968, 1-7), but in 2007 it was still possible to point to treat amicitia as a controlling force in determining political loyalties and to interpret Labienus’ service with Caesar as the infiltration of Caesar’s camp by a member of the senatorial faction (Canfora, 2007, pp. 159-164).

This paper approaches the thorny issue of the durability of political associations among Rome’s elite (and aspiring elite) through a prosopographical study of the Asculum Bronze. This inscription offers a unique window into a single moment of political association: the inscription’s listing of Pompeius Strabo’s consilium in 89 is relatively complete and includes not only established political figures but junior officers starting their careers under the tutelage of one of Rome’s most prominent generals. By following the careers of these men, we can see how initial loyalties change over time and determine the extent to which early associations persist and initial political groupings endure.
Of the 59 men named on the Asculum Bronze, we can identify 35 with some level of confidence – in this phase of my argument I follow, with some exceptions, the identifications of Nicola Criniti (Criniti, 1970) – and know something of the later careers of 28. It is these 28 whose careers I follow for evidence of sustained or shifting political loyalties. I look first at their participation in the events of the 80s and the Sullan civil war, then at their activities in the 70s in the conflicts between Pompey (as the representative of the Sullan senate) and those against whom he took up arms. Finally, I look at their involvement on either side of the events of 63, including both the trial of Rabirius and the Catilinarian Conspiracy, before drawing conclusions about the patterns of alliance and interest that emerge from their careers.

With the possible exceptions of Strabo’s quaestor, his centurions, and (some of) the military tribunes, the men listed on the Asculum Bronze were all present in Strabo’s camp because they had some personal or familial connection to Strabo himself. If enduring networks of alliance were at work, we might reasonably expect these men to share a community of interests that extended beyond the Social War and even Strabo’s death in 87. Looking carefully at the subsequent careers of the men of Strabo’s consilium, though, it becomes apparent that this was not the case. Far from presenting a pattern of consistent support for one another or for their commander’s son, the members of the consilium at Asculum seem to have gone their separate ways and participated in the events and crises of the next decades in almost every capacity imaginable. In fact, the only real pattern that emerges is that there is no pattern. This provides strong evidence that enduring ties of loyalty did not play a major role in determining political decisions and alliances in the tumultuous last years of the Republic.

Title: Restoring Libertas: The Plebeian Class Advantage over the Patricians in Livy’s Account of the Second Decemvirate (AUC 3.36-55)
Name: David T. West

In this paper, I argue that Livy’s narrative of the second decemvirate and its fall (AUC 3.36-55) advances the idea that the plebeians as a social group are more capable of restoring libertas to the state as a whole due to such qualities as unity of sentiment and the power inherent in sheer numbers. By contrast, the character of the patricians as a class that displays a marked tendency to internal factionalism renders them incapable of taking action to restore even their own libertas. At the same time, since the potential of the plebeians as a group to restore libertas is ultimately realized through active encouragement of rebellion by the patricians Valerius and Horatius followed by their mediation with the senate, Livy’s narrative reveals the necessity of courageous and prudent patrician leadership to curb the natural excesses of both social groups.

The traditional emphasis in Livy scholarship on individual exempla (e.g. Walsh 1961, Chaplin 2000) has inclined scholars to neglect the importance Livy assigns to social groups in the episode of the decemvirate. Accordingly, scholars have focused on the negative exemplum of Appius Claudius, a patrician with a tyrannical nature (Dunkle 1971, Vasaly 2015), who poses as a popularis in order to deprive the state of libertas (Seager 1977). While scholars have noted the role of patricians and plebeians in the state’s loss of libertas due to their mutual desire to eliminate each other’s influence (Ogilvie 1965, Hammer 2014), they have not examined the responsibility of these two groups for the state’s continuation in a state of slavery or its restoration to liberty. Other studies of the passage have delineated the differences in the content of libertas for the two classes (Wirszubski 1950, Fantham 2005, Arena 2012, Vasaly 2015) and the significance of the Verginia episode (Ogilvie 1965, Joshel 1992, Moore 1993, Feldherr 1998).

The patrician senators’ inherent tendency towards factionalism prevents them from uniting against the decemvirs. One faction, the patrician youth, is presented as the natural ally of the tyrannical decemvirs and benefits from the violent despoliation of the plebs (3.37.6-8; cf. 3.50.1), just as it had previously supported the restoration of Tarquin the Proud (2.3-2.4; cf. Eyben 1993, Kalnin-Maggiori 2004). A
second faction consists of decemviral family connections, exemplified by Cornelius, who shrewdly blocks attempts by Valerius, Horatius, and C. Claudius to create a senatorial consensus against the regime (3.40.8, 3.41.4). A third group, leading patricians, are willing to endure decemviral rule indefinitely because they remain immune from personal injury (3.36.7) and hope the plebs’ suffering will dispose them to desire the consulship again (3.37.2-3), vainly expecting the decemvirs to resign voluntarily (3.41.5-6; cf. 3.51.13).

The plebs prove a more formidable opponent to the decemviral tyranny due to the unity of sentiment arising from a sense of solidarity in the experience of harsh treatment (3.36.7; 3.37.6-8; 3.50.2-3, 10-11) and thanks to the superior physical force of their numbers that breaks the power of Appius’ lictors (3.49.4) and eventually, through mutiny (3.50.12-13, 3.51.7) and secession (3.52.1-4), pressures the patricians into demanding the resignation of the decemvirs (3.52.5-10). Furthermore, the plebs’ status as a greater ally of liberty is revealed by their susceptibility to the patrician leadership of Valerius and Horatius that enables the realization of their potential power inherent in numbers. These exceptional patricians make good on their original threats to engage the power of the plebs against the decemvirs (3.39.2, 6) by joining the crowd in protecting Verginius from the lictors of Appius (3.49.3-5) and refusing to undertake an embassy to the people unless the decemvirs resign (3.51.12). Their support for the plebs sets them apart from the rest of their class in political foresight and fair-mindedness, qualities also displayed in their sponsorship of various “popular” measures during their consulship that did the patricians no wrong (despite patrician complaints to the contrary, 3.55.1-2) and in restraining the plebs from indulging in violence against the decemvirs (3.53.5-10).

**Title:** Freedmen as Magistrates in the Late Roman Republic and Empire  
**Name:** Amanda Jo Coles

Although handbooks on Roman freedmen deny that libertini could hold a political magistracy except in Caesarian colonies (e.g. Mouritsen 2011), freedmen outside of such colonies occasionally achieved civic office through the High Empire. This paper argues that these extraordinary individual achievements demonstrate that imperial laws were not uniformly enforced everywhere and in perpetuity after they were enacted. From the Late Republic to High Empire, epigraphic and literary evidence attests to seventeen freed magistrates, including quaestors, aediles, duoviri, quatuorviri, and octoviri (two, four, and eight-man boards of magistrates), from colonies, towns, and municipalities in Greece, Macedonia, Illyria, Africa, and Italy. This paper places these magistrates in the chronological context provided by Roman municipal and colonial charters to determine how freedmen could attain office in contravention of Roman custom. A close contextualization of the inscriptions proves that Roman custom and law were not transferred exactly and equally to all colonies or municipia throughout the late Republic and Empire, especially in the qualification expectations for the highest magistrates. Thus, there was latitude for meritorious freedmen outside of Rome to win powerful positions in smaller towns, positions which would be unavailable to them in the capital city.

Recent articles on freed magistrates focus on local settings, e.g. Corinth (Millis 2014); Narona (Lindhagen 2013); Dion (Demaille 2008); and Carthage, Clupea, and Formiae (Le Glay 1990). These articles observe that the localities privilege commercial prominence over the Roman ideal of the farmer-soldier and that freedmen relied on powerful patronage and courted the favor of their fellow colonists through public benefactions. The current paper builds on these conclusions about the social factors behind freedmen’s electoral success by examining the legal changes in electoral opportunities for libertini over time and throughout the empire. The Julian municipal law (80-45 BCE) did not exclude freedmen in Italy from the magistracies, and indeed a few freed quatuorviri or octoviri served their Italian communities. The Urso Charter (c. 45 BCE) establishes the precedent that Caesar allowed freedmen to hold magistracies in his Spanish colony. Strabo (8.6.23, 17.3.15) confirms the preponderance of freedmen in Corinth and Carthage, where inscriptions attest to freed duoviri and aediles. This paper argues, however,
that duoviri in Clupea and Curubis should not automatically imply that these two places were Caesarian colonies (contra Mommsen). One of Caesar’s freedmen served as duovir in Lissus, an oppidum (town) rather than colony. While Caesar’s influence on the political opportunities of these freedmen is obvious, the colonial status of their homes is less so.

The lex Visellia of 24 CE (Cod. Just. 9.21.1), which penalized freedmen who usurped the privileges of the free-born without imperial permission, has traditionally served as a terminus ante quem for dating any imperial inscriptions belonging to freed magistrates. The Flavian municipal law (80-91 CE) seems to confirm an empire-wide ban on freedmen holding office. A Latin inscription in Trajanic Nicopolis ad Istrum (CIL III 12435), however, cannot be dated before the lex Visellia, and the freedman, to whom the inscription belonged, boasted no known connection with the emperor from which imperial permission might be inferred. This example also casts new doubt on the date of P. Anthestius Amphio, a politically active freedman in Dion (AE 1998: 1209), who has been placed before 24 CE despite the 2nd century CE context of his benefactions in the colony. Roman law, therefore, did not strictly govern elections in some eastern colonies by the High Empire. Rather, the local situation shaped electoral success: in Rome, the entrenched connection between high office and military activity debarred freedmen from office, but in colonies and municipia, whose magistrates did not lead Roman armies or govern provinces, aristocratic birth was less important for holding political power. In short, although freedmen rarely won high office in the empire, the fact that they occasionally could and did is significant because it demonstrates the flexibility of Roman imperialism.

Title: Where have all the fabri tign(u)arii gone? CIL 14. 4365 & 4382, a reassessment of the fabri tign(u)arii in Rome and Ostia in the early 4th century CE.
Name: John M. Fabiano

In the early twentieth century two large halves of what turned out to be a single architrave block were found spread out along the decumanus in Ostia. The topographic discontinuity of their find spots and the content of their individual inscriptions appeared, for a long time, to preclude their association. In 1971, however, Fausto Zevi examined both of the blocks and their accompanying inscriptions and determined that the two belonged together. The complete block now rests on the remains of a wall near the theater and is visible to anyone walking along the decumanus. It bears the following inscription:

Divo Pio [P]ertinaci Au[g(usto) patri]/ colleg(ium) fabr(um) [[tign]ar(iorum) Ost(iensium)]/ curam agentibus C(aio) Plotio Ca[--] Salinatore Ianuario L(ucio) Faianio Olympo mag(istris) q(uin)q(ennalibus) lust(ri) X[XVIII].

Zevi concluded that the complete block likely constituted the architrave to the entrance of the collegiate temple of the fabri tignuarii at Ostia, which he argued was dedicated to Pertinax and Septimius Severus around 195 CE (Zevi 1971, 476). Subsequently, this interpretation has been accepted and, save for the addition of patri after the Augusto (Bollman 1998, 343), Zevi’s reconstruction has remained the communis opinio. Curiously no one has attempted to adequately explain what appears to be a blatant erasure of the seemingly innocuous tignariorum. In fact, Zevi, in his original publication, confined his opinion to a footnote, writing that the explanation for the erasure need not be damnatio memoriae, but that the groove was perhaps a product of the block’s reuse as a threshold (Zevi 1971, 473 fn. 68). Since then no one has questioned this explanation, nor has it been elaborated outside of this brief footnote. Given the recent interest in the collegia at Rome and Ostia this understudied aspect of the inscription seems ripe for reevaluation.

This paper offers an alternative explanation for this erasure and, consequently, engages with some broader historical questions about the collegium fabrum tign(u)ariorum. This is approached through a review of the juridical and epigraphic corpora. The former reveals that under Constantine certain administrative
measures were taken to reorganize the Urbs and a system of hereditary compulsory service was introduced into the collegia. It has been argued, however, that the roots of the system of compelled service took hold much earlier, perhaps in the late third or earlier fourth century (Sirks 1991, 291-294 & 325-330). An assessment of the epigraphic evidence suggests that these changes also affected the fabri tignarii. The collegium fabrum tign(u)ariorum disappear from the epigraphic record at both Rome and Ostia in the early fourth century CE (CIL VI 31901a & CIL XIV 128 represent the last attestations in each place respectively), while alba of the tignarii dated to the Severan period were reused as spolia in the Forum Romanum already under Maxentius. Both points demonstrate that the collegium fabrum tignariorum at Rome seem to have undergone serious re-organization, which presumably included the annexation of other collegia to the tignarii and perhaps was accompanied by an alteration to their name. The process of annexation of other collegia to the more broadly conceived fabri is one recorded in a later law, dated to 329 CE (CTh 14.8.1), but the precedent for this seems to have developed earlier, much like that of compelled service. Finally, it is argued that the collegium fabrum tignariorum at Ostia underwent the same processes as at Rome, and it is reasonably concluded that the erasure on the aforementioned architrave block was a corollary of the reorganization of the collegium fabrum tignariorum at Rome and Ostia in the very early fourth century CE.

**Session 18: Translation and Reception**

**Title:** The Callias of Aeschines Socraticus and the Meaning of διαφορά at Athenaeus 5.220b  
**Name:** Kevin B. Muse

The philosophical dialogues of Socrates’ student Aeschines of Sphettos are known to us only from fragmentary quotations and brief testimonia (see Giannantoni, SSR). There is thus considerable uncertainty about their contents. Using historical, philological, and papyrological evidence, this paper refutes a widespread misinterpretation of Athenaeus’ indication of the content of Aeschines’ dialogue Callias. Where Athenaeus (5.220b) says that “his (sc. Aeschines’) Callias contains the διαφορά between Callias and his father” (ὁ δὲ Καλλίας αὐτοῦ περιέχει τὴν τοῦ Καλλίου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα διαφοράν), ἡ διαφορά should be taken to mean “the quarrel” between the father and son and not “the contrast” (of character), as has often been posited since Hermann (1850).

From the wording of Athen. 5.220b (= Giannantoni SSR VI A F 73) it is often maintained that Aeschines’ Callias contained “the contrast” (τὴν διαφοράν) in character between the notorious spendthrift Callias and his frugal father Hipponicus (see, e.g., the Loeb translations of Gulick and now Olson; for prosopographical background on Callias and Hipponicus see Davies and Nails). An earlier and likewise common interpretation of this passage holds that διαφορά refers to “the quarrel” between Callias and Hipponicus (see Daléchamps’s translation, *simultas*, in Casaubon 1597; see also Schweighäuser, Krauss, Dittmar, Allmann, and Canfora). This paper argues that the older “quarrel” interpretation is correct and adduces arguments and evidence that have not yet been brought to bear on the problem: 1) It is shown that Hermann, who introduced the “contrast” (differentia) interpretation (1850, 13-16), did so on spurious chronological grounds. Hermann alleged that Hipponicus could not have been alive when Callias began wasting his patrimony and that therefore a quarrel between them about Callias’ profligacy would have been impossible. But Callias was probably born earlier than Hermann asserted, and Hipponicus need not have been deceased for Callias to have begun squandering money-abundant parallels show that father-son conflict over spending was a commonplace of Greek literature of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. 2) Review of the usage of διαφορά shows that when it appears in the construction διαφορά πρός + acc. and in reference to human beings, as it does in Athen. 5.220b, it nearly always refers to quarrels. Notable instances include quarrels between fathers and spendthrift sons (see, e.g., Plut. Pericles 36.1-3, which mentions a quarrel between Callias’ half-brother Xanthippus and Pericles over Xanthippus’ debt). 3) An overlooked parallel in a papyrus fragment of Aeschines’ own *Alcibiades* (P. Oxyr 1608 F 4 = SSR VI A F 48; cf. also Berry 1950) shows that Alcibiades was depicted in that dialogue using the construction διαφορά πρός + acc. to refer disparagingly to an alleged quarrel between Themistocles and his parents.
From other sources, thought to derive ultimately from Aeschines (e.g., Aelian Var. Hist. 2.12), we are
told that Themistocles was disowned for prodigality (ἀσωτία), the same vice for which Callias became
proverbial (Athen. 4.169a; see Nails 2002 for passages alluding to Callias’ reputation as a prodigal). The
paper concludes with brief remarks about the significance of the διαφορά for reconstruction of the
dialogue.

Title: Translating Ovid into Musical Pictures: The Metamorphosen Symphonies of Karl Ditters von
Dittersdorf
Name: Rebecca A. Sears

In the early 1780’s, the Austrian composer Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf (1739-1799) composed a set
of programmatic symphonies depicting Ovid’s Metamorphoses. Dittersdorf’s original plan called for a set
of 15 symphonies, one representative of each book of Ovid’s poem; however, the constraints of publication
and convention prevented him from fully achieving his ambitions. Of the 15 proposed symphonies, the
first three were published immediately, numbers 4-6 survive in manuscript and, along with 1-3, in an
1899 (re)publication, three others have recently been discovered in piano 4- hand reductions (7, 8, and
13), three are lost (8, 10, and 11), and the last three (12, 14, and 15) were never written (Rice, passim;
Will, 30-31). Although Dittersdorf’s Metamorphosen symphonies never acquired canonic status, their
musical style and content has recently been given greater recognition, particularly in regard to
Dittersdorf’s creative adaptation of the formal structures of the four- movement Classical symphony for
programmatic ‘narrative.’

Dittersdorf received a Jesuit education, and unlike the majority of 18th century musicians, was capable of
reading and interpreting Ovid’s Latin text directly (Rice 455). He encourages the direct correlation of his
music with Ovid’s text through quotations from Ovid’s Metamorphoses placed at the beginning of each
movement. However, as Rice has pointed out, Dittersdorf’s “response to Ovid’s poem was visual – in the
form of imaginary pictures – before it was musical” (456-457), evidenced by his initial plan to publish the
symphonies with accompanying engravings. The resulting compositions form sets of four discrete
musical pictures that collectively exemplify the narrative arc of Dittersdorf’s chosen episodes, even in the
case of through-composed movements depicting action sequences, such as the last movement of the fifth
symphony (Phinée avec ses amis changés en rochers). In this way, Dittersdorf replaces the impossible
challenge of recreating Ovid’s complex narrative style in music with his own innovations in the style and
form of the Classical symphony, which permit sound to function as image (or, at least, as the inspiration
for imagination).

In this paper, I will examine Dittersdorf’s compositional choices from the perspective of his reception and
interpretation of Ovid’s text. In particular, I will focus on his sixth symphony (Les Paysans changés en
grenouilles), which depicts Latona’s transformation of the Lycian peasants into frogs (Metamorphoses
6.313-381). Dittersdorf transforms this relatively minor episode, told by an unnamed narrator in response
to Niobe’s punishment, into a musical interpretation of the themes of hubris and divine revenge that he
likely viewed as representative of Ovid’s Book 6. Dittersdorf’s first movement creates a sound-picture of
the pastoral scene and describes the Lycians’ debased characters (Sinfonie: Allegretto no troppo presto),
then follow two movements depicting the verbal interaction of Latona and the peasants (Adagio ma non
molto and Minuetto: Moderato – Alternativo), and the last movement plays with the tonal possibilities of
their transformation (Finale: Adagio – Vivace, ma moderato). In conclusion, I will propose that
Dittersdorf employs a strategy similar to Ovid’s own interpretive response to his epic predecessors (e.g.,
Homer’s Iliad and Vergil’s Aeneid), singling out specific lines for musical elaboration, which encourage,
even require, performers, listeners, and readers to engage not only with his music, but also with Ovid’s
Latin text. In this way, Dittersdorf’s narrative strategy in the Metamorphosen symphonies does not
attempt to represent the text through music, but instead creates a sound-track for reading and interpreting
Ovid’s Metamorphoses.
Title: Not a Gadfly: When a Crucial Reading Goes Wrong
Name: Laura Marshall

“For if you kill me you will not easily find another like me, who, if I may use such a ludicrous figure of speech, am a sort of **gadfly**, given to the state by the God …” (Jowett translation, *Apology* 30e)

This passage is one of the most famous in Classical literature and deserves an accurate interpretation. Just as Socrates asked his listeners to rethink common words such as “justice” and “piety,” this paper asks Classical scholars to reconsider how well they understand the image of the gadfly and Socratic pedagogy. The purpose of this paper is to prove that the word **μύωψ** in Plato’s *Apology of Socrates* has incorrectly been understood as an insect for over a century. The correct understanding of the word, and the one that was favored before Jowett’s translation, is “spur.” A re-examination of the word in Greek literature shows that the spur interpretation should be accepted for the following reasons:

1. **Context and synonyms:** when **μύωψ** refers to an insect, it is always in the context of cows. Furthermore, it is generally accompanied by a synonym such as **οἶστρος** (horsefly), which unambiguously refers to an insect, indicating that the author sees a need to clarify the word. But when **μύωψ** is used in the context of a horse, it means “spur,” and synonyms are not generally employed (Theophrastus’ *Characters* 21.8, Xenophon’s *On Horsemanship* 8.2-5). Socrates uses the word in the context of a horse and in a speech that contains many references to horses and horse training, so “spur” should be the default understanding. Diogenes Laertius also uses **μύωψ** to refer to a spur in the context of Socrates and teaching (4.6), indicating that ancient readers would have understood **μύωψ** as “spur” in this context.

2. **Depictions of the gods and divine pedagogy:** when the gadfly appears as an insect in Greek literature prior to the *Apology*, it is generally in the context of the story of Zeus’ lust for Io and Hera’s vindictive anger (*Suppliant Women* 306-8, *Prometheus Bound* 673-820. This does not fit well with Socrates’ depiction of the god in the *Apology* as benevolent and pedagogical. When Xenophon uses the word **μύωψ**, it is in the context of training a sluggish horse to jump; this fits better with the pedagogical goals Socrates’ sees for the god in the *Apology*: the god is using Socrates to teach the Athenians, not merely to annoy them.

3. **Visual evidence:** **μύωψ** is singular in the *Apology*, and although modern spurs are worn in pairs, there is visual evidence suggesting that ancient riders wore only one spur. The word is also singular in Xenophon’s *On Horsemanship* 8.2-5.

4. **Translations prior to 1800:** in Latin translations of the *Apology*, **μύωψ** is translated as **calcar** (spur) (Ficinus, 1484), and eighteenth-century translations generally follow this as well. The turning point comes with Jowett’s translation in 1871, based on Stallbaum’s edition of 1827. After Jowett's translation, the LSJ moved the *Apology* passage from the "spur" definition to "gadfly."

5. The arguments for “gadfly” over “spur” in the nineteenth century literature depends on a misunderstanding of the analogy and Socratic humor. Stallbaum argues that the “spur” interpretation requires Socrates to be the rider, but the spur interpretation actually requires the god to be the rider, teaching the sluggish horse and using Socrates as a teaching aid. Stallbaum also argues that “gadfly” is a more humorous and witty image than a spur, but this argument depends on Socrates sharing Stallbaum’s sense of humor, and other passages in the Platonic corpus indicate this is an incorrect understanding of **γελοιότερον** (*Symposium* 215a).

The gadfly image is a difficult one to give up, partly because it is so vivid but also because it has been repeated over so many years. But just because an idea has been repeated often by many people is not a good reason to assume it is correct, and this passage deserves serious reconsideration.
In attempting to reconstruct ancient Greek gambling, one is struck by the near omnipresence of dice. Lysias speaks of people ‘dicing away their patrimony’ (κατακυβεύσας τὰ ὄντα, 14.27; cf. Gernet and Bizos 1924-6, Lamb 1930, Albini 1955, Carey 1990 ad loc.); Isocrates of youth ‘dicing’ in gambling halls (ἐν τοῖς σκιραφείοις κυβέοντα, Antid. 287; cf. Norlin 1928-9, Ley-Hutton and Broderson 1997, Too 2008 ad loc.). Xenophon’s Socrates shakes his head about ‘dicing’ (κυβεῖα, Oec. 1.19-20; cf. Chantraine 1949, Montoneri 1964, Audring 1992 ad loc.). Aeschines rails against his opponent’s history of ‘gambling with dice,’ and the list goes on (κυβεῖος, Tim. 53; cf. Benseler 1855, Adams 1919, Martin and de Budé 1927-8, Carey 2000 ad loc.). From such a wealth of references it would seem that Greeks hardly ever gambled with anything other than dice, even though other forms of gambling, like cock-fighting and quail-baiting, are attested.

In a related development, nearly twenty years ago, it was argued in an influential study that kuboi (six-sided manufactured dice) are found to be in a strong ideological opposition to astragaloi (four-sided, talus-bone dice; Kurke 1999: 283-95). In Classical texts, kuboi are treated negatively while astragaloi clearly evince a more positive charge. As Kurke writes: ‘the relationship of astragaloi to economic realities was generally mystified’ while ‘kuboi, in contrast, bore the onus of negative associations’ (1999: 283). Although some scholars have pointed out exceptions to the rule (e.g. Fisher 2004: 68-70), this alleged ideological divide has gained widespread acceptance (cf. Diggle 2004: 241; Campagner 2005: 83-4; Ferrari 2002: 251 n. 17).

As I will argue, however, these two phenomena—the apparent ubiquity of kuboi in gambling contexts and the alleged kuboi/astragaloi ideological divide—are both rooted in the same misunderstanding. The verb kubeuō and its congeners often does not mean ‘play dice’ at all, but rather ‘gamble.’ Not only can one kubeuein (‘gamble’) with astragaloi, but, as I will show, one can kubeuein (‘gamble’) spinning coins, playing kottabos, and even during a cock-fight: that is, one does not require kuboi (‘dice’) to kubeuein (‘gamble’) at all.

I will begin this argument with a close reading of Pollux’s discussion of kubeia which has been generally misunderstood if it has been read at all (7.206). The passage provides clear evidence that for a second-century CE scholar studying classical Greek language and culture, kubeia meant ‘gambling’ and often had nothing to do with dice. I will then briefly turn to classical texts to show that people could kubeuein ‘gamble’ not only with astragaloi (Theopomp. 115 F 121, Diph. Synoris 47 KA), but, in a long-standing crux of Aeschines’ Against Timarchus, also ‘gamble’ (kubeuein) during a cock-fight (53). After returning to the more abstract discussions which now make clear why kuboi sometimes are depicted positively (sometimes dice are just dice), and clarifying the nature of fourth-century tirades against kubeia (not against dice per se, but gambling), I will end with some final thoughts about the original meaning of the word.

Title: Nishiwaki’s Ambarvalia: Reimagining Catullan Poetics in Modern(ist) Japan
Name: Akira Yatsuhashi

Nishiwaki Junzaburō’s Ambarvalia, first published in 1933, has become one of the key works of Japanese Modernism and is also a work profoundly influenced by the world of classical antiquity. Ambarvalia is made up of poetic experiments including but not limited to travel vignettes, an ekphrasis on the Dionysus Kylix, and free translations of Tibullus and Catullus divided into two sections: “Le Monde Ancien” and “Le Monde Moderne.” Furthermore, it is a work mainly written in Japanese, yet a new form of Japanese full of lexical oddities and foreign loan words as well as some extended stretches in Latin. Much like in Europe, many Japanese poets of the early twentieth century were beginning to experiment with newer
ways of producing poetry in attempt to break free from more traditional poetics, which still dominated the field with its rigid use of forms and vocabulary. It is in response to this tradition that one must read Nishiwaki’s poem.

Although scholars have written extensively on Nishiwaki’s *Ambarvalia*, few have paid much attention to a collection of four poems situated at the heart of the work, entitled “Latin Elegies” (拉典 哀歌), and three of the four poems which make up this section are often dismissed as mere translations of the 1913 Loeb volume of *Catullus, Tibullus, Pervigilium Veneris* (Willett 2004; Hirata 1993). Upon closer examination of the “Latin Elegies” section, it becomes quite clear that two of the poems, which make up this section of the poem, “Catullus” and “Tibullus,” can only loosely be called “translations” if that at all. In fact, Nishiwaki’s “Catullus” poem reads more like a tour of selected poems from the Catullan corpus and even then only excerpts from those poems.

This paper is an attempt to reassess the significance of selectively translating Catullus for the work as a whole. Through a close reading of Nishiwaki’s poem, “Catullus,” I will demonstrate how this poem is not merely a random, uncritical sampling from the Catullan corpus but is rather a carefully crafted work composed of selected excerpts that articulates, promotes, and defends a new kind of Japanese poetry. Throughout his “Catullus,” Nishiwaki selectively eliminates certain lines and merely provides the reader with enough of the original Catullus to see his source material but also not enough to make it a straight translation. Ultimately, one might ask why this is the case. My response is that Nishiwaki does this to make Catullus’ work his own by either omitting the more overtly sexual images or toning down the language from the originals in order to focus on the metapoetic statements contained in the originals. Furthermore, Nishiwaki has positioned this key part in the heart of the “Catullus” poem which is likewise at the heart of his overall work, straddling the line between the “Le Monde Ancien” and “Moderne” sections of the poem. By doing so, he has made it clear that the poem should not merely be a mere superfluous translation but rather should play a central role in the larger work. Through his creative act of translation, Nishiwaki uses Catullus not only to radically reimagine Japanese poetry but also to provide a way to articulate his new Modernist vision for it. It is this type of poetry, in turn, that Nishiwaki reproduces throughout the rest of his *Ambarvalia*, one that mimics the works of western Modernism and combines traditional Japanese forms and language with foreign and experimental ones.

Title: Plutarch’s “curiosity” in the *Attic Nights* of Aulus Gellius
Name: Joseph Howley

This paper argues that Aulus Gellius, in his *Noctes Atticae*, engages in a significant translation of Plutarch’s concept of the appetite of πολυπραγμοσύνη—not simply translating the word (as Apuleius does, resulting in curiositas), but isolating the corollary concept, the stimulus that acts upon the appetite, and giving it a Latin name instead (inlecebra, “seduction”). This underscores Gellius’s significance as an ancient theorizer of cognition, and as a recipient and transmitter of ancient philosophical concepts. This paper combines a conceptual reappraisal of Plutarch’s program with close readings of Gellius to show that Gellius’s *NA* constitutes a site of reception of Plutarch that is parallel to but distinct from Apuleius’s *Metamorphoses*.

Traditional philological methods that search for ancient concepts by discrete terms and synonyms have excluded Gellius from the history of curiosity and πολυπραγμοσύνη. Plutarch’s *Moralia* have long been understood as an antiquarian source for Gellius (Holford-Strevens 2003). More recently, it has been suggested that Gellius, in writing miscellany, is following the formal lead of Plutarch’s dialogues (Klotz & Oikonomopoulou 2011). Far more discussed is Plutarch’s influence on Apuleius’s *Metamorphoses* (DeFilippo 1990, Kirichenko 2008, Ni Mheallaigh 2009, Hunter 2009; Van der Stockt 2012). Plutarch’s treatise has also received attention in the history of “curiosity” (Ehrenberg 1947, Brown 2006, Van Hoof...
The possibility of conceptual influence by Plutarch on Gellius, in terms of πολυπραγμοσύνη or any other subject, remains unconsidered.

Gellius advertises his acquaintance with Plutarch’s treatise at NA 11.16, where a discussion about the impossibility of translating πολυπραγμοσύνη into Latin is prompted by a flagrant πολυπράγμων who sees Gellius holding a copy of the book and, because he does not know Greek, demands to know what it contains. Reappraising the relationship between Plutarch’s treatise and the entire Noctes yields conspicuous but unacknowledged intertexts. Most prominently, Gellius NA 10.17 and Plutarch 521C-D both relate the story of Democritus, who intentionally blinded himself to free his mind from the distractions that come with the faculty of sight: for Plutarch, this is about the nature of the mind, while for Gellius, it is about the inlecebra videndi—the seduction of vision itself. Inlecebra forms Gellius’s counterpart to Plutarch’s πολυπραγμοσύνη; present in the same examples and situations, it relocates the site of concern from the individual’s mind to the outside world.

Inlecebra, it becomes clear, is invoked throughout the Noctes; just as Plutarch equates the πολυπράγμων’s desire for knowledge and stories with desire for sex, food, and drink, so Gellius identifies inlecebra with the seductions of the cinaedus (NA 3.5), wine (NA 15.2), engaging conversation (NA 12.5, 13.11), unreliable titles of books (NA 18.6), worthless but enticing mirabilia (10.12). Most provocatively for his own program, inlecebra is a quality of narrative fiction itself, as in the case of Aesopic fable, which uses the inlecebra audiendi (2.29) to hold men’s minds fast while it imparts useful knowledge to them. Inlecebra describes the same problem as πολυπραγμοσύνη, but from a different perspective with different concerns. The urban and political space of Rome are, for Plutarch, very real phenomena (522E). Gellius, a keen observer of the information overload that of an Antonine Rome saturated with experts and books, finds in Plutarch’s model a useful tool for discussing not the mind itself but those externalities in the world that act upon the mind.

Greek πολυπραγμοσύνη and Latin curiositas denote an ancient conceptual space more broad, and more distinctly ancient, than our modern “curiosity.” Gellian inlecebra sheds new light on Plutarch’s thought, and on the exchange of ideas between Greek and Latin literature in the imperial period.

Session 19: From Plants to Planets: Human and Nonhuman Relations in Ancient Medicine (Organized by the Society for Ancient Medicine and Pharmacy)

Title: Seneca’s Corpus: A Sympathy of Fluids, Passions, Plants, and Planets

Name: Michael Goyette

The doctrine of sympatheia, promulgated by Stoic philosophers such as Posidonius and explored in various genres of Greek and Latin literature, posits that all of the universe’s components, including human beings and their lives, exist in a network characterized by a constant state of interdependent tension and reciprocal interaction. This framework, with its emphasis upon the integration of the cosmos, bears an close conceptual kinship to humoralism, a medical doctrine disseminated in the Hippocratic Corpus which asserts that illness results from the imbalance of the four humors, or bodily fluids, that were thought to flow throughout the body. The sympathetic and holistic nature of this system is further evident in how each of the four humors came to be associated with specific aspects of the natural world that lie beyond the limits of the human body (e.g. seasons, winds, elements).

A close interconnection of the human body and the natural world is also reflected in the poetic tragedies and the Stoically-colored philosophical prose of the Roman author Seneca the Younger. Perhaps because Seneca was not a writer of expository medical prose per se, this aspect of Seneca’s work has not been thoroughly investigated by scholars working in the area of ancient medicine. This paper seeks to demonstrate some of the complex ways in which Seneca links human bodies—including bodily fluids and emotional processes—with the natural environment (including trees and plant life) and the cosmos at
large (including planets and other celestial bodies). Examining a selection of Seneca’s poetic tragedies (Thyestes and Oedipus) and prose works (Naturales Quaestiones and Epistula 58), my paper builds upon the work of Thomas Rosenmeyer, who has discussed the role of sympatheia in Senecan tragedy, but from a standpoint that focuses on sympathetic interactions exhibited at a cosmic level. My paper shows that Seneca peppers Thyestes with language that evokes various types of disturbance and flux (e.g. fluctuare and tumere), connecting for example “waves” of emotion with disturbances of bodily fluids (e.g. sanguis) and descriptions of the literal swelling of the waves on the sea. In addition, I discuss how Seneca closely associates Atreus’ horrific acts of dismemberment with the mutilation of the house of Atreus itself (lacerae domus artus, 433-434), and also with the deviating movements of celestial bodies, including the sun. In my discussions of Oedipus, I observe that the thirst of plague-stricken individuals is embodied in local rivers, which are described as devoid of umor (41), and I examine how the plague confuses various other processes of nature, such as the cycle of day and night (1-5). I argue that these various forms of disturbance and fluctuation highlight the permeability of the human body and the mutability of human emotions, and that these qualities are indicative of the inclination toward change which Seneca’s philosophical prose often attributes to the broader microcosm of the universe. These various manifestations of sympathetic fluidity in turn underscore the challenges inherent to maintaining physical health, as well as the mental and emotional constancy associated with a Stoic lifestyle. In such ways, my paper situates the sympathetic interactions that I identify in Senecan tragedy and prose within a broader discussion of medical and philosophical inquiry in Greek and Roman antiquity.

Title: Animals and the Development of Ancient Pharmacopias
Name: Julie Laskaris

The study of zoopharmacognosy (animal self-medication) offers insight into the development of ancient pharmacopias. Most studies are based on the observation of wild animals who appear to be intentionally engaging in therapeutic behaviors. For instance, researchers observed chimpanzees choosing the bitter pith and leaves of non-nutritive plants apparently to control parasites and noted that humans in the region also used the same plants medicinally.

Greeks and Romans, too, observed animal behavior (correctly or not) and applied what they learned to the discovery and use of medicinal plants; some observations are of animal self-medication. Dioscorides, for example, relates that deer ate elaphoboskon, which made them resistant to snake venom, and recommends the plant against venomous bites (3.80). The deer's ingesting of this plant may lie behind Dioscorides's calling elsewhere for other parts of the deer to treat venomous bites or drive away venomous creatures (testes 2.43; bone marrow 2.95; blood 2.97). Dioscorides states, too, that wild goats on Crete, having fed on dittany, expel arrows, and he lists uses for dittany involving expulsion (of a fetus) and wound treatment (3.37).

Other observations of animal use of medicinal plants are found in contexts that make the application to human medicine clear. For instance, Theophrastus states that the Arcadians, living as they did in a region rich in medicinal plants, drank cow's milk in the spring in lieu of medicines, believing that the plants' medicinal properties were strong enough then to be imparted to the milk (Inquiry into Plants 9.15.4). Dioscorides observed goats browsing and notes that the medicinal properties of their milk are affected by what they eat (2.75). Dioscorides comments, too, that cattle grow fat on apsinthion thalassion, which he prescribes for humans against parasites, though he does not explicitly connect the thriving of the cattle with parasite control (3.27). Soranus describes the effects on the nursing young of sows and goats when their mothers eat darnel and scammony, respectively, and concludes that human nurses should eat any therapeutic foods required by sick babies (Gynecology 2.56). Pliny mentions the benefits of milk infused with the qualities of medicinal herbs and he devotes two sections to medicinal grasses (Natural History 24.19, 98-99). Similar observations may be behind other therapies where there is no overt mention of animals: for instance, the recommendation for clover in white wine to cause a woman to expel a dead
fetus may (*Nature of Women* 109.20) very well arise from the observation of sweet clover disease in cattle, which can cause internal hemorrhage and abortion.

Awareness that animals can be a source of medicinal knowledge for humans can cause us to think in broader ways about the ancient pharmacopias we investigate. We can consider that hunters, herders, and farmers played a significant role in their development, and that the transmission of knowledge may have occurred over an extremely long period, as recent work on early humans also indicates.


**Title: Fabricated Elephants and Confused Horses: How Smell Constructs Non/Humanity**

**Name: Clara Bosak-Schroeder**

This paper considers how Greek and Roman writers distinguish human and animal olfaction. I show that an episode from Diodorus Siculus’ *Library* enriches smell theory while questioning how normative categories—especially human and nonhuman, male and female—are constructed.

Greek and Roman writers generally believe that human olfaction is inferior to that of animals (Lilja 1972), and medical practice agreed. Doctors rarely employed their own sense of smell to diagnose illness (Totelin 2015) but used smelly substances to attract or repel the wandering womb, often understood (in Aretaeus’ famous formulation) as an “animal within an animal” (Faraone 2011). According to these writers and practitioners, nonhuman animals have merely a stronger sense of smell, not a different one.

A fabulous story from Diodorus Siculus’ *Library* (2.16-19), however, complicates this picture. Semiramis, queen of Assyria, decides to invade India. Knowing the Indoi have war elephants that will greatly disadvantage her expedition, she constructs a fleet of giant elephant *eidola* to fool them. These elephants are hybrid constructions of human, animal, and inert plant life: ox-hides stretched over wooden frames and driven from the inside by men on camels. Though the Indoi discover the ruse in advance, their horses are surprised in the middle of battle. The fabricated elephants look like real elephants at a distance, but up close “the smell that struck the horses was unfamiliar, and then all the other differences, being very great, threw them into total confusion” (2.19). The Indian horses are not merely attracted to or repelled by the smell of the fabricated elephants (which humans cannot detect), they discern the nature of the elephants by comparing what they smell to what they see, and what they know live elephants look and smell like. Diodorus’ text claims that horses have not only a stronger sense of smell than humans, but one that allows them to tell species apart.

Yet even as this scene affirms the difference between human and animal olfaction, Semiramis’ story as a whole questions the benefits of defining human, animal, and other categories. The fabricated elephants are hybrids, and this hybridity gives Semiramis an advantage in the battle; the *eidola* are more effective at disrupting the horses than live elephants would be. Like the *eidola*, Semiramis is something of a hybrid herself: a human who has been raised by birds (2.4) and whose mother later becomes a mermaid (2.2). She is also a woman who in many respects behaves like a man, hunting, building, conquering, and conversing with men as their equal. This disconnect between her gender presentation and performance is just as confusing to the Indian king as the smell of the *eidola* is to his horses. On the eve of battle, the Indian king calls Semiramis a *hetaira* and threatens to crucify her. Semiramis laughs, replying that her *aretē* will be decided by *erga* (2.18). In her fabrication of hybrid elephants and a hybrid self, Semiramis exploits normative categories and undermines them.

2In reading Diodorus, a historiographer, in conversation with medical and scientific theory, I follow Thomas 2000.
3Ctesias is considered the source for much of this material, but I follow Baron 2013 in only cautiously speaking of fragmentary “authors,” and for the purposes of this paper deal solely with Ctesias’ cover text (i.e. Diodorus).

4ὣς ἡ ὀσμὴ προσέβαλλεν ἀσυνήθης καὶ τῶλα διαφοράν ἐχοντα πάντα παμμεγέθη τοὺς ἱπποὺς ὀλοσχερῶς συνετάρατε

Title: Nature, Organism and Disease in Ancient Greek Medical Texts and German Idealism. A “New Materialist” Perspective
Name: Vasiliki Dimoula

In this paper, I propose to discuss nature and the human in ancient Greek medicine through a parallel with notions of organicism in German idealism, with a focus on Friedrich Schelling. The unifying thread of the discussion will be questions formulated at the intersections of new materialism and the life sciences (e.g. Adrian Johnston, Prolegomena to Any Future Materialism, 2015) and more particularly the question of the emergence of subjectivity as a denaturalized instance that nevertheless remains immanent to physical substance.

Depending on the needs of my argument, I will be concentrating on a number of texts of the Hippocratic corpus, where the balance of the human organism appears precarious, because of the antagonisms among the competing natural forces of which it is a part. The non-unitary constitution of nature itself gives rise to a further division inherent in the body itself, evident in the body’s maladaptation to the eternal swirling of the natural forces, and finally disrupting the continuum between the two. This intra-organic division may be described in terms of the body as the locus of conflicting powers on the one hand, and the always elusive cause that makes this body suffer and die on the other. If the disease is only ever “represented” by its symptoms (eg. “On the Sacred Disease”, Brooke Holmes The Symptom and the Subject), and yet has causal efficacy on the physical body, to what extent can we consider it as a privileged locus of denaturalizing self-reflexivity, which remains inherent in physicality and thus problematizes embodiment without the aid of either the notion of a corporeal unifying soul or the abstractly formulated dualism between body and nous/logos.

Through a web of eclectic references to the “ancient” times, which include, albeit are not limited to, Greek pre-Socratic philosophical views on nature, Friedrich Schelling discusses god, nature and the human person in terms that often make these realms indistinguishable. Reacting to Fichte’s extreme subjectivism, Schelling considers the human in the frame of the wider natural cosmos of which it is a part. Yet, he continuously returns to the question of a spiritual subjectivity, which is at once irreducible and immanent to its biological substratum. The emergence of the subject has everything to do with the fact that nature as a primordial ground is itself internally divided and incompatible with notions of organicism implying a well-orchestrated whole. The passage from inorganic nature to the organism presupposes a constant dialectic between the Ideal and the Real, the spiritual and the natural, existence and ground, which is expressed in terms of a vocabulary of seission (Ent-scheidung) pervasive in Schelling’s writings. Yet, this same vocabulary of self-division also signals nature’s tendencies to sickness, contagion and death. In fact, the dialectic of potencies is in constant danger of being inhibited, yielding to an irreducible core of brute factical givenness in humans, where evil and disease acquire fully fledged being. But in writings such as the Philosophical Investigations into the Essence of Human Freedom or the Stuttgart Seminars, it seems that the diseased organ is the dark other side of the very core of free subjectivity. This links to ancient Greek inquiries into nature and the body: by necessarily narrowing their perspective from the natural universe down to the human body, medical authors came upon an elusive phusis, which merges what is distinctively human to an “indivisible remainder” of inhumanity.
The modern printed page conveys the words of antiquity with apparent stability and authority to a global readership. Yet today’s standardized, mass-circulated classical text is itself the product of a series of contested historical developments and multiple displacements over time and space. This paper will re-open that history by examining the materiality and spatiality of the classical text in Pietro Bembo’s *De Aetna*, printed in 1496 by Aldus Manutius in collaboration with the author (Davies; Lowry; Pincus; Dionisotti; Dionisotti and Orlandi). Close reading of Bembo’s classical allusions alongside this edition’s paratextual elements will provide insight into how humanists both cited and modified the classical traditions of literary topography within the emerging dynamics of print culture in Renaissance Italy (Richardson; Eisenstein; Johns; Genette; Smith and Wilson; cf. Jansen).

The *De Aetna* is a Ciceronian dialogue on the topography and volcanic phenomena of Mount Etna that Bembo wrote upon returning from Sicily, where he was studying Greek (Alfieri, Carapezza, and Sciascia; Kidwell; Chatfield). The two interlocutors are Pietro and his father, Bernardo, who converse at the latter’s villa outside Padua. The dialogue is at once a demonstration of the young Pietro’s education and a model of the humanist transmission of knowledge. At a figurative level, the dialogue enacts a journey from the Greek culture of Sicily to the philhellenic humanist world of late quattrocento Venice, and explores the idea of *paideia* as a paternal inheritance passed from classical civilization to modern Italy. This complex filiation is intertextually and topologically traced in an extended passage on philosophical trees. Alluding to Plato’s *Phaedrus* and Cicero’s “Marian oak” (*De Legibus* 1.1–2), father and son discuss the poplars that frame their dialogue’s fictional setting and regret the absence of plane trees. The textuality of places arises again in the closing scene: they leave the outdoor *locus amoenus* and enter the villa. In the dialogue’s final words, Bernardo retires to the library (*in bibliothecam*)—the place where, in a sense, this bookish dialogue was located all along.

Immediately following the text’s closure is the printer’s colophon: IMPRESSUM VENETIIS IN AEDIBUS ALDI ROMANI MENSE FEBRUARIO ANNO MVD. The austere elegance and inscriptional quality of this colophon are unparalleled by other Aldine editions of this early period. This edition pioneered a print version of the humanistic script of the master scribe Bartolomeo Sanvito, who made small-format manuscripts of classical authors for the Bembos. Aldus later claimed in the dedicatory letter to Pietro in his 1514 edition of Virgil that the inspiration for his portable, octavo editions of the classics was drawn from the Bembos’ library (*a tua bibliotheca*). We can thus appreciate the significance of the transition from the closing focus on Bernardo in his humanist library to the paratextual evocation of the premises (*aedibus*) of the humanist printer. In that sense, the Aldine printing house is the dialogue’s final *locus*. But as Erasmus, another humanist collaborator with Aldus, wrote: “Aldus is building a library that will have no other limits than those of the world itself” (*Adagia* 2.1).

The mass circulation of classical texts is in tension with the trees that, as fixed place-markers, situate classical and humanist philosophical dialogues. Bembo’s *De Aetna*, a dialogue rooted in the traditions of classical literary places yet on the cusp of the print revolution, affords a fruitful site for examining the changing representation of the spatiality of the classical text at the moment when its material form is undergoing accelerated transformation. If we define the classical as constituted by *texts* authored by *men* in *imperialist* cultures of the *West*, Bembo’s *De Aetna* offers a striking degree of confirmation: the classical is a paternal inheritance entrusted to a printing house in the territorially expansionist city of Venice. Yet the expanding geographical reach of the print medium itself offers a further perspective that extends far beyond the confines of the Bembo villa: the global circulation of books.
Title: Gender and Focalization in the Reception of Classical Myth  
Name: Lillian Doherty  
While creative artists in the modern world have continually sought to reanimate and inhabit the figures of classical mythology, scholars of gender—both classicists and others—have tended to warn us against their seductive power. Characters such as Odysseus and Helen have been seen as embodying roles to which we are tempted to aspire, only to find ourselves trapped in relations of domination and submission. The challenge for the next generation of scholars is to balance this valid warning with an appreciation of the myths’ potential for empowerment in the molding of gendered selves. Using the tools of narratology, and specifically the dynamics of focalization, I will explore the simultaneously confining and liberating potential of mythic figures in the work of twentieth-century American writers. I will build on the pioneering research of scholars such as Sheila Murnaghan and Patrice Rankine, who have used the core insights of narratology, if not the terminology, to explore the ways in which shifts of focalization within mythic fabulas can reveal the multiplicity and mutability of subject positions within an apparently stable gender hierarchy.

To give one example, in her lyric/epic poem *Helen in Egypt* (1961), H.D. (Hilda Doolittle), an American poet of the twentieth century, took as her starting point an ancient alternative to the Homeric view of Helen. The story of Troy and its aftermath is told through Helen’s voice and eyes, inflected by H.D.’s own experience during and after the two world wars. H.D. also underwent psychotherapy with Sigmund Freud himself, yet resisted his view that gender roles were immutable. Her poem can be read both as an analytic journey and as a rejoinder to Homer and Freud, according primacy to the female voice and granting that voice the authority of the epic poet. Sheila Murnaghan’s research into H.D.’s experience led to the discovery that she had also been influenced in childhood by Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *Tanglewood Tales*. Murnaghan and Deborah Roberts have been working for years on the importance of children’s versions of the myths, to which modern authors have responded by embracing them as a “personal possession . . . rather than a discrete cultural inheritance derived from a distant time and place” (Murnaghan 2009, 65). Thus H.D. *inhabits* the persona of Helen, using this shift of focalization to center the woman’s experience of war and H.D.’s own ambivalence about the gendered subject positions of her time.

Similarly, Patrice Rankine (2006) argues that Ralph Ellison’s *Invisible Man* re-frames the account of Odysseus in the Cyclops’ cave to reveal the “epic dimension” of a marginal and socially subordinate figure whose manhood is under constant threat in a racist culture. Both Ellison and Toni Morrison fuse the classical inheritance with the African-American experience as embodied especially in its folklore. Morrison in particular gives significant emphasis to gender relations within African-American culture. Like Ellison, and like H.D., she uses echoes of classical mythic plots to suggest the slippage between noble and enslaved, or between male and female, subject positions.

To be sure, these twentieth-century works are not to be reduced to the status of instantiations of classical myth; they are much more than that. But by studying their connections to classical myth, we become more aware of the mutability of mythic structures and of the transformations (psychic as well as social) enabled by shifts in focalization.

Title: #ClassicsMustFall? Monument-mindedness in contemporary South Africa  
Name: Grant Parker, Stanford University  
How might we make sense of classical reception in South Africa today? Nearly a full generation has emerged since Nelson Mandela’s release from prison in 1990, and there are plenty of criteria by which to evaluate change and continuity. In one sense, the place of classics came rudely to the fore when the Rhodes Must Fall movement started focusing attention on colonial and apartheid symbols, many of them classicizing. Most famously, the statue of Cecil John Rhodes on the University of Cape Town campus
was defaced by protesters and then removed by the University administration in March–April 2015. Protests elsewhere met with varying results.

There is no need in this presentation to rehearse the story: it is well known and current. Rather, it is fair to say that several points emerge, variably relevant to classical reception in postcolonial contexts. In the shadow of Rhodes Must Fall, it is possible to identify different ways of thinking about classics in contemporary South Africa, now that the history of classics has been outlined with regard to different racial groups (Lambert 2011). As Michael Lambert (2011) shows, ancient Greece and Rome have been part of racial identities and civilizational discourses throughout South Africa’s colonial history. Today the critical study of classics holds enormous potential for rethinking the very notions of race, ethnicity and civilization per se, in relation to their historical contingencies.

What has been the place of classics in South African society? We may use either a filibuster paradigm or a palette paradigm. By this I mean that, in the first case, it is easy to conceive classics as a means of suppressing the voices of subordinate people. In South Africa and elsewhere, classical columns have been a ready formula for asserting colonial authority in education, law and other elements of the state. Obvious as this may seem, it is also a subtle matter, given that there are few cases of explicit conflict between classical and indigenous pasts, and we need to read between the lines. By contrast, it is also true that ancient Greece and Rome have provided a palette of expressive possibilities, not circumscribed by knowledge of Greek and Latin. For example, Mandela referred to Dido in one of his first official speeches as president, among African leaders at Tunis in 1994; compare Hans Huyssen’s CD, Remember Dido (2006), in which African music is performed on European period instruments. The artist Nandipha Mntambo has repeatedly reinterpreted Narcissus and the Minotaur in order to represent the female body, e.g. Metamorphoses (2015). Such mythical figures, no less than Electra, Medea and Antigone on the stage, have allowed a wide range of South Africans to explore identities, voices and perspectives at a time of social change.

Furthermore, the status of classics in South African society might be conceived as that of either a monument or a memorial. Here I draw on a distinction made in discussions of Vietnam War and holocaust commemorations (Young 1994). In South Africa it has generally been assumed that classical monuments such as UCT’s Rhodes statue by their very nature celebrate colonialism, in triumphal style; all of antiquity is tarred with the same brush. But such a monumental conception of classics overlooks its creative and political potential. Justice Albie Sachs (2015), responding to Rhodes Must Fall, pointedly commented that the physical reframing—rather than removal—of controversial monuments and artworks would be a more powerful statement about social justice. What, we might ask, would it take to reframe South African classics? The process has already begun. Indeed, the sooner we discard the monument paradigm, the more productively South Africa’s many-faceted classical tradition will seem like memorials challenging viewers and readers to face up to unresolved pasts, and to see the broader dynamics of history, including the hopes and fears of all those involved.

Title: Occidentalism, or Why the Phoenicians Matter: Scholarly Approaches to Cultural Contact from Greece to Iberia (ca. 800-600 BCE)
Name: Carolina López-Ruiz

From the eighth to the sixth centuries, the Mediterranean was transformed by what has come to be known as the “orientalizing” phenomenon. Approaches to the impact of Near Eastern civilizations in the Mediterranean Iron Age are particular to the countries involved, and in each case different emphases are placed on the agency of the local cultures and on that of the colonizing or external cultures. The Phoenicians, both outsiders and essential players in the Greco-Roman world, are the most obvious culprits for the process of acculturation we call “orientalizing,” and yet their agency is downplayed in the case of Greece (where colonization proper did not take place) and perhaps overemphasized in the Western
The Phoenicians, in their mercantile and colonial expansion throughout the Mediterranean, were crucial agents in this story of encounters. They are in fact held to be responsible for contemporaneous orientalizing phases in Italy (Etruria, Sardinia), ancient Iberia (Tartessos in modern Spain and Portugal), and in North Africa. I will offer some insights from my current comparative research on this transformative period across the Mediterranean, from Greece to Iberia, focusing on the contexts and outcomes of cultural contact. My viewpoint considers the adoption and marketing of tangible as well as intangible (literary, ideological) cultural capital of “oriental” stock as part of the transformative process through which Iron Age societies along the Mediterranean entered for the first time a new transnational (“global”) cultural and economic network.

An evaluation of this phenomenon that ranges from the Aegean to the Atlantic will have deeper repercussions than a mere overview of artistic and technological changes. My study will to a degree shake our view of the “Classics” in an era that needs such reevaluation. Rethinking the orientalizing phenomenon from this Western end requires us to reconsider historiographical inertias incrust in our field and beyond. Although some comparative gestures have been made (e.g., the collection of articles in Riva and Vella 2006, which separately discuss the phenomenon in different areas), in general the experts are divided in different fields (Classics, Western Mediterranean Archaeology) and do not explicitly analyze this global phenomenon across cultures: in fact, classical scholarship (or its readership) is still often knowingly or unknowingly carried away by teleological views of Greek history (Classical Greece as the cradle of Western civilization) and by the ingrained image of Greek culture as an impermeable and autonomous entity. This view ultimately springs from the artificial dichotomy between Classical (Indo-European) and Near Eastern (Semitic) languages and cultures, perpetuated ideologically and institutionally during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and encouraged by the historically conflictive relationship between the West and the Near East. When it comes to Greece, the weight of the classical heritage and the absence of Phoenician colonization proper have led scholars to downplay the direct contact with Near Eastern groups, despite the growing evidence of small communities of Phoenicians and other Levantines within Greek areas (e.g., in Crete, possibly Sparta, the Gulf of Corinth, and other sites). Hence, often the contact is reduced to superficial exchanges at “neutral” meeting points (Crete, Cyprus, Sicily). In stark contrast, in the Central and Western Mediterranean, the Phoenicians and other Easterners are viewed as cultural agents. This imbalance, in part due to a lack of engagement with Spanish and Portuguese scholarship, calls for a comparative study that is sensitive to these historical narratives. By looking East and West and considering colonial and non-colonial interaction, we can acquire a more nuanced and contextualized view of proto-historic Greece and its relation to contemporaneous peoples undergoing similar transformations. Moreover, this study will add to the growing interest in Mediterranean Studies in the US and abroad, which look at the Mediterranean as a platform for cultural exchange from a diachronic, longue durée perspective (cf. Horden and Purcell 2000, Abulafia 2011, Broodbank 2013).

Session 21: Learning from War: Greek Responses to Victory and Defeat
Title: Beyond the Universal Soldier: Combat Trauma in Classical Antiquity
Name: Jason Crowley

This paper will explore the aftermath of battle and will challenge the conclusion reached by a number of scholars, that the experience of combat left many Greek warriors psychologically traumatised.

In particular, it will test the hypothesis that the soldier’s susceptibility to Post-traumatic Stress Disorder, or more correctly, combat stress injury, is universal. This view is approaching the status of dogma (Melchior 2001: 209-33; Shephard 2001: 385-99). It has been applied to 17th century China (Struve 2004: 14-31), Pepys’ diary (Daly 1983: 64-8), Shakespeare (MacNair 2002: 118-21), and ancient Greece (Shay 1995, 2002; Tittle 1997: 123-36, 2000: 64, 74-7, 123-36; Gabriel 2007: 12-15). Most worryingly, it is
now accepted by leading clinicians involved in the treatment of psychologically injured soldiers (e.g. Nash 2004: 33-63; Spira, Pyne and Wiederhold 2004: 205-18; March and Greenberg 2004: 247-60).

Yet, despite its ubiquity, this hypothesis, which bases its claim for universality on evidence derived from ancient Greece, has neither been tested by historians nor properly established by its own proponents (Shay 1995, 2002; Trtle 1997: 123-36, 2000: 64, 74-7, 123-36; Gabriel 2007: 12-15). Rather, the methodology usually adopted by the universalists entails the search for supporting sources (typically Hdt. VI.117.2-3, IX.71.1-4; Gorg. Hel. 15-17; Xen. Anab. II.6.1-16), which appear to describe conduct that could conceivably fit the current diagnostic criteria for PTSD/CSI (currently embodied in DSM-V: 2013). Once identified, these sources are then deployed in support of retrospective diagnoses; and while this approach is admirably direct, it inevitably produces subjective and (in Popperian terms) unfalsifiable readings of isolated pieces of ancient evidence.

To remedy this situation, this paper will re-examine the methodological basis of the universal position and subsequently argue that adverse psychological reactions to combat result from the interaction between a human being and his or her environment (Lazarus 2000: 39-64). This fact is critical, because neither variable is historically transcendental: the attitudes and beliefs adopted by combatants change, as does the socio-military environment in which they fight. Consequently, while the modern combatant and his or her socio-military environment combine to produce a susceptibility to PTSD/CSI, the very different and historically-specific combination that characterised Classical Greece could just as easily reduce, suppress, or even eliminate that susceptibility.

To investigate this possibility, this paper will contrast two combatants and their respective environments. Since the current diagnostic criteria for PTSD/CSI directly derives from the experiences of U.S. Vietnam veterans (Shephard 2001: 385-99), the first of these combatants has to be the 20th century American infantryman. The second combatant will be the Athenian hoplite, since the American infantryman’s adverse psychological reactions to combat have been retrospectively applied to ancient Greece (Shay 1995, 2002; Trtle 1997: 123-36, 2000: 64, 74-7, 123-36; Gabriel 2007: 12-15). Furthermore, the Athenian hoplite is one of the few warriors from classical antiquity for which a reasonable degree of evidence survives (cf. Crowley 2012). To maximise the force of the comparison and to avoid the charge that a modern apple is being compared to an ancient orange, these combatants have been chosen because they perform the same tactical role, i.e. it is their grim task to close with and kill the enemy.

To ensure methodological clarity, this paper will maintain an analytical distinction between the individual and his environment. Accordingly, examination of both the modern and ancient paradigms will focus on the combatant’s norms and values, since they determine what is or is not traumatic, as well as the three most pertinent aspects of the combatant’s environment, namely, the social environment, the tactical environment, and, finally, the technological environment. Thereafter, the susceptibility of both paradigms to PTSD/CSI will be assessed and then compared. Finally, this paper will conclude by considering the implications of this comparison for the continued viability of the universalist position.

Title: We Were Warned! Omens and Portents Foretelling Victory and Defeat
Name: Michael A. Flower

In sharp distinction to Thucydides, who (contra Kallett 2013) was highly skeptical about such things, Xenophon and Herodotus, as well as the fragmentary historians of the fourth and third centuries, attributed an historical agency to supernatural powers. Modern historians, despite arguments to the contrary (Parker 2000, 2004; Pritchett 1979: 140-53; Flower 2008), continue to assume that these writers simply made up portents and omens or that all such phenomena were the contrivances of elites who were intent on manipulating popular opinion. In this paper I will take an emic perspective, according to which omens and portents, while not strictly speaking divine interventions in a causal sense, signify that events
of great moment are about to take place and that the gods are attempting to warn the participants of that fact. But portents may also indicate, as in the case of missing weapons and open temples, either that the gods themselves are about to participate in the coming struggle or have abandoned a place or people. Moreover, in the aftermath of battle, they can provide an explanation for defeat.

I will present the battle of Leuctra as a case study, because Xenophon, Ephorus of Cyme, and Callisthenes collectively record a uniquely large number of portents. Although Xenophon saw Leuctra as the god-sent retribution for the Spartan seizure of the Theban Cadmeia, he nonetheless seems skeptical about the particular omens that were said to have appeared at Thebes before the battle (Hell. 6.4.7): “Some say that all of these things were contrivances of the leading men.” Diodorus (15.53, probably following Ephorus; see Parmeggiani 2010) names the Theban general Epaminondas as being the chief contriver (Stylianou 1998: 393; Tuplin 1993: 136; Trampedach 2015: 218-34). A series of negative omens had occurred as the army was marching out of Thebes, and these perturbed the rank and file. Later, when the army was encamped at Leuctra, Epaminondas provided reports of various contemporary portents and ancient oracles in order to rid the soldiers of their “superstition.” Callisthenes of Olynthus, by contrast, straightforwardly presented a substantial series of portents as genuine communications from the gods.

Cicero says that Callisthenes recorded various pre-battle omens that appeared at Sparta, Thebes, Lebadia, Delphi, and Dodona (On Divination 1.74 and 2.54 = FGriH 124, F 22a; see Tuplin 1987: 99, 89n). Six omens in five locations is a spectacular example of the gods attempting to send a strong forewarning of the epoch changing event that was about to take place. It surely too was a dramatic narrative device employed by Callisthenes. But these two functions need not be mutually exclusive, for the psychological tension created by the gods in advance of the battle could also be used by the historian to create dramatic tension and anticipation for his readers. Cicero’s remarks reveal that Callisthenes was not skeptical about the authenticity of these portents; and I intend to argue that, if the relevant passages are read in a broader narrative context, neither were Xenophon or Ephorus. Xenophon is hedging his bets, and it is incorrect simply to assume that Ephorus was as skeptical as Diodorus (who sometimes advances his own themes and biases; see Sachs 1990).

Given that the Theban victory over Sparta at Leuctra was both universally unexpected and epoch making and that the Thebans were fully expecting to be crushed by Sparta, it is consistent with the normative Greek world-view that omens were perceived both prospectively and retrospectively. Scholars have been much more open to accepting the historicity of the latter type (on retrospective post-traumatic omen-formation see Guinan 2002 and Flower 2008: 108-110), but the former are not inherently improbable in a culture that was continually on the look out for god-sent signs. Herodotus was not saying anything controversial in terms of Greek religious belief when he commented (6.27): “There is usually some sign given in advance when great misfortunes are about to befall a city or nation.”

Title: Financial Indemnities: A Greek Economic Aftermath of War
Name: Matthew Trundle

The economic aspects of classical Greek warfare are well studied (Pritchett 1974; 1991; Kallet-Marx 1993; Kallet 2001; van Wees 2004 and 2013; Trundle 2016). As the fifth century progressed, coinage professionalized and centralized warfare, which became bigger and less seasonal (Trundle 2010; Pritchard 2010). The fifth century, especially, saw war become as much an economic as a socio-political phenomenon (Thuc. 1.10-13). States fought wars for economic gain, but not all wars were profitable. Losers suffered deprivation, and wars cost winners dearly. Plunder rewarded victors’ immediate lust and imperial tribute (phoros) longer term greed, but the Athenians added indemnities, whereby losing states paid for the wars they lost rather than suffered total appropriation. An agreed cash payment over time paid the war’s costs often in addition to phoros. This development laid new foundations for fighting and settling wars in the fourth century BC.
Fifth-century Athenians had thus added a new mechanism for ending wars economically. The Athenians had long extorted money from their allies (as had the Persians, see e.g. Hdt. 3.90.1) and were not adverse to plunder (see Thuc. 1.96, 98). From the beginning of the Delian League, wealth remained the goal (Thuc. 1.96; Plut. Arist. 24; Arist. Ath. Pol. 23.5–24.3) but gathered momentum as greed grew through the fifth century. Kagan (1974, 37-40) thought the Archidamian War cost Athens 2000 talents a month. Athens spent 2000 talents besieging Potidea alone (Thuc. 2.70.2). Such investment peaked in the Sicilian Expedition (Thuc. 6.24, 46), costing two sizable fleets, 50,000 men and at least 4,000 talents of silver (Thuc. 7.87; cf. Rhodes 2006, 93; Gabrielsen 2001). Athens had extracted indemnities after its allies had fought to leave the league. Thucydides noted such indemnities after the defeats of Thasos (1.103.3) and Samos (1.117.3). Both states had to pay for the wars they lost themselves. Significantly, Nicias offered to pay the Syracusans’ hefty military expenses as he surrendered (7.83.2). Epigraphic evidence also confirms the role of such indemnities in warfare’s aftermath, as IG1(3) 118 states that in 407 BC the defeated Selymbrians had to restore the losses of Athenians and their allies.

Indemnity for losses incurred was an alternative to plunder and tribute, as a phoros. Indemnities were part of a major shift towards the centrality of money in prosecuting warfare. In response to Athenian fiscal thinking, Sparta too required its allies to pay coins rather than provide men for military service (Xen. Hell. 5.2.21). Xenophon (Hell. 5.4.66, 6.2.1) records two instances when Athens made peace due to lack of money. Athens finally ran out of money after the Social War (Dem. 20.115; 3.28). In 351 BC Demosthenes (4.28-9) proposed hiring men with food-money and paying them with plunder. The Phocians held the sanctuary of Delphi in the Third Sacred War from 356-346 BC, paying the soldiers with melted down dedications (Williams 1976; Buckler 1989). Despite calls to destroy the Phocians entirely, Philip imposed, inter alia, an indemnity of 30 talents each half-year on the survivors (C. Delphes ii 36; see also Diod. 16.60; Aesch. 2.142; Dem. 19.64-66).

As this paper demonstrates, indemnities at the end of wars reveal the paramount role that money came to play in the prosecution of warfare. In a poor country like Greece indemnities seeking recompense were one means by which states might recoup the costs of military actions in addition to more traditional plunder and phoros.

Title: Educational ‘Moments’: Didactic Spectacle and the Bolstering of Spartan Socio-Political Structures in the Aftermath of War
Name: Ellen G. Millender

This paper will argue that the Spartans exploited the emotionally fraught aftermath of victory and defeat to stage didactic spectacles, which aimed to bolster their socio-political structures and the ideology of cooperative sociability that underpinned the Spartan politeia (see, esp., Hodkinson 2005: 258-63; 2006: 128-29). The engagement of Spartan hoplites – against fellow Greeks or barbarians – itself constituted a stage on which the Spartans demonstrated their values at work, as Thucydides demonstrates in his account of their advance at Mantinea in 418 (5.69.2-70) and Xenophon shows in his praise for their attention to the sensory aspects of battle (Lac. Pol. 13.8; cf. Hell. 4.2.20; Powell 1989: 179-80). Given the Spartans’ appreciation of the performative nature of such warfare, it is not surprising that they paid equal attention to the lessons that war could be made to teach in the aftermath of success, as at Plataea, and loss, as at Thermopylae in 480 and Sphacteria in 425.

In his treatment of the battle of Plataea in 479, Herodotus recounts the Spartiate commander Pausanias’ activities after the Hellenes’ victory over the Persians. Particularly memorable here is Pausanias’ refusal to follow the Aeginetan Lampon’s advice to defile Mardonius (9.78-79). After recording the wealth of gold and silver objects acquired and divided up by the Greeks – with a large proportion going to Pausanias (9.80-81), Herodotus describes the Persian banquet that Pausanias ostensibly staged in order to demonstrate the absurdity of the Persians’ attempt to rob the Greeks of their poverty (9.82).
Both vignettes have figured prominently in scholarship on Pausanias’ reputed medism (cf. Schieber 1980; Evans 1988), since their portrayal differs drastically from Thucydides’ portrait of the regent’s transformation into a Persian tyrant (1.128.3-135.1). Other scholars have focused on the dichotomy that Pausanias constructs between Persian and Greek customs with regard to bodily mutilation (cf. Hartog 1988: 142-3, 155). Such studies, however, have overlooked the most striking aspect of these passages, namely, their didactic quality. While Pausanias lauds the Greeks’ superior treatment of the human body, far more interesting is his protestation against Lampon’s attempt to exalt him and earn him unprecedented renown (9.78.2-3). In his claim that he only desires to “please the Spartans by righteous deeds and speech” (9.79.2), Pausanias reflects the Spartans’ privileging of the collective over the individual and bolsters the ideology of the Homoioi. As he later stages his Persian banquet, Pausanias likewise validates the egalitarian ethic that lay at the heart of Sparta’s famed eunomia (cf. Cartledge 2001: 162) – however much it may have been negated by the continuing influence of wealth and birth in Spartan society. Even though Herodotus claims that Pausanias staged this display of barbarian luxury for the other Greek commanders (9.82.2-3), the regent’s rejection of Persian gold and silver would have mapped well onto the Spartans’ increasing concerns about the corrosive affect of the spoils of war (cf. 9.80-81) on the very fabric of their society (cf., esp., Hodkinson 1983).

Herodotus’ account of the battle of Thermopylae reveals that a heroic defeat could prove just as useful a moment for celebrating Spartan values both among their fellow Greeks and back at home. One obviously didactic tool was the legendary epitaph at Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.228.2) that eulogized the obedience which Xenophon positioned at the very center of the Spartan politeia (esp. Lac. Pol. 8; cf. Humble 2006). Back at home the Spartans were treated to the spectacle of public shaming that survivors such as Aristodemus the “Trembler” suffered upon his return after Thermopylae (7.229-32). After the debacle on Sphacteria, the Spartans likewise witnessed the public humiliation of their compatriots – a powerful lesson in the socio-political dangers of cowardice that was only partially mitigated by the later restoration of these men to their former status (Thuc. 5.34.2). As in the case of Plataea, the aftermath of Thermopylae and Sphacteria furnished Sparta with emotionally powerful opportunities to reinforce Spartan identity and values.

Session 22: Theatre, Performance, and Audiences: Ways of Spectating in Antiquity (Organized by the Committee on Ancient and Modern Performance)

Title: Ghosts, cross-dressing and puny gods: Towards a conceptual frame of spectating comic khoroi

Name: Hanna Golab

Gregory Nagy’s theory of poetic mimesis as a ritual embodiment of ideal personae (e.g. Nagy 1994, 1996, 2013) has proven to be extremely valuable for understanding not only the performative aspects of ancient Greek poetry, but also the strong ties poetry had to ancient theatrical dramas. This model, however, has little that is specific to say about the experience of audiences. In my view, more may be said on this subject, and one should also take into account the different modes of spectating. Thanks to Lucian’s description of a failed choral performance (Lucian, Philopseudes 32) we can see that the willing participation of spectators was necessary for the successful execution of a comic khoros. This paper thus seeks to refocus our attention on human (as opposed to divine) audiences of various comic performances. I will argue that while the experience of spectators is crucial to any re-evaluation of choral genres, it is especially important in the case of carnivalesque genres. Ludic performances such as the Athenian Dionysiac pompai, the Epidaurian hymn to the Mother of Gods, or Doric caricature khoroi (Csapo 2013, 2015; Wagman 1995) relied on the audience’s ability to recognize the discrepancy between myth and its ludic transformation within the experience of the performance. Otherwise, what was grotesque and comically transgressive would have become monstrous and sacrilegious when embodied and made present in the ritual space. This distance between audience’s knowledge about what is represented and its representation by the performers empowered the ludic khoroi, allowing them e.g. to create normally unacceptable grotesque personae and to mock the audience with impunity. In the words of Julia Walker,
such spectators are at the same time ‘inside’ the narrative fiction and ‘outside’ observing its techniques (Walker 2006; McConachie 2008). My analysis will show that this theatrical competence of discerning mythological reality from performance reality was also a necessary component of other ritual comic performances such as Kabeirian dramas, phlyax plays and theatrical comedies at large. From iconographical evidence we can deduce that they often represented mythological narratives in a burlesque fashion (Walsh 2009, Sonnino 2014). Among the themes appearing on comic stage we find e.g. the disturbingly popular scene of rape of Kassandra in the temple of Athena at Troy, but instead of having Ajax as the sacrilegious perpetrator we see Kassandra, with her hair tied up in a peculiar bun, who is about to molest the terrified hero holding onto the Palladion. Such contrast between common knowledge of the myth and its staged metamorphosis was a significant source of entertainment. This Bakhtinian topsy-turvy world would not have existed without audience’s awareness of the two contrasting perspectives.

Title: Dressing up for the festival: ritual dress in ancient Greek tragedy
Name: Gloria Mugelli

In Euripides’ Electra, Agamemnon’s daughter refuses to participate in the Heraia of Argos. She is still mourning her father and her dress is inappropriate for the religious festival: “look at my filthy hair/these tatters that are my clothes” (Eur. El. 184-185 trans. Kovacs). The theme of the young girl who can not celebrate a festival because of the poor state of her dress may seem quite familiar to a modern reader. Nevertheless, reading tragic texts out of their performance context, we miss a part of the efficacy of Electra’s statement. The spectators of the ancient drama could actually see Electra’s tragic costume, and they knew from experience that mourning dresses were inappropriate for religious festivals: each Athenian citizen attended various religious festivals, and Greek tragedy was performed during a festival in honour of Dionysus.

In this paper I will discuss the form and meaning of ritual dress in ancient drama, considering the representation of ritual clothes in ancient performance and their perception by the audience. I will focus on the tragic representation of garments used for rites and festivals, in relationship with the broader experience of the audience as ritual agents and spectators of rituals.

5th-century Athenians celebrated the public festivals of their city, and were involved in rites of smaller bodies such as deme, phratry or family. Each one of these cults required different degrees of participation by the community members, and therefore Athenian citizens were able to perform themselves various rites. At the same time, public Athenian festivals, such as the Panathenaia or the City Dionysia, registered a great number of participants, who could also assume the role of spectators. Ancient festivals were spectacular under many aspects: processions and sacrifices, in particular, were considered beautiful to be seen and good to be represented.

The spectacular nature of festivals and rituals is reflected by the massive presence in Greek tragedies of rites that were either directly performed or described within the drama.

Ritual garments were one of the elements of ancient rituals that had a place in the tragic performance. In certain cases, ritual garments are shown on the tragic scene just before the characters exit to perform a ritual. In some tragic passages (Aesch. Eum. 1028; Eur. Hel. 1085 ff.) the characters change their dress for ritual purposes, in some others (Eur. HF 327 ff.; 431 ff.; Eur. IA 1434 ff.) the act of getting dressed for a ritual receives a great emphasis. In certain cases (Soph. Trach. 604-609), wearing a particular dress is presented as a matter of ritual norm, while in a great number of passages (Eur. El. 184-185, Eur. Al. 923 ff., Eur. Supp. 97 and many others) the characters discuss on the ritual appropriateness of certain clothes - in particular mourning dresses - to perform a rite or to celebrate a festival.
In this paper I will compare the tragic passages with some relevant archaeological, iconographic and epigraphic evidences on ritual clothes. I will focus on the representations of ritual and on ritual norms concerning clothes, with the purpose of understanding the main characteristics of ritual dresses.

Focusing on the materiality of clothes, I will draw some conclusions on the interferences of ritual dresses with the codes of Greek tragic costumes (in terms of colours, shapes and use of accessories).

The main results of this study will concern the relationship between the ritual garments represented in Greek tragedy and the actual experience of the tragic audience. Comparing the tragic use of ritual garments with the actual ritual norms, I will discuss the dramatic function of the passages concerning ritual clothes. I will focus on the perception of these passages by the 5th century Athenian audience, with the purpose of enlightening a specific aspect of the actual experience of the spectators of Greek tragedy, which during the dramatic performance were sitting in the theatre of Dionysus wearing their own proper dress for the festival.

Title: Coroplastic Commemoration of Performance: Dramatic Identity and Viewership in Ancient Corinth
Name: Justin Dwyer

Despite limited evidence, recent scholarship on Corinthian theater has addressed the architectural development of its Hellenistic theater (Scahill 2015) as well as its role in the transmission of drama between the Greek mainland and West (Green 2014); however, the city’s distinct theatrical identity, shaped by its dramatic conventions, spectators, and cultural impact requires scholarly attention. As a means of improving our nebulous understanding of Corinth’s theatrical identity, an analysis of its figurines could be tremendously valuable because they capture an otherwise fleeting spectator experience of a particular performance context.

Looking at the Late Classical coroplastics of Corinth, this paper presents a diachronic and contextual reading of these objects with an eye towards understanding the drama represented, the spectators, and their collective impact. Understanding how Corinthians consumed dramatic performances through its material memory demonstrates more clearly than ever before how Corinth was an active agent in producing drama, rather than a passive participant in a narrative dominated by Athens. The value of theatrical figurines for understanding wider dramatic practice and contexts has been laid out by T.B.L. Webster’s landmark editions on dramatic monuments (e.g. MMC^3, MNC^3). His research has been masterfully developed by J.R. Green, Eric Csapo, and others. This paper engages with their work on several levels and builds on it in sketching the outlines of a synthetic dramatic identity of Corinth.

Above all, the analysis of these figurines confirms the presence of a distinct theater tradition at Corinth which maintained a competitive relationship with Athens rather than a dependent one. First, this paper establishes that Corinth had a longstanding and independent performative culture. This culture had foundations in myth (e.g. Arion, Hdt. 1.23-4) and is suggested by the fact that Corinthian komast depictions (8th cent.) predate those of Athens by at least a century. Xenophon also confirms that Corinth was hosting its own dramatic competitions at least as early as the fourth century (Hell. 4.4.3). The figurines of Corinth bolster the notion of a distinct theater tradition by their clear attempt to brand Corinthian drama. Looking for example at the figurines’ masks, a unique but consistent Corinthian style emerges (e.g. ringed eyes with indented pupils) which not only identifies the figure as Corinthian, but also unmistakably determines they are not Athenian. These figures suggest a spectator demand to preserve and display a definitively Corinthian performance tradition. This is not to say that Corinth did not also embrace and perpetuate Athenian drama (see Green 2014); this paper contends instead that Corinth kept the traditions separate.
This paper next examines the stock characters and dramatic circumstances represented by these figurines. They help demonstrate not only the preservation of a separate Corinthian tradition, but also the popularity of particular dramatic tropes among a Corinthian viewership. The fact that there are both Late Classical comic Herakles figurines (e.g. MF 1527, MF 5264; Corinth) and stock soldier figurines (e.g. T 1062, T 1055; Corinth) speaks to an early fourth-century transition in Corinth that coincides with the transition in Athens rather than follows it. This study also considers how Corinthian spectators might view these characters differently, considering non-Athenian mythical traditions and the contemporary socio-political situation in Corinth (e.g. Herakles and soldiers in a time of Macedonian ascendency).

A contextual examination of these figurines reveals that several may have formed sets (as with the so-called New York Group), which in turn give a more complete picture of the performance tradition. The depositional patterns of these figurines in votive contexts also indicate an advanced awareness by spectators of the theater’s relationship with local cult activity.

**Title: Plautus’ Painted Stage**  
**Name: Marden Nichols**

In a climactic scene in Plautus’ *Mostellaria*, Tranio draws Theopropides’ and Simo’s attention to a painting of a crow assaulting a pair of vultures (832-840). Like the proverbially cunning crow, the slave is getting the better of his vulturine superiors. The picture is both an element of Tranio’s trickery and an illustration of the subverted power dynamic that results. It also offers a metatheatrical comment on the problematics of viewing and visualization in theatrical space. Theopropides is utterly confounded by Tranio’s description: he sees no painting whatsoever. It is reasonable to assume that this artwork, along with the long portico and women’s quarters mentioned in the scene, was not a physical component of the stage set. Are the spectators of *Mostellaria*, so beguiled as to imagine pictures unpainted, the ones who have been duped? Drama elicits suspension of disbelief, the rejection of the real in favor of a fantasy advanced through onstage dialogue and transparently artificial scenery. Plautus’ comedies provide valuable insight into ancient ideas of spectatorship and performance by likening the viewer’s experience of drama to that of painting.

For Plautus, drama was painting in motion. Over half of his surviving works refer to the act of painting, painters, or paintings (including panel paintings by famous artists, wall paintings, and portraits). Dramatis personae frequently associate themselves or other characters with paintings, whether to compare their situations with those painterly subjects (*Captivi* 998-1000), to analogize viewing within the dramatic space to looking at art (*Asinaria* 399-402; *Mercator* 313-315), or to anticipate being immortalized in painting themselves (*Epidicus* 622-626). Such imagery is richly layered in descriptions of courtesans and *lenae*, whose cosmetic appearance is quite literally painted on (*Asinaria* 174-175; *Mostellaria* 261-262). My paper surveys these passages and contrasts Plautus’ approach with that of other playwrights of the *palliata* (particularly Terence’s *Eunuchus* 583-591) and with the Greek New Comedy they emulated (Petrides 2014).

I argue that Plautus uniquely and persistently returns to imagery of painting in order to explore the status of drama as representation. By evoking parallels between drama and painting, Plautus suggests that, across the two media, audiences and ways of spectating were in some sense shared. Ultimately, however, references to painting point up the multi-sensory experience of drama. Though the blend of deception and disguise that drives a plot may be dubbed a *pictura* (*Miles Gloriosus* 1189), when a character stands, drama’s essential kineticism is laid bare (*Stichus* 270-271). It only enhances the joke that this character is named Pinacium (“tablet”—or “picture”). In Plautus’ comedies, dialogue concerning painting reveals the superiority of drama as an art that can audibly comment on itself. My paper therefore contributes not only to wider discussions of Plautus’ *metatheater* (Moore 1998; Sharrock 2009), but also to the history of competition among the arts in antiquity.
Both Roman painting and Roman drama drew heavily on Greek models. Scholars of Greek drama have explored the topic of visuality and have traced interconnections between Greek drama and vase painting (Taplin 1993; Taplin 2007). Although there has been abundant scholarship on allusions to (and analogies with) painting in Roman epic, lyric, and other genres, such references in Roman drama remain underexplored (Dufallo 2013, 21-38). As a consequence of this lacuna, there is little appreciation for how ideas about representation, space, and artifice moved between Roman visual culture and drama, even though the preponderance of theatrical imagery in painting and mosaics has been a long-standing topic in Roman art history (Leach 2004). The conclusion of my paper suggests implications of Plautus’ “painted stage” for the study of theatrical imagery in Roman wall painting.

**Title:** Changing Perspectives: Catullus, Lucretius, and Architectural Transformations in the Palatine Magna Mater Sanctuary  
**Name:** Jennifer Lynn Muslin

This paper argues that Catullus’ *Carmen* 63 and Lucretius’ *De Rerum Natura* 2.597-660 represent two imaginative views of Rome’s Magna Mater festival that couch themselves in the architecture of her sanctuary on the southwest corner of the Palatine Hill, in particular the Scalae Caci and Via Tecta passages leading up to the temple complex from the Velabrum and Circus Maximus. Both authors focus on the processions of the galli, the eunuch priests of Magna Mater, as they move through changes in physical status and location. The architectural spaces in question are liminal and initiatory in that they take the viewer on a journey from one state to another (dark to light, low to high, hidden to revealed) yet controlled and controlling due to their narrow and privileged nature as access points to the sanctuary. These liminal and controlling aspects are reflected in Catullus’ poem about Attis’ initiation, mania, and transformation and Lucretius’ excursus on the performance of Magna Mater’s cult as an endorsement of the mos maiorum and filial piety. Catullus and Lucretius emphasize the visceral experience of the ritual spectacle, highlighting the sights and sounds of the galli and worshippers as they twist and turn along the structured processional path.

While other scholars fruitfully focus on a range of issues from gender role liminality and feelings of political impotency in *Carmen* 63 (e.g. Latham 2012, Nauta and Harder 2005, Skinner 1997) to Stoic and Epicurian readings of Magna Mater in *De Rerum Natura* (e.g. Jope 1985, Summers 1996), few have attempted to physically locate the poems in real space, either outside of Rome in Phrygia or at Rome in the contemporary architectural context of the Magna Mater complex (e.g. Favro 2008). Combining a close analysis of the architectural forms and building modifications of the temple and passages with an examination of the social and political atmosphere of mid first century B.C.E. Rome, I suggest that these poets were inspired by and responded to their own experiences of the built environment of Magna Mater’s Palatine sanctuary and its topography.

This paper consists of three main components: a discussion of the architectural forms and modifications of the Magna Mater sanctuary on the Palatine, a contextualization of the Magna Mater procession in light of the political atmosphere of the mid first century B.C.E. using Lucretius’ *De Rerum Natura* 2.597-660, and finally a close reading of Catullus’ *Carmen* 63 as a mythologized personal account of the Magna Mater festival experience in the architecture of her Palatine sanctuary. I conclude with some general thoughts about the experience of liminal space and festivals in mid first century B.C.E. Rome.

**Session 23: Mothers and Daughters in Antiquity (Organized by the Women’s Classical Caucus)**

**Title:** Like Mother, Like Daughter: Rhea and Demeter as Models of Subversion in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter  
**Name:** Suzanne Lye

In the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, the goddess Rhea plays a crucial role in convincing her daughter Demeter to put aside her anger and return to the company of the gods. Rhea’s significance to the hymn as
a whole, particularly her mother-daughter relationship with Demeter, has largely been overlooked. While scholars have generally focused on Rhea’s role as Zeus’ final messenger to Demeter, Rhea’s importance as a mother figure is signaled much earlier in the poem when Demeter is twice referred to as the “daughter of lovely-haired Rhea” (Ῥείης ἠυκόμου θύγατερ, H.H.Dem. 60, 75). This identification of Demeter in terms of her relationship to her mother is marked in the context of a poem which “idealizes the mother/daughter relation” (Foley 1994: 134). Demeter has already been named “mistress mother” (πότνια μήτηρ, 39) in relation to her daughter Persephone. To then be called a daughter herself suggests that Demeter’s character as a mother in the poem must be explored in the context of her relationship with her own mother Rhea. This paper explores the figure of Rhea in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter as the model mother who provides a template for her daughter’s rebellion against patriarchal power structures.

Demeter’s reaction to the forced marriage of her daughter and Rhea’s appearance in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter highlight the mother-daughter bond as a subversive challenge to patriarchal rule. At the beginning of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, Zeus asserts his right as patriarch to make a marriage contract for Persephone without the knowledge of her mother. Demeter rejects this arrangement, just as her own mother Rhea rejected the actions of Cronus. The story of Demeter in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter mirrors Rhea’s story of motherhood in Hesiod’s Theogony. Both goddesses rebel against patriarchal rule due to threats to their offspring. When their children are taken away, they are each described as plunging into deep depression, which makes them flee the company of their peers – Rhea feels “insufferable grief” (πένθος ἄλαστον, Theogony 467) and Demeter feels “pain” (ἄχος, H.H.Dem. 90) upon having Persephone forcibly taken away.

Additionally, the retaliation of both goddesses against their kings comes in the form of holding back their reproductive powers. Rhea flees to her parents and hides her youngest child Zeus on Crete, ending her fertility as the consort of Cronus. Likewise, Demeter finds refuge in the land of mortals at Eleusis and stops the fertility of the earth and production of the harvest (H.H.Dem. 305-309). Their defiance against the desires of their male rulers poses a serious challenge to existing power structures. Rhea’s rebellion against Cronus’ consumption of their children eventually leads to the overthrow of the Titans. Demeter’s refusal to return to Olympus even after Zeus sends Iris and the other gods to summon her with promises of extra honors, or timai (314-328) similarly threatens to unravel Zeus’ rule by destroying the human race and removing the timai of the other gods (310-312). Zeus averts this disaster by yielding to Demeter’s request for the return of her daughter, thus honoring the mother-daughter bond. This, however, is not enough, so he sends their mother Rhea to persuade her. Zeus gains Demeter’s compliance not only by yielding to her demand but also by relying on the closeness of a mother-daughter relationship. Rhea’s arrival is the final step in Zeus’ recompense to Demeter, and the latter’s pleasure at seeing her mother immediately returns the earth’s productivity (457), which Persephone’s return alone did not accomplish. Demeter’s joy at seeing her mother Rhea is matched by the joy her own daughter Persephone displays (434-437). At the end of the poem, Demeter is both mother and daughter for her triumphant return to Olympus. Rhea’s presence in the poem underscores the strength of the mother-daughter relationship and proposes a longer frame of matrilineal identities as integral to interpreting the Homeric Hymn to Demeter.

Title: Mothers and Daughters in the Epigrams of Anyte
Name: Ellen Greene

Despite Anyte’s prominent place in Meleager’s Garland, modern scholars have not generally given her epigrams the same attention and approbation as her Hellenistic contemporaries, Erinna and Nossis. Feminist scholars have re-evaluated Anyte’s worth, considering her to be an influential and innovative poet (Snyder 1989; Barnard 1991; Gutzwiller 1998). These scholars have shown how Anyte may be the first epigrammatist to “project a distinct literary persona,” defined specifically by feminine sensibilities and values. I argue in my paper that Anyte’s feminine voice may be seen most strikingly in her human epitaphs, specifically in the four (out of five altogether) that focus on mothers’ expressions of grief for the
deaths of their young unmarried daughters. I will show how these epigrams suggest a “world of female grief” and loss, a world that contrasts sharply with male conceptions and representations of death. Expressions of grief in Homer’s *Iliad*, for example, and in literary epigrams written by men, typically celebrate the heroism of men slain in battle and, more importantly, the fame (*kleos*) they will receive. Anyte’s epigrams show the profound pathos in young women losing their lives without the compensations of fame we see in Homer.

By focusing her human epitaphs on grieving mothers in particular, Anyte clearly affirms the value of women’s lives. This is especially significant in the context of patriarchal societies, where women are typically regarded either as objects of male desire or as instruments of exchange in the competitive male arena. The centrality of the mother-daughter relationship in Anyte presents a sharp contrast to the primacy of the relationship between fathers and sons in Homer and in much of Greek literature, a relationship that assures the genealogy of patriarchal power.

My paper will examine Epigram 5 (G-P= AP 7.486), in which the figure of a mother, named Cleina, laments for the death of her daughter who died before her marriage. In the context of a society that often valued women chiefly for their use as vehicles of procreation, the grief Cleina expresses at the death of her daughter emphasizes the importance of the mother-daughter relationship, and celebrates the worth of the young woman's life *for its own sake*. I shall argue that the image of Cleina, lamenting in a public space, evokes a tradition of lament in which women's prominent roles in lamenting the dead both reflect and reinforce realms of experience exclusive to women (Alexiou 1974, Caraveli 1986, Holst-Warcraft 1992).

In addition, the image of Cleina lamenting for her daughter, whose soul is described as ‘crossing the river Acheron,’ evokes the myth of Demeter and Persephone—a myth that is emblematic of mothers lamenting their daughters' premature deaths. As Foley (1994) has pointed out, the Demeter/Persephone myth stresses the "intergenerational chain of relations from mother to daughter." While Anyte's poem clearly celebrates the importance of the mother-daughter relationship, her evocation of the Persephone myth also seems ironic. Unlike Demeter, Cleina cannot recall her daughter from the depths of Hades. The finality of Cleina's separation from her daughter, Philaenis, heightens the sense of Cleina’s irremediable loss.

As my paper will also show, the Homeric allusions in the poem serve to accentuate Cleina's unmitigated loss. Geoghegan (1979) points out that Cleina's lament echoes Achilles' mourning of Patroklos in *Iliad* 23. Although Achilles' lament for Patroklos clearly celebrates bonds between men, in *Iliad* 16 (7f.) Homer implicitly compares Achilles to a mother in the simile in which Patroklos is likened to a child crying after his hurrying, anxious mother (Achilles). But laments in the *Iliad* do not merely express personal loss; they are always cast within a framework in which the memory of the glorious deeds of the deceased offers compensation for loss. Cleina’s irremediable grief for her daughter, on the other hand, offers testimony of what it is like to be a woman in a world focused on male interests and values.

**Title:** Tough Love: Loyalties and Tensions among Ptolemaic Queens and their Daughters  
**Name:** Walter Penrose

Recent research into Hellenistic dynasties has emphasized an understanding of the tensions, discord, civil strife, and weakening of royal houses caused by polygamy (e.g. Ogden 1999). At the center of this body of research lies the father-son bond, which could be considerably weakened by the fact that kings often had multiple wives who championed their own sons. Far less attention has been paid to key mother-daughter relationships in the Ptolemaic dynasty. In this feminist analysis, I will explore the centrality of royal mother-daughter relations in the topsy-turvy politics of second-century BCE Ptolemaic Egypt. Specifically, I will examine the relationship of Queen Cleopatra II and her daughter, Cleopatra III, both of whom were married to the same man, Ptolemy VIII Physcon, as well as the tensions between Cleopatra...
III and her own daughter, Cleopatra IV. Like their later counterpart Cleopatra VII, these were some of the most powerful women in ancient history, and their relationships with one another stood at the center of Ptolemaic power-brokering. These women played not only the role of kingmaker, but, in the case of Cleopatra III, also that of queen-maker. (It is of particular interest to this study that “kingmaker” is a word in the English dictionary, whereas “queenmaker” is not, although, at least for the purposes of this paper, it is an equally important term.) Although their lives were fraught with difficulty, Cleopatra II and III must have had a strong mother-daughter bond, at least to start. Cleopatra II’s last husband, her brother Ptolemy VIII, not only divorced Cleopatra II, he killed her sons, and then raped, impregnated and finally forcibly wed her daughter Cleopatra III (Justin 38.8; Valerius Maximus 9.1 ext. 5; Diod. 34/35.14). Despite the fact that all sources agree that Cleopatra III was so brutally mistreated, Whitehorne (1994: 123) argues that “Cleopatra III may not have played such a passive role in the initiation of the relationship,” by perhaps actively pursuing Ptolemy VIII to “put herself on an equal footing with her mother…” Whitehorne’s analysis flies in the face of the evidence. After a civil war, both Cleopatra II and III remained Ptolemy VIII’s co-rulers in a most unusual, three-way monarchical relationship. Some level of cooperation between mother and daughter surely must be one reason that this trio ruled, although other factors were at play. Both mother and daughter had bona fide reasons to despise Ptolemy VIII, and may have worked together to check his authority. The two women continued to co-rule after Ptolemy VIII’s death, although Cleopatra II died shortly thereafter of old age. At this juncture, Cleopatra III would have chosen her younger son, Ptolemy X Alexander, as her co-ruler, but the Alexandrians instead forced Cleopatra III to install her eldest son, Ptolemy IX, as her co-pharaoh (Justin 39.3.2; Porphyry FGrH 260 F 2.8-10). Cleopatra III, in turn, then compelled Ptolemy IX to divorce her daughter (his sister-wife), Cleopatra IV, and instead marry, Cleopatra Selene, yet another of her daughters. Angered by her mother’s actions, Cleopatra IV gathered an army on Cyprus, probably with the intention of marching on Egypt to contest her mother’s decision and reclaim her place on the throne. But her brother Ptolemy X offered her no assistance, so she instead married, Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, a contender for the Seleucid throne, and was ultimately killed by the order of yet another of her sisters, Tryphaena, the wife of Antigonus Grypus, the other claimant to the Seleucid throne. While our sources leave many questions unanswered about the intimate relations between these mothers and daughters, they do suggest a scenario of “mother knows best,” or, perhaps better stated, a situation where mother reigned supreme, despite adversity. They also suggest cut-throat tensions between royal sisters, initiated by mother at some level.

Title: *Ego filia*: Maternal Rejection in Catullus 63
Name: Erin McKenna

In the relationship between mother and daughter, the question of what constitutes “mother” and “daughter” needs to be addressed. Biology does not necessarily dictate who is called “mother,” nor does sex dictate what individual identifies as “daughter.” In Latin literature, the strongest example we have of a mother-daughter relationship that hinges on gender identity is that of the Magna Mater and Attis in Catullus 63. This relationship, however, is strained. Attis believes in Cybele’s status as Mater, and so castrates himself in order to serve her more closely. At this moment, in line 5 of the poem, he goes through a ‘rebirth’ – Attis begins using female forms to describe herself; the son becomes a daughter. Yet when Attis struggles with her own actions and regrets them, the Great Mother expresses rage and hatred toward her ‘daughter,’ rejecting her sacrifice and gendering her male (*hunc* 78).

In the field of psychopathology, the term “maternal rejection” is used to describe this very phenomenon – the event of a mother emotionally rejecting her child, particularly in the first years of birth. Modern studies of Parental Acceptance-Rejection analyze the ensuing effects on the behavior of the child, with a recent study arguing for its diagnosis as a clinical syndrome (Brockington 2011). In Catullus 63, however, we are afforded little insight into the after effects of Cybele’s rage. Yet in viewing Catullus 63 through the lens of maternal rejection, we are afforded insight into the complicated mother-‘daughter’ relationship.
between the Magna Mater and the *Galli/Gallae*. These priests made an irrevocable decision and, due to their marginalized status in Roman society, would likely have felt compelled to suppress any regret for that decision. For a man to marginalize himself in such a way – to willingly take on the role of daughter rather than son – would have to carry with it significant psychological repercussions. It is my argument that we get a glimpse into these psychological repercussions, and their worst possible ends, in the figure of Attis.

In my paper, I will first discuss Cybele as *mater* in Late Republican Roman thought. The contemporary Cybele passage in Lucretius’ *De Rerum Natura* (2.598-645) provides helpful material – as do the arguments of Summers (1996) and Clayton (1999) – for understanding the Magna Mater as “great mother of gods, and mother of beasts, and our progenitor” (*quae magna deum mater materque ferarum / et nostri genetrix DRN* 2.598-99).

Second, I will frame Attis as *filia* within the context of Catullus’ poem. Harrison (2004) provides helpful suggestions here for reading Attis’ speeches in Catullus’ 63 as parallel with those of women from Greek tragedy – in particular Euripides’ Agave and Medea. What emerges from Harrison’s examples is that in the speeches made by Agave and Medea which, he argues, inspired Attis’ speeches in Catullus, both women speak as daughters addressing their parents and their cities. Attis’ lament of *patria o mei creatrix, patria o mea genetrix* (50) then takes on both tragic and Lucretian qualities.

I will conclude my paper by discussing how Attis both embodies and challenges the notion of maternal rejection. While an infant has no choice in her mother, Attis chooses Cybele to be hers. In believing and therefore choosing Cybele to be her *mater*, Attis loses the power to regret her decision. Attis therefore experiences compounded psychological repercussions of Cybele’s maternal rejection. She experiences the emotional trauma resultant from Cybele’s verbal and then physical attack (Cybele sends her lion to chase Attis into the woods), but she also experiences the realization that her sacrifice is unwanted by both mother and daughter. Through Attis, we see the crisis of personal identity and potential for both maternal- and self-rejection that the ‘*Gallae*’ undoubtedly faced.

**Title: Imperial Mothers and Daughters in Second-Century Rome**

**Name: Mary T. Boatwright**

This illustrated paper explores the unusual emphasis on imperial mothers and daughters in second-century Rome. With the inception of the dynastic Principate women became key players in Roman politics (e.g., Severy 2003; Milnor 2005), and throughout the first century imperial women’s depiction in arts, documents, and literature predominantly stressed their relationship to men, especially sons. Their roles as carriers and nurturers of sons and “princes” was foremost: for instance, on a coin of 13 BCE Julia I appears flanked by her sons Gaius and Lucius (BMC 1, no. 106), and on the slightly later Ara Pacis women hover protectively over the four children on the historical frieze (only one whom may be a girl). Tiberius’ accession while his mother Livia still lived intensified the imperial mother-son emphasis: in the SCPP of 20 CE Julia Augusta is “most deserving” because she birthed “our princeps” (lines 115-16), and her role as mother of (potential) male emperors is stressed throughout the (probably Tiberian) *Consolatio ad Liviam* (Jenkins 2009). The imperial mother-son tie, most notorious with Agrippina II and Nero, carried through to the Flavians (e.g., Domitia celebrated in 81 as DIVI CAESARIS MATER for her earlier deceased son with Domitian, BMC 2, nos. 62-63, 501-3, and *p. 414*). In the second century CE, however, more attention is paid to imperial mothers and daughters in a phenomenon that fades in the Severan period. Examination of 2nd-c. imperial mother-daughter ties in literature, inscriptions, and other media helps humanize imperial women even while illuminating changing concepts of the imperial family and of Roman ideology.
Marciana and Matidia I, Matidia I and her daughters Sabina and Matidia II, Faustina I and Faustina II, and Faustina II and Lucilla stand out as close mothers and daughters in the second century. Pliny notes the uncommon harmony of the Trajanic women (e.g., Pan. 83-84). Inscriptions reveal that the two Matidia together supported an endowment (CIL V 3112=ILS 501). In the inscription claiming her reconstruction of Suessa Aurunca’s theater, Matidia the Younger identified herself by (in order) her mother Matidia, her grandmother Marciana, her sister Sabina, and then finally her “nephew” Antoninus Pius (e.g., CIL X 4745; see Chausson 2008). Imperial women also feature in affective or nurturing relationships with girls not their own: Matidia the Younger hosts Marcus Aurelius’ daughters (Fronto, ad Ant. imp. 4.1, p. 105 VDH), and both Faustinae were publicly connected with assistance for girls in Rome (the puellae Faustinianae: HA, Pius 8.1, HA, Marc. 26.6; RIC 3, Pius 397-99; ILS 6065). The mother-daughter bond underwrites even some 2nd-c. imperial male-female relations, notably Hadrian and his mother-in-law Matidia the Elder as witnessed (e.g.) in the Temple of Matidia and in his eulogizing speech for her (see now Jones 2004). The prominence of mothers and daughters in this period is not due simply to the happenstance of imperial women bearing girls who survived infancy, to judge from the near silence about mother-daughter ties relating to Julia I, Julia II, Agrippina I and other early imperial women.

The 2nd-c. imperial mother-daughter emphasis sometimes forms part of larger arguments about imperial policy promoting the family (e.g., Weiss 2008), imperial women’s visibility (e.g., Boatwright 1991), or the traditional importance of family and ancestors for acceptance of the imperial house (Hekster 2015). At times it appears to draw attention to associated men, or in biographies of individual women (e.g., Wood 2015; Levick 2014; Priwitzer 2008). Such interpretations help contextualize and explain the phenomenon in second-century Rome. Just as importantly, however, evaluating the relatively plentiful and emotionally revealing evidence for imperial mothers and daughters also lets us glimpse these women as sympathetic humans, a quality too often denied them in the literature.

**Session 24: Digital Classics and the Changing Profession (Organized by the Digital Classics Association)**

**Title:** Greco-Roman Studies and Digital Classics

**Name:** Gregory Crane

It is unclear how long we will be able to treat the term Classical Studies as largely synonymous with the study of Greco-Roman culture -- this usage reflects assumptions of European cultural hegemony that few students of Greco-Roman culture still share and fewer still would publicly defend. Certainly students of Greco-Roman culture in the United States and Europe have various pragmatic reasons, political and economic alike, to recognize the importance of Classical Arabic, Chinese, Sanskrit, Persian and other cultural languages from beyond Europe. If current population trends continue, immigration will drive US population growth from its current 324 million to 441 million in 2065 and there will no longer be any majority ethnic group (at least by the categories in use today). In this model, immigration from Asia (which includes the Indian subcontinent as well as nations such as China and Korea) will become the largest source of new population and the American population. These trends may seem abstract to those of us at a later stage of our career but the undergraduates of 2016 who wish to become professional students of Greco-Roman culture should think seriously now about how they understand Classical studies.

US postsecondary education is not currently structured to support a 21st century model of Classical Studies. Analysis of statistics from the Modern Language Association reveals that Pre-modern Greek and Latin account for more than 75% of all reported US enrollments in historical languages -- Greek, Latin, and Biblical Hebrew together account for more than 95%. Every Classics Department will not be able to support full-time faculty in a dozen different Classical languages, but any student in a 21st century Department of Classics should have the opportunity to study Classical languages other than Greek and Latin.
To solve the organizational and logistical challenges, we must turn to the same digital technologies that have helped make possible the creation of a networked world. This implies changing the way we organize our departments and our teaching and, of course, how we design (or, perhaps more properly, re-design) our PhD programs. We need to learn how to draw upon every useful new method available to us, which in turn implies that we need to be able to assess new methods and then adapt those methods to Classical languages ourselves. This will surely change our field profoundly but the opportunities are at least as great as the challenges.

Title: Working in Digital Humanities and Classics at the Small Undergraduate University
Name: Bruce Robertson

The graduating Ph.D. will naturally understand Digital Humanities as it is organized at research-intensive universities: as a large-scale enterprise based in a ‘Centre’ or ‘Program’, often with its own programming staff, a teaching curriculum and long-standing relationship across the Humanities and Computer Science. However, a great number of tenure-stream positions are to be found in small universities where these conditions do not pertain. Based in a 17-year career, this paper will use four projects, three of them ongoing, as examples of how (and how not) to research Classics through Digital Humanities within the small undergraduate university.

At small institutions, a good working knowledge of formats, data analysis and programming is an even greater advantage: undergraduate employees, even those who study Computer Science, cannot be assumed to have the required skills. Teaching these skills to Humanities students will be highly prized within certain parts of the academy, but it is slow work, and the project needs to respond to a pertinent research question or a well-understood DH problem. Therefore, the small university Professor cannot afford to offer ‘solutions looking for a problem’, especially early in his or her career.

A far more satisfactory strategy is to find an indispensable niche small enough to master both technically and conceptually. Connecting and collaborating is therefore essential. Connect with someone who can give a good overview of the field (usually a senior Professor still active in grant-writing). Collaborate with: keen postdocs who will keep you sharp and sustain you with their enthusiasm; colleagues in Computer Science departments who are looking for fresh challenges; and people who work at at research institutions. All of these scenarios offer even greater rewards than in traditional work in the Classics, since publication with co-authors is more common in Classics DH.

Finally, it should be noted that DH work at a small university is perhaps more effective in tenure and promotion than at large ones, since Classics faculty (being small in number) are assessed more directly by Dean and colleagues in other disciplines, including the Sciences, these people tend to be more receptive of DH work than colleagues in the Humanities.

Title: Digital Work, Student Research, and the Tenure Track
Name: Marie-Claire Beaulieu

In 2009, I responded to a job advertisement from Tufts University. The Classics department sought a junior or senior colleague with a strong record of teaching and research to teach Latin and Greek at all levels. The ad specified that the candidate should advance the study of Greek and Latin in an interdisciplinary context. Candidates who could support contributions to original research by undergraduate and graduate students were especially welcome.

This ad, while it was standard for our field in most respects, stood out by the suggestion that the department valued original student research. The ad did not mention the means by which this research should be accomplished. Yet, one of the most important benefits of digital methods for the discipline of
Classics is that they help broaden participation in research activities. Everyone, from undergraduate student to senior professor, can offer valuable and valid contributions. The main enabling factor is the digital micro-publication, which allows researchers at all levels to produce a range of assertions such as place and time annotations, diplomatic transcriptions, editions, and translations which can be aggregated into large research products. Validation processes can easily be put in place through the digital medium within or outside the original research community. Such research groups not only offer a breath of fresh air in our discipline, they have become crucial in order to keep up with current knowledge in our field. Indeed, with the growing availability of primary source material under open licenses such as manuscripts and inscriptions, there is a real need to create inclusive research communities so as to even begin to tackle the immense task of processing all this largely untouched information.

When the Tufts University ad came out, I was (unsuccessfully) seeking funding for a digital epigraphy project which entailed the contribution of students, so I applied and was offered the position. However, such pursuits are non-traditional in our field and require intense involvement on the part of the faculty members who undertake them. This effort is also difficult to quantify with the traditional evaluation criteria associated with tenure requirements. It can therefore be quite challenging for junior faculty to lead such research projects. Yet, as I have experienced in the past six years, it can also be rewarding and help to reconcile the various demands on junior faculty in the areas of teaching, research, and service. In this paper, I will share my observations and lessons learned from my time on the tenure track.

Title: Philology, Technology, Collaboration: 16 Years of the Homer Multitext
Name: Christopher Blackwell

The Homer Multitext Project (HMT), Casey Dué and Mary Ebbott, editors, is a project of the Center for Hellenic Studies of Harvard University. This presentation will reflect on the project’s 16-year history with particular attention to the interrelationships between its philological aims, its social values, and evolving technological realities. Gregory Nagy coined the term “multitext” as early as 1994, and the HMT was founded on a desire to produce an “Edition” of Homeric Epic that might more completely capture the complexity of its tradition and illuminate its oral poetic origins. It was a “born digital” project explicitly aiming to capture and publish data and relationships among data that would be impossible in print.

The HMT was early to embrace the possibilities of editing from digital images of manuscripts, and was a leader in the ethos of publishing manuscript images under open licenses, making available under Creative Commons licences images of three Iliadic MSS from the Biblioteca Marciana, and two from the Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, including (for some MSS.) 3-dimensional meshfiles of each folio, and multispectral imaging.

The complexity of the textual contents of a “Homer Multitext” were apparent at the start, leading to the first work on the Canonical Text Services Protocol, a new definition of “text” for a digital age, and a concise but semantically rich method of machine-actional citation of text, the CTS-URN, which is now widely used in digital Classics and other fields. The HMT’s approaches to integrating textual data with images and other kinds of data on occassion anticipated recent developments such as IIIF and OpenAnnotation, on many occassions profited from the work of other projects, and on some occassions proved to be badly mistaken.

The most important aspect of the project has been its absolute reliance on collaboration, initially among its editors, the Directors of the CHS, and its Project Architects, other professional classicists, and computer scientists. Starting in 2006 significant scholarly work on the project was in the hands of undergraduates; today the majority is. Over this decade, as (by now) hundreds of editors have contributed transcriptions, analyses, and commentary, the project has continued to explore the best technologies for fostering this collaboration and ensuring the rigor of the scholarship and the integrity of the data. These
technologies began with strict workflows using notebooks of paper and colored pencils. Today, all HMT editors run on their personal computers a standardized Linux Virtual Machine affording pre-configured version control software, editing tools (some standard FOSS tools, some written for the HMT), and a suite of validation software that ensures the integrity of the data and the validity of the Greek.

The presentation will give attention to the (almost entirely positive) professional consequences, for the HMT’s principals, of long-term engagement with a project like this and will ask (not as a rhetorical question) whether this project is fortuitous and unique, or if it is reproducible and under what disciplinary circumstances. It will end with a brief statement of the current state of HMT data and plans for its future.

Title: DH101
Name: Christopher Johanson

In the span of a decade, Digital Humanities (DH) became a discipline. Its extraordinarily rapid growth and its simultaneously interdisciplinary and liminal nature raise difficult questions for the digitally inclined student of antiquity. A job advert that notes “…with Digital Humanities Experience” belies a highly fraught university-specific landscape. What can be done to prepare our students, and ourselves, for the current wave of DH opportunity? This paper outlines a theoretical approach to the integration of the Digital into the study of Antiquity by underscoring a first principle:

To “do” DH is a) to accept it as an independent discipline, and b) to approach it as an interdisciplinary field analogically similar to Classics.

Part I. Accept it as field. While internal debate among practitioners continues concerning the “fieldness” of DH, the proof is evident in scholarly practice: DH journals abound; programs and departments exist; there are jobs; and there are communities of practice, which focus on numerous interdisciplinary sub-disciplines. The consequences of the disciplinary stability of DH are simple: there is no easy approach to the acquisition of its necessary skills and knowledge.

Therefore, to work in, to build for, or to create projects that engage with an established discipline, albeit a young one, requires homework. Thinkers have been building the intellectual infrastructure for years. Much must be read and, where appropriate, cited. Part I of this paper surveys the names to know, traditions to understand, and S

Part II. Training as a classicist can help. DH = Classics, mutatis mutandis. “DH Experience” is the functional equivalent of “DH, generalist,” and, as an encapsulation of a field, similar to “Classics, generalist.” Very few can master all specialties present in the modern, interdisciplinary field of Classics, but many can be conversant in most, and all recognize that specialization in at least one sub-field is requisite. So for DH. Moreover, interdisciplinary, professional training in Classics can effectively dovetail with that of DH. Part II explores possible points of intersection between training in Classics and DH, highlighting both the advantages that a classically trained student might have, and the potential lacunae that DH training might fill.

Session 25: God the Anthropologist: Text, Material and Theory in the Study of Ancient Religion (Joint AIA-SCS Panel)
Title: Economic Anthropology, Economic Theory, and the Study of Ancient Religions
Name: Barbara Kowalzig

This paper discusses the effectiveness and limitations of approaches from economic anthropology and economic theory for the study of ancient Mediterranean religions, distinguishing three broad directions. Ancient historians of religion are familiar with, firstly, approaches from classic economic anthropology
from Marcel Mauss’ ritualized gift-giving to Mark Granovetter’s social embeddedness of economic actions (1985); but there is an array of contemporary approaches in economic anthropology, developed on the basis notably of Mesoamerican religions, that have escaped the notice of classicists. The paper, secondly, examines the usefulness of New Institutional Economics, popular with ancient historians, for an understanding of the interrelations between religion and economy in the ancient world. NIE broadly understands institutions, especially state institutions, as counteracting uncertainty in economic decision-making; they reduce transactions costs by providing information and establishing trust, and thus affect economic outcomes. An often-repeated tenet is that religious and cultural beliefs generate people’s knowledge and influence their economic choices, but this is rarely explored beyond common religious affiliation functioning as an informal, private-order enforcement mechanism within a trading diaspora (e.g. A. Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy* (2006)). This section, then, examines, ‘religious and cultural beliefs’ in the ancient world as knowledge systems underlying economic choices, and explores the possibilities of understanding myth, ritual and cult as ‘institutions’ in the NIE sense. Ancient examples suggest that religious practice and imagination can be seen to affect outcomes under persistent conditions of uncertainty, particularly ecological precariness, while sanctuaries in particular emerge as privileged institutional environment for the lowering of transaction costs through the aggregation of information and production of economic knowledge. Economic choices thus often fall squarely between social and religious imperatives and profit maximization. The third section of the paper briefly introduces the recent ‘economics of religion’ (e.g. L. Iannacone; R. Stark), which attempts to relate religion to economic growth through applying free market dynamics to religious choices. While problematic, some of the mechanisms developed in this school open up ways of thinking about the relationship between state and non-state sponsored religious practice, of festival competition and renewal, and of the economic role of festivals at large.

**Title:** Magical Power, Cognition, and the Religion of the Intellectual in the Roman Imperial West

**Name:** Andreas Bendlin

Exploring the relationship between religion and social identity, my paper discusses cognitive aspects and reconsiders the socio-religious context of two texts concerning “magic”: the recently discovered invocation of *omnipotentia numina* by their self-styled “guardian,” Verius Sedatus (Autricum, Lugudunensis, late IInd/early IIInd: *AE* 2010.950), and Apuleius’s *Apology*.

First, cognition: I sketch—through the lens of cognitive studies—Sedatus’s invocation ritual (material context: Joly et al. 2010) and Apuleius’s recognition of the ritual power of “magical acts” (e.g., *Apol.* 26.6), whereby in a cognitive perspective ascriptions of non-ordinary power are made to achieve non-ordinary goals. Scholars of ancient “magic” have traditionally considered anthropological approaches but rarely engage with recent critical thinking that applies cognitive (Sørensen 2007) or attributional theories (Taves 2014) to “magical rituals.” I engage these approaches to explore Sedatus’s ritual and Apuleius’s exegesis.

Second, socio-religious context: scholarship has highlighted the imperial-period mobility of the ritual expert, the textualisation of Egyptian magical knowledge, and its dissemination through the medium of the book outside of Egypt (Gordon 2015: 378–380; Nagy 2015: 211, 218–220). The reception—by way of migrant experts, ritual texts or objects—of the Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition in the Latin West since roughly the second century CE appears confined to a small number of data (e.g., gems and a few curse inscriptions). That tradition may have been attractive primarily to an affluent, educated audience, who conceptualized Egypt as one of the places of origin of magic (Gordon, Gasparini 2014: 50f.). I outline how Sedatus, who rudimentarily applies techniques (the use of *voces magicae*) from that tradition as early as the late first/early second century, and Apuleius, who is familiar with the concept of *nomina magica* (*Apol.* 38.7f.), also illustrate this process of reception.
Merging cognitive analysis and socio-religious contextualization, I illustrate how communication with the divine world operates at two interrelated levels, epistemic and ritualistic. Apuleius—in a rhetorical performance of “high intellectualism” (Bradley 2012: 12–17)—defends *magia* as an epistemic endeavor whereby the philosopher acquires privileged access to the divine. As recognized by Apuleian scholarship, his argumentation foregrounds the philosopher’s epistemic control of *magia*. However, Sedatus’s invocation ritual and the ritualistic competence that emerges from Apuleius’s *Apology* also demonstrate the *bricoleur*’s innovative ritual agency. Both individuals have been claimed as “magicians” or quasi-professional ritualists. I suggest that find spot (Sedatus) and literary context (Apuleius) rather suggest learned domestic appropriation of the magical tradition by non-professional *bricoleurs*. Their respective religious portfolios thereby included elements of what I label “the religion of the intellectual”—one facet of ancient religious identities historians often ignore.

In conclusion, I propose that we read Apuleius’s *Apology* as conceding the precarious position of the intellectual in a contemporary field of social practice which increasingly criminalized the notion and any alleged acts of *magia* (Rives 2003). Scholars (since Winter 1968; cf. Graf 1997: 65–88) sometimes misapprehend the reasons for the *Apology*’s marginalization of the magical tradition’s ritual potential, whereas in reality Apuleius’s pillorying of the persona of the *magus*, as a societal “other,” may aim primarily at averting suspicion of his own ritualistic expertise. Sedatus’s recently discovered invocation ritual should warn against concluding too rashly that Apuleius did not experiment with some learned ritual himself.

**Title:** Divining Data: Temples, Votives, and Quantitative Sensibilities  
**Name:** Dan-El Padilla Peralta

Ancient history’s recent quantitative and social-scientific turn reflects a renewed and rising interest in adapting models from the “soft”—and occasionally the “hard”—sciences for the study of Greco-Roman antiquity. The turn is on full display in ancient religion, where interpretations of the material evidence for cultic observance and ritual practice have of late grappled with quantifying models and techniques. Informed by this turn but conscious of the need to critique it, this paper will put forward a series of quantitative and statistical procedures for recreating the religious world of middle Republican Rome (c. 400-200 BCE). Although the application of these procedures helps clarify Rome’s evolving religious dynamics in the course of its ascent to Mediterranean empire, I will argue that one of the most important takeaways from the application of these procedures is the possibility of ranging beyond Rome (or any discrete case study) so as to situate the conclusions derived from the application of these procedures within a comparative framework. Perhaps the core virtue of quantitatively focused work on religious practice is that it facilitates certain forms of regional and supra-regional comparison—indispensable to the project of identifying and tracking patterns of globalization and “glocalization” in the ancient Mediterranean (for the second term see Rüpke 2014: 23-24).

The paper’s argument will proceed in two steps. Opening with a section on temple-building in the middle Republic, I will outline and explain how a model of the labor parameters of monumental religious construction can yield a more richly textured understanding of the rhythms of cultic and social life in fourth- and third-century BCE Rome. To the end of demonstrating how such an understanding becomes possible through the praxis of model-building itself, I will document and justify why my specific framework for middle Republican temple-building exploits not only classical and Hellenistic Greek comparanda for public construction (Migeotte 1995; Davies 2001; Salmon 2001; Migeotte 2014) but evidence for pre-modern monumental activity taken from well outside the Greco-Roman Mediterranean (e.g., Mesoamerican economic specialization, architectural energetics, and urbanization: Abrams 1987; Abrams and Bolland 1999; Carballo 2015). Without presupposing some transhistorical constant in the human experience of building sacred structures, this section will contend that it is not sufficient to formulate a local model of temple construction: a conceptual framework erected on the bedrock of
comparative praxis is most fruitful when re-tested through systematic comparison. In an effort to illustrate some of the heuristic rewards of calibrated contrast, I will briefly sketch how middle republican construction patterns stack up against those of its Hellenistic contemporaries and how they measure up against monumental activity during other periods of Rome’s history—comparisons that in themselves spawn new models.

The second (and shorter) part of this paper moves away from monumental construction to model a different kind of religious activity: the deposition of votives at Rome and throughout Latium during the fourth and third centuries. As the pace of temple construction at Rome quickened, more and more individuals began to make dedications—both inscribed and anepigraphic—at these new temples. These dedications occurred within a central Italic votive regime nowadays termed the ELC (short for “Etrusco-Latian-Campanian”: Fenelli 1975a and 1976b; Comella 1981; de Cazanove 1991 and 2015). While elementary quantification is a staple of published votive deposits, I will argue in this section that the application of statistical methods (stochastic and Bayesian modeling) enables us not only to make sense of the scale and extent of this votive habit but to compare the ELC to votive complexes from other periods of Mediterranean history.

To conclude, the paper will explore how self-reflexive and self-critical quantitative modeling of temple construction and votive deposition can open the door not only to comparison but to theorizing comparison in the study of ancient religion—provided, of course, one is explicit at every step in the model’s formulation about the methodological building-blocks and suppositions underpinning quantification and statistical analysis.

Title: Greek Libations from a Visual Perspective
Name: Milette Gaifman

The study of Greek religion in its various traditions has been informed by a variety of anthropological theories. For instance, Robert Parker’s Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion was inspired by Mary Douglas’ seminal book, Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo, or the so-called Paris School’s approach to Greek religion (e.g., Detienne, Marcel and Vernant, Jean-Pierre, La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec) owes much to French anthropological studies. Using various theoretical models such studies seek to bring together evidentiary material, whether textual or material for the study of various aspects of ancient cult practices, myths and beliefs. At its core however, the scholarly field of Greek religion is, by and large, a text-based field. The standard textbooks that still dominate it (e.g., Nilsson, Martin P., Geschichte der griechischen Religion; Burkert, Walter, Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical) rely firstly on texts, whereas archaeological finds are usually cited to confirm and illustrate text-based reconstructions and interpretations. This tendency is also seen in treatments of material evidence, for it is typically classified and interpreted in relation to the modern frameworks that are based on the interpretation of texts. Similarly, Greek imagery is taken as illustrative of textual evidence, as can be witnessed, for example, in the various entries of Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum. It goes without saying that textual evidence is of prime import in this field of exploration. However, if we seek to understand ancient religious experience we cannot take images as ancillary to texts, if only because ancient worshippers encountered their gods on daily basis in various visual representations ranging from large-scale statues to imagery on painted pottery.

This paper proposes that side by side with current methodologies, visual material ought to be used in the study of Greek religion not merely as illustrative, but as an informative source in its own right. It takes the libation as a case in point for such an approach. It offers a close examination of a well-known vase attributed to the Kekrops Painter’s that is today Eichenzell, Germany, (Museum Schloß Fasanerie AV 77) that features Erichthonius and Athena handling libation vessels. Rather than consider how the vase’s imagery may illustrate familiar Athenian myths, the paper considers the ideas that the vase may articulate
about the libation. Through close visual analysis it shows that the ritual is presented primarily as way to affirm relations between various parties. It then examines the consequences of this position by considering the possible use of the large krater in the performance of libations. Altogether the paper shows how ancient images not only articulated ideas about the gods and religious practices, but also shaped ancient religious experience.

**Title: Cult Dynamics and Information Technologies: The Case of Mithraism**  
**Name: Matthew McCarty**

The recognition that Roman religious practices were deeply enmeshed in social life has led to a host of recent work on the shifting dynamics of cult practices, places, and images across the Roman world that went hand-in-hand with the changing power structures of the empire. At the same time, greater focus on localized social frameworks has tessellated accounts of cult life, even in cults (like strains of Christianity) explicitly aiming for a sense of universalism. Against such a background, strong continuities through time and space demand even greater explanation, and perhaps no other cult-system demonstrates the level of homogeneity in architecture, iconography, and ritual practice as Mithraism. How and why did communities engaged in the worship of Mithras maintain this coherence across the Roman world over several centuries? Using material from the mithraea at Dura-Europos, Mainz, and the new excavations that I co-direct at Apulum, I argue that the dynamics of cult change and continuity in the Roman Empire need to be considered in terms of information transfer-networks and information technologies, not on the level of esoteric interpretations (long the bugbear of ancient religious studies), but on the level of ritual craft. Focusing on information technologies and mediation allows us to move beyond the false binary inherent in Harvey Whitehouse’s “modes of religiosity,” the most common contemporary anthropological model used to understand the interplays between cult, knowledge, and mediation in the ancient world. In Mithraism, the particular information redundancies mediated in various ways (through images, through pageantry, through the manipulation of “small finds” objects) as well as the particular practices (including foundation rites, attested in a series of deposits that have never before been linked) that drove the connectivity of local communities created the ideational infrastructure that allowed a coherent and stable “Mithraic package” to move around the empire. Shifting discussion from general models of social embeddedness to the means of knowledge-transfer can also offer a more robust explanatory model not just for Mithraism, but for the dynamics of cult change and continuity across the empire more broadly.

**Ancient MakerSpaces: Digital Tools for Classical Scholarship (Workshop)**  
**Title: Visualizing Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean**  
**Name: Thomas Beasley**

*Visualizing Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* is a web-based tool that makes it possible to view dynamic mappings of ancient networks and to explore the primary evidence on which those mappings are based. By entering a given network center (e.g., Athens), type (e.g., alliance), date (e.g., 454 BCE) and extent (e.g., the Chalcidice), users are able to generate a visualization of their desired network (e.g., Athens’ allies in northern Greece in the mid-5th century). *Visualizing Networks* also features a time slider, so that network mappings can be viewed diachronically as well as synchronically. And since users can overlay networks on top of each other, the website also makes it possible to trace the evolution of multiple networks through time, such as the extent of both the Peloponnesian League and the Athenian Empire over the course of the 5th century BCE.

In addition to generating network mappings, *Visualizing Networks* also exposes the primary evidence that underlies each network. Once a given network has been visualized, the user may click on any link between two nodes to see a list of the primary evidence, (literary, numismatic, epigraphical and material) on which that link is based. Thus if users click on a link between Athens and Thasos, they are presented with the relevant chapters of Thucydides as well as the Athenian Tribute Lists. For evidence which has
been digitized and made available online, the user is provided with a link to the relevant webpage. By knitting together textual and material evidence in this way, *Visualizing Networks* aims to be a resource for scholars and students alike.

**Title:** Phylogenetic Profiling and the Reception of Classical Drama  
**Name:** Pramit Chaudhuri  
**Name:** Joseph Dexter

Recent developments in reception studies, world literature, and the digital humanities have made effective use of enlarged scale in posing and answering new research questions. The continuously expanding database of the Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama (APGRD; represented in Macintosh *et al. 2005*), the encompassing of substantial non-western material in comparative literary studies (Damrosch *2003*), and the inclusion of vast quantities of non-canonical works enabled by text digitisation (Moretti *2009*, Barker and Terras *2016*, Long and So *2016*) collectively entail new forms of data gathering and visual presentation, which in turn open new hermeneutic horizons.

This paper draws inspiration from computational biology to offer a new method of organising, visualising, and interpreting the reception histories of literary works, focusing on classical drama. We repurpose a technique known as phylogenetic profiling to chart the evolution of Plautus’ *Amphitryon* through a sample of 22 adaptations ranging from the Middle Ages to the 20th century. The paper describes the new methodology, presents resulting analyses about the treatment of dramatic characters across the tradition, and discusses implications for the practice of classical reception studies. To demonstrate the scalability of the approach, we conclude by briefly describing a similar profile of Sophocles’ *Antigone*, which incorporates 129 adaptations spanning four continents.

Phylogenetic profiling is a standard technique in computational biology used to summarise large evolutionary histories (Pellegrini *et al. 1999*, Pagliarini *et al. 2008*). A typical phylogenetic profile is a binary matrix (i.e., the value of every entry is either “0” or “1”) indicating the presence or absence of genes across a large number of evolutionarily separated organisms. An attractive and intuitive visualisation can be constructed by drawing a rectangle (with the $m$ genes written along one side and the $n$ organisms along the other) and colouring each of the $m \times n$ tiles inside the rectangle black or white according to its binary value. In biology, phylogenetic profiles have applications beyond visualisation. Of particular interest, phylogenetic profiles can be used to infer functional similarities between genes on the basis of their shared presence in a set of organisms. In our application of the concept, each text in the reception tradition is treated as an organism, for which we determine the binary presence or absence of a macroscopic component (such as a character or scene). These phylogenetic profiles can then be used to identify patterns of influence and related groups of adaptations.

Our methodology combines the compilation of character lists for each adaptation with a novel graphical representation of the data to highlight clear trends across time in the use of minor characters and anomalous treatments of major characters. Furthermore, when cross-referenced with the geographical locus of the adaptation, the phylogenetic profile indicates those trends that are local and those that are more universal. The phylogenetic mapping of synchronic and diachronic trends across multiple regions goes some way towards addressing a criticism of reception studies for privileging national traditions at the expense of larger frames of comparison (Marshall *2006*).

The profile of the *Amphitryon* highlights especially influential and anomalous adaptations. Molière’s omission of Blepharo, for instance, leads to his complete erasure from the subsequent tradition. This effect supports the standard view of Molière as the most influential post-classical treatment of the myth (Shero *1956*, Margotton and Huby-Gilson *2010*). Innovations need not be inherited from a single influential source: the addition of Juno is a popular innovation and occurs in three geographically
separated clusters of productions (Heywood in England, de Rotrou in France, and da Silva and de Canizares on the Iberian peninsula). Certain innovations are highly specific to the adaptation and therefore do not provide a compelling model for other authors. The English farce *Jack Juggler*, for example, is the sole production to omit Jupiter - a radical break from the Plautine original and a counterintuitive element in a tradition that places great emphasis on the presence of Jupiter on stage.

**FOURTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS**

*Session 26: Spectacle and Authority*

*Title: Cato’s Triumph: Cato’s Attempt to Redefine the Roman Triumph.*

*Name: Noah A.S. Segal*

The letters exchanged between Cicero and Cato in 50 BCE (*Fam. 15.4-6 = SB 110-112*) are among the most memorable of Cicero’s epistolary corpus. Cicero’s initial request for Cato’s support for a *supplicatio* en route to a triumph, Cato’s refusal, and Cicero’s reply give the modern scholar an excellent resource for understanding the politics that went into such a request. Given the conservative reputation of both Cato and his family, and perhaps skepticism of Cicero’s qualification for triumphal consideration, some have chosen to see Cato’s withholding of support as a defense of traditional Roman values (Wistrand 1979: 24-5). I argue that such an understanding of Cato’s letter (15.5 = SB 111) overlooks the ways in which Cato rewrites Roman aristocratic values in respect to the triumph. In his response to Cicero, Cato describes an honorific economy that greatly devalues military achievement and the glory assigned to successful *imperatores*. Such a conception of the triumph stands in stark contrast to other contemporary understandings of the triumph and its role within Roman political life.

In recent years scholars have recognized that the triumph is a more complicated political institution than previously acknowledged (Beard 2004, Itgenshorst 2005, Pittenger 2008, (eds.) Lange and Vervaet 2014). While the last generation of the Roman republic yielded some of the most memorable triumphs, it was also one of the most difficult periods for obtaining the honor (Beard 2007: 198ff; Steel 2013: 220-221, 242). In a span of time that roughly corresponds with the inception and rise of Cato’s political career, we are able to trace both a decrease in triumphal frequency, as well as a noticeable increase in the obstruction that generals seeking a triumph faced. To attribute the increased appearance of triumphal obstruction solely to Cato would be speculative, but he appears repeatedly at the forefront of efforts to block successful generals from triumphing. When Cato’s obstruction (eg. Pompey in 61 BCE and Caesar in 60 and 50 BCE, Spinther in 54 BCE) is viewed through what we know of the values that surrounded senatorial decisions regarding the triumph his position appears less conservative and more ideologically innovative.

Finally, having considered Cato’s role in triumphal obstruction more critically, my paper gives a new reading of Cato’s letter to Cicero in 50 BCE. Cato’s brief response regarding his refusal to lend his support posited that a *supplicatio* would redirect credit from Cicero to the gods, and that a reputation for upright administration was a more valuable reward than a triumphal parade (15.5.2 = SB 111.2). Cato’s conception of reward undermines the well-documented economy of *honor* in exchange for *beneficium*, the ideological engine that was expected to drive republican politics in pursuit of the common good (Rosenstein 2006; Morstein-Marx 2010). Likewise, Cicero’s interesting criticism of Piso in the *In Pisonem* for *failing* to pursue a triumph strongly suggests that Cato’s obstruction of triumphal honors was at odds with prevailing senatorial values. I argue that Cato’s letter to Cicero gives us a firsthand account of the ideological basis of Cato’s opposition to his militarily successful colleagues. Our other sources focus on Cato’s tactics for obstructing others, but Cato’s exchange with Cicero shows us the values for which Cato went to such lengths in his opposition. Military achievement was the most powerful political tool in the late republic, and one of which Cato made no personal use. Cato’s opposition to the triumphs of others sought not only to undermine his opponents, but to redefine Roman values in a way to prioritize...
non-martial virtues. Cicero famously said that Cato lived, “as if in Plato’s Republic and not Romulus’ cesspool” (Att. 2.1.8 = SB 21); the epistolary conversation concerning Cicero’s supplicatio illuminates firsthand Cato’s alternate political reality.

**Title:** In Omnis Provincias Exemplum: Imperial Cults and Urban Connectivity in the Roman Empire  
**Name:** Benjamin M. Crowther

In 15 CE, a delegation from the province of Hispania Citerior traveled to Rome with a petition to erect a temple to Augustus in Tarraco. Notably, Tacitus describes the establishment of this cult as an exemplum for all the provinces of the Roman empire (Ann. 1.78). When delegates from Hispania Ulterior petitioned the emperor Tiberius in 25 CE to establish their own provincial cult to the emperor, they too cited an exemplum, Asia Minor's second provincial cult in Smyrna (Tact. Ann. 4.37). These two episodes suggest that cities in Hispania, Asia Minor and beyond were in constant communication with each other concerning emperor worship. Unfortunately, these brief historical accounts do not allow us to delve deeper into the relationships forming between these urban communities, but a robust body of epigraphic evidence allows us to reconstruct why cities of the Roman empire created relationships with each other through imperial cult practice.

Previous approaches to emperor worship have emphasized the inter-city connections created through its practice (Fishwick, 1987-2005; Friesen, 2001; Burrell 2004), though they typically focus on a singular region or province. Using Actor-Network Theory (Latour, 2005) as an interpretive framework, this paper considers imperial cult practice on a set of variable scales, from local to regional to pan-Mediterranean, to determine the different strategies Roman cities used to fashion their self-identities through relationships to other cities of the empire. The mechanisms of imperial cult practice allowed cities to establish ties and networks both locally and across the Mediterranean and I argue that participation in these different networks communicated urban status across great distances of geography and culture.

Two groups of inscriptions, one from Mytilene (IG 12.2.35, 44, and 58), the other from Ephesus (IvE 2.232-242, 5.1498, 6.2048), describe the types of urban networks created through the shared practice of emperor worship. Each case represents a different scale of networking. At Ephesus, twelve different Asian cities set up dedications within the precinct of the Temple of the Sebastoi. Variations in dedicatory formulae positioned each city in relation to Ephesus, which appropriated the title neokoros to describe its own relationship to imperial family and the rest of Asia (Friesen, 1993). The award of this provincial cult in 89/90 CE to Ephesus, a city within their region, compelled these cities to qualify their own position within this regional network. Upon founding a cult to Augustus during his lifetime, Mytilene, a middling Greek city, proclaimed its establishment to no less than eight preeminent cities that spanned the extent of the Mediterranean, half of which belong to western provinces. These chosen cities represented Mytilene’s aspirational approach to networking and were intended to demonstrate the imperial scope of its connections. Such a network perspective begins to break down the prior dichotomy between eastern and western developments in imperial cult practice and replaces it with a dialogue amongst an empire of cities.

**Title:** Flavian Restoration and Innovation in Domitian’s Ludi Saeculares  
**Name:** Susan Dunning

The Ludi Saeculares (or “Saecular Games”) celebrated after civil wars by Augustus in 17 BCE recreated Republican traditions in order to establish a series of religious festivals that would be held once in a lifespan, that is, once every saeculum of hundred and ten years. In 47 CE, Claudius assigned new significance to the Saecular Games, with celebrations calculated once every century from the foundation of Rome. In this paper, I analyse literary and numismatic evidence for the Saecular Games performed by
Domitian in 88 CE, and demonstrate that Domitian strove to present his celebration as a close imitation of the model established by Augustus, rejecting the chronology of Claudius’s Games. At the same time, however, Domitian’s Games competed with those of Augustus and Claudius through innovations that highlighted the unprecedented extent of his imperial authority.

I argue that Domitian and his advisors in the college of the quindecimviri sacris faciundis, such as Tacitus, took pains to follow the Augustan chronology of the Saecular Games in order to discredit the celebration of 47 CE. Claudius’s version of the festival was therefore set against Augustan tradition, and Domitian’s performance of the Games according to an Augustan saeculum could not be a simple matter of fulfilling expectation by following precedent: his celebration could either reduce the importance of the Claudian festival, or run the risk of losing its own significance by comparison with Games held within living memory. Yet this was not the case: ancient sources like Tacitus (Ann. 11.11), Suetonius (Dom. 4.3), and Zosimus (2.4) confirmed the legitimacy of Domitian’s Games over and against those of Claudius, and only Martial (Ep. 10.63.1–4) subtly hinted that the celebration of 88 CE was untimely. Domitian established the legitimacy of his Games by following closely the Augustan ritual sequence, and he commemorated his piety with a large issue of coins in the same year, each depicting rites that mirror almost exactly the inscribed details of the Augustan performance, but far surpassing in number those issued for 17 BCE. Some of these coin types are nearly identical to Augustan models, and a few may depict the bust of Domitian’s patron goddess, Minerva, which could suggest that the emperor introduced or alluded to her worship in his festival. References in Statius (Silvae 1.4.16–18) and Martial (Ep. 4.1) to an altar at the Tarentum in the Campus Martius, the site of sacrifices connected with the Ludi Saeculares from Republican traditions, demonstrate that this region continued to play an important role in Domitian’s Games.

Domitian’s performance of the Ludi Saeculares will also be set within the wider context of the Flavian dynasty, whose members had come to power after the chaos of civil wars at Rome following the death of Nero. Recent scholarship has highlighted the efforts made by Vespasian and his sons to establish their authority through imitation and restoration of Augustan expressions of influence: building programmes, coinage, concern for religious practices and morality (cf. Boyle, Caradice/Buttrey, Dészpa, Gallia, Komnick). As is shown, Flavian participation in these legitimizing efforts was not limited to emulation of Augustan practice, but could include innovation or even competition with earlier models, such as a new emphasis on offices of priesthoods, the association of the emperor with divinity, and Domitian’s assumption of the office of censor perpetuus prior to the Games in 85 CE (whereas Claudius had only taken the title of censor before his celebration).

Domitian’s celebration of the Games is shown to contain representative elements of imitation and innovation, which would in turn serve as a model for the performance of the Games under Septimius Severus. Despite the eventual damnatio memoriae of the emperor, Domitian’s representation of his authority through his central role in the Ludi Saeculares did not diminish their validity and significance, but had the opposite effect, conveying the message that Domitian had properly celebrated these Games on behalf of Rome.

Title: Pompa diaboli: Christian Rhetoric, Imperial Law, and the Roman Games
Name: Jacob A. Latham

Standing at the head of a long Christian rhetorical tradition, Tertullian insisted that Christians “have nothing to do with the madness of the circus, the shameless of the theater, or the savagery of the arena” (Apol. 38.4). Despite such efforts, games and spectacles continued with Christians of all stripes in attendance. Even so, Christian rhetoric seems to have had an effect on how the games were framed by Christian emperors, who needed to satisfy both Christian opinion makers and their other subjects. Late-antique emperors could not dispense with what had become the central stage of imperial political theater,
but they could argue in law that the games had been freed from superstition (i.e. sacrifice and image devotion) and were thus “safe,” not to say secular, ancestral amusements.

According to Tertullian, “rather more pompous is the pomp of the circus, to which the term pompa properly belongs. The pompa (procession) comes first” (Spect. 7.2). Indeed, the pompa circensis seems to have inspired the phrase pompa diaboli, the “pomps [or procession] of the Devil,” renounced during Christian baptism (Waszink accepted by Curran and Latham). From Minucius Felix, a near contemporary of Tertullian, who insisted that Christians “rightly keep aloof from wicked amusements, processions, and spectacles” (Oct. 37.11) to Caesarius of Arles in the mid sixth century CE, who denounced “all spectacles whether furious, cruel, or shameful [as] pomps of the Devil [pompae diaboli],” (Serm. 12.4) the circus procession and the games which followed were condemned (DeVoe, French, Jiménez Sánchez, Kahlos, and Lugaresi). Such moralizing invective had, of course, a venerable classical past—Seneca, for example, argued that the shows were bad for the soul (Ep. 7.2-5)—and Christian criticisms had about as much impact as their classical, largely philosophical, predecessors: not much (Mammel and Wistrand). Indeed, Tertullian and Novatian (mid-third century CE) argued with other Christians who deployed scripture to justify their attendance. Christian attendance at and Christian criticisms of the games lasted as long as the games themselves.

Little effect does not, however, mean no effect. The relentless assault of Christian rhetoric and the enduring value of the games caught the emperors in a double bind. On the one hand, as Christians, late antique emperors felt compelled to acknowledge, if not exactly to obey, the dictates of Christian opinion makers. On the other hand, Christian emperors and the aristocracy, whether “pagan” or Christian, deeply coveted the stage that the games offered. To appease critics and to allow the games to continue a two-pronged imperial strategy developed. First, the games were “de-sacralized” or even “de-paganized” with the legal prohibition of sacrifice and image devotion and the legal demotion of “pagan” religious holidays and, second, the games were re-interpreted as ancestral amusements (Markus, Belayche, and Soler). Such “secularized” and traditional entertainment need not trouble anyone. Though the games had long been construed as customary pleasures (e.g. Cic. Mur. 74), late antique law employed the trope rather prodigiously, in response, it seems, to equally prodigious Christian critiques (Salzman and Lim). For example, in a law of 399, Arcadius and Honorius (or rather their quaestor) succinctly and precisely summarized the legal re-framing of the games: “according to ancient custom, amusements shall be furnished to the people, but without any sacrifice or any accursed superstition.” (CTh 16.10.17, Hunt, Bradbury, and Sandwell).

Stripped of sacrifices and shorn of image devotion, games, shows, and spectacles were re-interpreted, at least in law if not also in practice, as the neutral, not to say secular, and customary amusements of the people. The games were decadent, the games were immoral. Sure. But the games must go on!

**Title:** Julian II’s Supernatural Publicist: *Fama* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus  
**Name:** Angela Zielinski Kinney

This paper will examine the role of personified divine rumor (*Fama*) and public opinion in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus. It focuses specifically on passages in which Ammianus uses *Fama*, with all her literary trappings, to publicize Julian’s successes and his ultimate succession.

Rumors are a staple of historical accounts, especially those related to military endeavors. Ammianus’s *Res Gestae* is no different. The word *rumor* appears 46 times in the extant books; *fama* appears an additional 26 times. Among these references, Ammianus also employs the personification of rumor – the classical goddess Fama – in his narrative. The notion of rumor as a divine, immortal force dates back to Homer: the first extant personification of rumor as a divinity occurs in the *Iliad* where rumor (*ὄσσα*) is called “the messenger of Zeus” who “blazed” among the assembled Greeks. References to the goddess
occur outside of literary contexts as well. In the 4th c. BCE, Aeschines calls upon rumor (here φήμη) as a witness in court and recounts the story behind her altar at Athens, which Pausanias also mentions in his *Periegesis Hellados*. In the Latin tradition, divine rumor is known as the goddess Fama. She is famously depicted in the fourth book of Virgil’s *Aeneid* with monstrous physical characteristics, among them wings, multiple eyes (as well as tongues, mouths, and ears), supernatural speed, enormous size, and sleeplessness. This depiction was highly influential, coloring subsequent descriptions of Fama and rumor throughout history, including those found in the *Res Gestae*.

A specific treatment of the prominence and use of Fama in the *Res Gestae* has not so far appeared, although other deified abstract concepts (e.g., Fortuna, Iustitia) have received attention (Lewandowski 2001, Brandt 1999, Marié 1989, Paschoud 1986, Naudé 1964). Nor is Fama discussed in examinations of Ammianus’s intertextuality and use of classical sources (e.g., Kelly 2008, Fornara 1992; Hagendahl 1921 discusses a single allusion at 18.6.3). Ammianus is absent from Philip Hardie’s large volume on representations of Fama in antiquity and beyond (2012). Kelly’s work (2008) on Ammianus’s methods and use of allusion has established that his literary allusions have political import: they are not merely window drapery for the historical material, nor are they included merely for the purpose of elevating the literary status of the work. Fama’s appearances in the *Res Gestae* should thus be evaluated in light of their historical and political significance.

This paper will examine Ammianus’s use of personified rumor in relation to his support of Julian II. Close readings of four passages will show that the goddess Fama appears at critical junctures in Julian’s rise to power, often showing up after attempts at usurpation. After the rout of the Alamanni at Strasbourg (where the army hailed Julian as Augustus), Fama subverts imperial propaganda, refusing to allow Constantius to be praised at Julian’s expense (*Res Gestae* 16.12.70). Fama performs the same job after the Gallic insurrection at Paris: she ensures that Julian’s glory is on everyone’s lips (*RG* 20.4.1). After Constantius’s refusal to share imperial power, Julian deliberately manipulates rumor (circulated by Fama herself) on his way to Sirmium, where he enjoys a splendid *adventus* (*RG* 21.9.3). Finally, Julian’s journey culminating in his imperial *adventus* in Constantinople (*RG* 22.2.3-5) is described as propelled by Fama, whose Virgilian characteristics both aid and transform him. These instances paint a picture of a goddess who works for Julian as a publicist, at times undermining Constantius’s official propaganda campaigns. The rhetorical and political role of Fama in the *Res Gestae* will be explored as well, including broader questions about the goddess’s connection to panegyric, the authority she lends to public opinion, and her role in the legitimization of Julian’s usurpation in the historical narrative.

**Session 27: Legal Authority**

**Title:** *Alia tota serenda fabula: documentarische fantasien in Livy’s Trials of the Scipios*

**Name:** Lydia Spielberg

Reliance on documents was long held to distinguish “modern” from “ancient” historiography (Momigliano 1950, Finley 1983). For Ginzburg, documents emphasize that history “[is] inevitably uncertain, discontinuous, lacunar, based only on fragments and ruins” (2012, 24). Yet these “fragments and ruins” have their own allure, as authentic, unmediated testimony through which the past can "speak directly" (Le Roy Ladurie 1975).

In light of renewed scholarly attention to ancient historians’ use of documents (Biraschi 2003), I show that Livy addresses this tension between documentary incompleteness and the elusive promise of authenticity in one of his most infamous episodes, the Trials of the Scipios (38.50.4-38.60.10). Livy’s treatment of absent documents and forged speech transcripts, I argue, addresses a desire for authentic, authoritative voices from the past to address the problems of the present. But Livy reveals such putatively authentic access to be mere antiquarian fantasy and shows that "un-documentary" historiography in fact...
better addresses moral and exemplary concerns. Livy thus establishes the necessity of narrative historiography at a cultural moment of widespread antiquarian revival (cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2008).

Livy’s narrative of the Scipio brothers’ downfall amid accusations of embezzling was long considered a hopeless tangle of undigested or even indigestible sources: conflicting traditions, broken monuments, missing records, and falsely-attributed speeches (cf. Luce 1977). Recent scholarship, however, has shown that Livy deliberately thematizes problems of historiographical representation in the Trials episode and that its inconsistencies draw attention to the "textual imperialism" of Livy’s monumental history (Jaeger 1997, Lushkov 2010). I argue that with his inclusion and criticism of a wide range of sources and documents Livy raises a still bolder claim for the importance of narrative historiography— namely, that its value comes not from an impossible replication of the past but through its interpretation and even rhetorical elaborations of limited historical evidence.

Livy’s Scipio Africanus is at once a perfect historian, whose speech can cause his audience to relive his triumphs as he tells them (38.50.11-51.13), and an enemy of documentation, who destroys the records that would have provided an unambiguous accounting of his deeds (38.55.10-12). Accordingly, Livy introduces an unusually high number of potential “primary sources” into his narrative of the Trials, only to doubt their usefulness. Chief among these are speeches that the historian dismisses as forgeries, but which purport to be those delivered by Africanus and Sempronius Gracchus, the old enemy turned defender of the Scipio brothers. Gracchus’ faux- authentic words not only promise an “eyewitness” testimony to Africanus’ character, but they offer retrojected vaticinia ex eventu both for the coming Gracchan crisis and for the extraordinary status of Julius Caesar and Augustus. This prophetic power, which reifies into concrete predictions the historiographical claim to instruct future readers, comes inextricably from the speeches' claims of authenticity.

Livy simultaneously incorporates and excludes the speeches, dismissing them as a fabula but also reporting their contents at length. He thus gives fictive discourse its due, as the composed speech with its capacity for meta-historical analysis and reflection on contemporary concerns is a historiographical staple. He contests, however, the possibility of the direct window to the past that the forged speeches claim they can offer by virtue of their status as authentic documents.

Livy’s skepticism about relics of the past contrasts with his representation of Augustus, who replicates ancient exempla with seemingly unbroken continuity, by reviving rituals (1.19.3), discovering inscriptions (4.20.5-11) and even re-performing Republican speeches (Periocha 59). While Livy does not contest Augustus’ historical reenactments, he does hint at their limitations as remedia for the Roman moral crisis (praef.9). What the historian offers, by contrast, is not reconstruction but representation, “evidence of every exemplum arranged on a brilliant memorial” (praef.10). Thus Livy’s readers rely on the mediation of the historian who selects, arranges, and even freely composes his comprehensive narrative, but Livy shows that this historiographical intervention – including the “rhetorical fictions” of its speeches – is what makes his history a more effective remedium.

Title: Krateros and the Decrees in Andokides On the Mysteries
Name: Edwin Carawan

The manuscript of Andokides’ speech On the Mysteries (Burney 95) includes three decrees from 410–403 BCE: Patrokleides’, Teisamenos’ and Demophantos’ (§§77-9, 83-4, 96-8). For centuries scholars have found these documents reliable and often supposed that they derive from a collection of decrees made by Krateros the Macedonian (FGrH/BNJ 342). But in recent work their authenticity is much disputed: Canevaro and Harris (2012) have concluded that all three decrees are “forgeries,” fabricated (largely) from clues in the speeches. In response, Sommerstein (2014) defended Demophantos’, and now Hansen
(2015-16) mounts a defense of all three decrees. Both sides assume that each inserted document should represent (whether genuine or not) a close copy from official record, something like a transcript, and that Krateros was a likely source or model for such copies. Thus, on one side, Canevaro and Harris argue that the host of defects and departures from official usage indicate clumsy imitation; Sommerstein and Hansen, on the other, find parallels or explain away the defects, to confirm that the source was a close copy such as Krateros supposedly provided. This paper argues against that documentary model on both counts: (1) These inserts are neither copies nor “forgeries” (in the strict sense) but reconstructions based upon an historical account with a particular focus. And (2) Krateros’ On Decrees appears, after all, to be a likely source for such material, as he often provided abridged versions, not complete documents.

The three decrees present a pattern of disparity that neither side has squarely addressed: aside from the faulty formalities (e.g., in the prescripts), each of the inserted documents is a poor match for the content required. Thus, as though prompted by Andokides’ comment, Patrokleides’ decree calls for the same measures as enacted in the Persian Wars, but it never defines that amnesty; it focuses on deleting documentation of old debts and disabilities (far beyond the archaic model). Similarly Teisamenos’ decree never mentions the confirmation of old laws that Andokides emphasized but, instead, describes an approval process for new legislation, “whatever is needed in addition.” Demophantos’ decree may have restated Solonian law against tyranny and subversion, such as Andokides called for, but the document focuses on an oath that Andokides does not mention and could hardly have ignored.

Changes affecting the publication and revision of statutes were indeed important for Krateros in his ninth book, but the old theory about who he was and how he worked are largely discredited. Krech’s dissertation (1888) accepted the traditional identification of Krateros, the collector of decrees, as the son of Alexander’s general of the same name; and Krech identified many of the full-text documents transmitted in later sources as Krateros’ fragmenta latentia. But Jacoby suggested that Krateros was an early Peripatetic, not a Periegete—more like Theophrastos than Polemon (followed by Erdas 2002, Carawan 2007). After all, there is little evidence to suggest that Krateros provided full transcripts. Plutarch is perhaps our best witness for the scope of the work, and he is decidedly ambivalent about Krateros’ methods. All told, the evidence suggests that Krateros himself often excerpted key provisions and explained context, within a framework describing the rise and fall of an empire governed by the people’s decree. The only fragment that transmits a complete copy is in fact a “latent” one, F 5b, the condemnation of Antiphon et al.: Pseudo-Plutarch attributes the text to Caecilius (F 2 Woerther); Krateros is presumed to be the source only because Harpokration tells us (F 5a) that Krateros identified the mover (Andron).

In sum, the fragments themselves suggest that Krateros regularly provided abridged documents rather than transcripts; he saw his project as a companion to Theophrastos’ Peri Nomon (cf. F 636B Fortenbaugh). And if so, he is a likely source for key provisions of historic decrees such as those roughly reconstructed in Andokides’ On the Mysteries.

Title: Deconstructing an Athenian Decree: IG I3 84 and the Composition of the Inscribed Document
Name: John P. Aldrup-MacDonald

Most Athenian decrees were probably recorded on papyrus and deposited in the city archives, and, like the archives, were lost to time (Sickinger 1999). A small number were also inscribed on stone, thereby furnishing some documentary evidence for the nitty-gritty of politics at home and abroad. Yet those inscriptions may conceal as much as they reveal, for it has been suggested that “we cannot assume…that what gets onto a stone was formalised and enunciated in precisely those terms in the assembly” (Osborne 2010:71) or even in the archival copy of the decree (Rhodes 1993: 2), because the citizens who served as secretaries of the council, who “must be assumed to retain ultimate control over the content of the
inscribed text” (Low 2005:106) also appear to have had “much greater discretion in deciding how to frame the minutes of the meetings they attended than their modern counterparts” (Henry 1979: 105). Such is “the status quo on the subject” (Scafuro 2003: 227), found in handbooks of Greek epigraphy and in collections of Greek decrees for more than a century (Miller (1885) 12, Klaffenbach 1957: 70, Rhodes/Lewis 1997: 3).

This paper seeks to reopen the question. I argue that in IG I3 84, a decree of 417 B.C.E., the secretary retained part of the proposal put forward by the council but nullified by a rider proposed in the assembly. Although it has been suggested that the secretary sometimes did and sometimes did not reconcile the main motion and rider (Rhodes 2001: 38-39), to my knowledge the only evidence for the former is IG I3 110, wherein the rider amends the text put forward in the proposal of the council. Most riders simply add to the main motion, rather than change it. The rider in IG I3 84 does both.

In IG I3 84 three of the provisions of the main motion put to the assembly by the council are contradicted by three of the provisions in the rider proposed in the assembly. Thus, although the rider does not stipulate that the text of the main motion be amended, it clearly amends the content of the main motion – yet the secretary allowed the contradiction to stand in the record. Now, since the decree was engraved in the same hand, we can infer that it was engraved at the same time, and thus it is not simply the case that the secretary was reluctant to modify a text already inscribed. Moreover, since the same man proposed the main motion and the rider, this cannot be chalked up to the desire to keep a record of who proposed what parts of the decree. The simplest explanation is that because the proposer did not explicitly stipulate that the secretary modify the main motion, and despite the fact that the proposer included, in his rider, language that amended the content of the main motion, the secretary did not redraft the text of the main motion to reflect the amendment. In other words, in this case the secretary, Aristoxenos, far from editing out parts of the main motion that were amended, preferred to publish them as proposed.

Thus, in the case of IG I3 84, the secretary put aside whatever discretion he may or may not have had and probably published the original proposal in precisely those terms in which it was formalized in the council and enunciated in the assembly. It will require more than fifteen minutes to demonstrate that Aristoxenos’ preference was a feature, not a bug, in the publication of decrees. But the decree, like any genre of text, can on close reading betray the principles underlying its composition. A close reading of IG I3 84 suggests that we need to revisit our understanding of those rules, and since the decree was the basic instrument of Athenian democracy (AthPol.41.2), to understand better the composition of decrees is to understand better the mechanics of democracy.

Title: Normative Legal Interpretation in Lysias
Name: Tongjia Zhang, Yale University

Drawing evidence from Lysias, this paper argues that Athenian litigants in weak cases often appeal to normative interpretations of the law. When statutory provisions are absent or inapplicable, speakers frequently construct the meaning of law in accordance with what the content of law ought to contain rather than rely on the literal, plain meaning of the statute. These interpretations are supported by three kinds of legal arguments: systematic, where the speaker extracts applicable legal principles from different statutes within the legal system, moral, where the speaker endorses the addition of certain moral restrictions on conduct to the law, and policy, where the speaker grounds his interpretation of the law in considerations of political expedience. Responding to recent scholarship concerning the operation of the Athenian legal system (i.e., Lanni 2006’s thesis that the courts aimed at ad hoc, individualized justice tailored to each case, and Harris 2013’s argument for a more systematic rule of law) and drawing inspiration from contemporary jurisprudence (e.g., Hart 1961, Dworkin 1987, and Shapiro 2011), this paper proposes that Athenian legal practice is informed not only by the meaning of statutes but also by one’s understanding of what the law ought to be in ideal circumstances.
Such normative legal interpretation will be illustrated using two examples in the Lysianic corpus. In *Against Alcibiades*, the prosecution accuses the defendant of cowardice, for having served as a mounted archer in the cavalry, which in general faces less danger in battle than the hoplite infantry, despite not having passed the legally required procedure of *dokimasia* beforehand. But the statutory provision under which Alcibiades can be convicted is highly restricted: the prosecution’s case rests on an interpretation of the desertion statute’s term *πεζή στρατιά* as hoplite infantry instead of its regular meaning of land (as opposed to naval) forces. The speaker acknowledges the peculiarity of this reading by exhorting the jurors to go beyond their adjudicatory role and to serve as legislators (*νομοθέται*), interpreting the law in a way beneficial to the state in the future (*ταύτῃ τοὺς νόμους διαλαμβάνειν, ὅπῃ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον μέλλει συνοίσειν τῇ πόλει, Lys.14.4). Furthermore, the prosecution justifies this interpretation by appealing to the *moral* purpose of law (to cultivate virtue among the citizens) and *policy* considerations (to instill discipline among the soldiers).

In *Against Theomnestus*, the prosecution argues for a general principle of legal interpretation whereby all explicit terms in a statute ought to include their *unstated* synonyms. Applying this principle to a trial on slander, the speaker champions a normative reading of the defamation statute, so that the prohibition of particular words (*ἀπόρρητα*) in the law would imply an additional prohibition of the synonyms of those expressly forbidden words. The justification for this interpretation lies in a *systematic* argument: since outdated statutory terms tended to be understood as their contemporary equivalents in Athenian legal practice, synonyms of statutory terms should be treated in the same way.

In this way, both speakers advocate interpretations of statutes in accordance with what the content of the law ought to contain in ideal circumstances. Their legal arguments demonstrate the presence of a normative, anti-positivist concept of law, according to which the validity of legal norms can sometimes be judged on the basis of their merits.

**Persuasive Authority: Continuity and Precedent in the Rescripts of Severus Alexander**

Zachary R. Herz, Columbia University

Severus Alexander, the final emperor of the Severan dynasty (and by many definitions the Principate), is largely unknown to us. The major historians of the Severan period ceased writing early in his reign, his architectural footprint is mostly lost, and the man himself—crowned as a child and killed before thirty—did not leave the grandiose pronouncements of Caracalla or the strange coinage of Elagabalus. This makes him hard to discuss. Recent scholarship on Severus Alexander has emphasized the political philosophy behind his portrayal in the *Historia Augusta* (Bertrand- Dagenbach 1990), the ideological underpinnings of his numismatic and architectural program (Rowan 2013), or those details of his administration available from the prosopographical evidence (de Blois 2006). My paper adds to this literature by considering a vast trove of material that has to date been largely unconsidered for this sort of inquiry: the 530 rescripts (legal pronouncements, given as replies to written petitions) attributed to Severus Alexander that survive within the *Codex Justinianus*. Analyzing these documents not only as legal authorities, but also as sites of ideologically charged imperial communication, reveals a deliberate messaging program emphasizing Severus Alexander’s familial and intellectual links to prior rulers in order to buttress his claims to the Roman throne.

My paper presents a quantitative study of the rescripts contained in the *Codex Justinianus*, and explains how the results of that study enrich our understanding of Severus Alexander’s messaging program. For this study, I have isolated every instance within the *Codex* where an emperor justifies his statement of the law by claiming to follow the reasoning of a prior emperor, or by noting that his predecessors agreed with him; I refer to these instances as arguments from precedent. This style of argument is relatively rare in the *Codex*; given that the emperor’s interpretations of Roman law were self-validating (*Dig. 1.4.1: quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem*), emperors were far less likely to seek precedential support than
were jurists, or for that matter than are judges in modern common-law systems. Only 58 rescripts in the Codex Justinianus as a whole include arguments from precedent, less than one percent of the total corpus of rescripts contained therein.

That said, approximately one third of these rescripts (eighteen in total) are attributed to Severus Alexander. Given that Severus Alexander was responsible for only seven percent of the Codex as a whole, it is clear that he was far more likely than the average emperor to justify his legal pronouncements by citing the opinions of prior emperors, which sent a message of both intellectual and practical continuity with earlier rulers. Furthermore, Alexander exclusively cited emperors to whom he claimed a familial relationship (the Severans and late Antonines), often with language reaffirming that relationship (see, for example, CJ 6.50.5: secundum constitutionem Divi Severi, avi mei). This correlation is too strong to be a mere accident of preservation; instead, I argue that it reflects a conscious attempt to link himself with emperors who had possessed stronger claims to the throne. Clare Rowan has recently argued that Severus Alexander refashioned the Elagabalium into a temple to Jupiter Ultor in order to position himself as defending traditional Roman religious practices (Rowan 2013: 223-33), and the rescripts suggest that Alexander’s legal regime served a similar role.

In addition to providing more evidence for the ideological program of an enigmatic ruler, these findings also serve as a proof of concept; by considering legal communications as part of the history of imperial messaging more broadly, we can better understand how emperors of the late Principate communicated with their subjects and attempted to maintain a political and ideological system that was, by the third century, rapidly falling apart.

Session 28: Time as an Organizing Principle
Title: Pompey the Great and the Value of the Past in Seneca’s De Brevitate Vitae
Name: Jonathan Master

In the De Brevitate Vitae, Seneca reflects on the lessons one might learn from Pompey the Great. Seneca frequently finds occasion in his philosophical works to mention Pompey, and as is the case in Letter 95, his purpose is usually to reinterpret the character of the Republican general as vicious. In this paper, I shift the focus from the lessons from Pompey’s life in particular to the lessons Seneca offers on the value of the past and the productive approach to history for any one seeking truly transformative wisdom. Through the historical discussion surrounding Pompey in the De Brev. Seneca shows his readers that their understanding of the importance and value of the past is wrong. Seneca raises four criticisms of the historical study:

1. It preserves destructive information (Brev. 13.7)
2. It does not understand the scale of the universe and the power of fortune (Brev. 13.7)
3. Its writers are often liars or credulous (Brev. 13.9)
4. It does not improve the morals of its readers (Brev. 13.9).

By examination of three passages in the De Brev. I will show that Seneca does not just urge carefully filtering history but a complete reorientation of the Roman readers’ approach to the past. Seneca urges his readers to learn from the past but they must establish the proper foundations for historical inquiry.

In this paper, I will first argue that the digression on Pompey does specific work within its context in the De Brev. Seneca cites Pompey within a discussion of trivial historical facts (Brev. 13) that do not in any way make the people who know them wiser. Thus, when Seneca digresses on Pompey’s viciousness within an anecdote on his first putting on games in which men fought elephants, we must keep in mind that Seneca is exploring not just the character of Pompey but the nature of historical study. Knowing about the past is not always beneficial to its students. The past contains facts and exempla which can do damage in the future if the wrong person learns them: Satius erat ista in obliuionem ire, ne quis postea
potens disceret inuideretque rei minime humanae (Brev. 13.7). The discussion of Pompey thus becomes exemplary within Seneca’s argument for reorienting readers’ approach to the past. Seneca is pushing readers further than reinterpreting Pompey’s character as vicious. He is urging a new approach to history in general.

I will then suggest that the exemplum of Pompey is all the more significant because it comes within a series of reflections on making productive use of past time. In the tenth chapter Seneca writes that vicious people cannot face their own pasts for fear of confronting their own errors. But one’s own past is especially valuable because fortune no longer has control over it: hoc est enim in quod fortuna ius perdidit, quod in nullius arbitrium reduci potest (Brev. 10.2). Later in the dialogue, Seneca says the sapiens also makes use of all times past: Soli omnium otiosi sunt qui sapientiae uacant, soli uiuunt; nec enim suam tantum acetem bene tuentur: omne aeuum suo adiciunt; quidquid annorum ante illos actum est, illis adquisitum est (Brev. 14.1). Thus Seneca enmeshes his discussion of historical trivia and Pompey within the context of a robust assertion of the value of the past.

I will conclude the paper by arguing that Seneca is not just questioning traditional Roman historiography that lionized men like Pompey but also Stoic history as practiced by 1st century BC Stoic polymath Posidionius. It is often noted in Senecan scholarship that Seneca did not write history. I argue that passages like these in the De Brevitate Vitae can explain why.

**Title: Imperium Cum Fine: The Saeculum and Post-Roman Anxieties in Augustan Rome**

**Name: Paul Hay**

This paper examines Roman discourse on the saeculum during the Augustan period and argues that Roman poets use this language, typically associated with Augustan triumphalism (especially its connection to Golden Age mythology), to depict hypothetical futures in which Rome has been destroyed, calling into question the permanence of the Pax Augusta. Earlier scholars of Golden Age mythology (e.g., Baldry 1952; DuQuesnay 1977; Barker 1996) and of the broader use of such rhetoric in relation to the Principate (e.g., Hall 1986; Feeney 2007) have noted the importance of the saeculum concept and its origins in Etruscan divinatory ritual, but have failed to account for the wider applications of the term in the Roman intellectual world. Any Augustus-focused account of the saeculum overlooks the development during the first century BCE of important alternative applications of the term, including the possibility of ideas that complicate the laudatory rhetoric associated with the Principate.

Although saeculum originally referred to a unit of time in Etruscan divinatory language for calculating the lifetime of a city (Cens., de die nat. 17.5-6), I identify a consistent discursive practice at Rome centered around the term saeculum (and synonymous terms in the Latin lexicon of temporality, e.g. aetas, aevum, tempus). Saecular discourse, the form of periodization most distinctively practiced by Romans of the first century BCE, organizes time into discrete units marked by qualitative characteristics. Though most famous in expressions of the saeculum Augustum and its associations with the aurea saecula which Augustus founded anew, saecular discourse had become a dominant mode in Roman discussions of chronology starting with the reign of Sulla (Luke 2014). When the Romans adapted the meaning and function of the saeculum for their own interests (Forsythe 2012), they failed to eliminate one Etruscan component: the finite number of saecula fated for each city.

I argue that Augustan poets exploit this saecular discourse, through which the Principate was celebrated for its new Golden Age and eternal imperium sine fine, to imagine the possibility of a post-Roman future. While Romans had long theorized about the future destruction of Rome (e.g., Scipio Aemilianus among the ruins of Carthage in Polyb. 39.6), saecular discourse makes its demise structurally inevitable (and, potentially, imminent), as the death of the city is a necessary feature of the Etruscan source. Vergil’s future farmer of Philippi (Geo. 1.489-97), digging up the remains of a battle he cannot identify, stokes
fears of life after an “overturned age” (everso saeclo, 1.500) that will not remember Rome, and is inspired by contemporary discoveries of mysterious giant bones (Plut., Sert. 9; Pliny, NH 7.16). Horace’s fantasy of an abandoned Rome (Epode 16) challenges Vergil’s Eclogue 4 optimism (Zanker 2010) with its post-human Rome identical to the city ruined by an impia aetas (9). Vergil’s Aeneas (Aen. 8.306ff.), uniquely among Roman accounts of the hero, visits a Roman site already in ruins after the dissolution of the original aurea saecula, and its grim overgrowth is suggested as the fate of any new Golden Age. The ruined Troy of Horace (Odes 3.3) and Ovid (Heroides 1.47-58) and the destroyed Veii of Propertius (4.10.27-30) provide comparanda for obliterated cities returned to a virtually pre-civilization state.

I contend that these post-Roman visions are not simply anti-Augustan subtexts, but express anxieties about the potential for a further collapse into civil war following the death of Augustus as well as the impossibility of achieving fame for one’s deeds in all of posterity. Despite praise for the Principate, Augustan poets retain an intellectual interest in the true temporal boundaries of the imperium sine fine. An analysis of Augustan saecular discourse which includes these post-Roman fantasies can better account for the range of applications of the saeculum in the Roman intellectual world.

Title: The will of Zeus and the time of the Iliad
Name: Yukai Li

The will of Zeus, Dios boulē, is a concept of particular importance to the interpretation of the Iliad, not least because it implies that the poem results from a particular purpose and is therefore fundamentally interpretable. Beyond the certainty that it is important, however, we quickly encounter two related problems: What does the will of Zeus will, and how does it relate to the agency of fate which is also at work? The latter question comes to especial prominence where Zeus seems to be paradoxically depicted as both decreeing the course of future events yet also yielding to the predestined fate of men. This paper argues that Zeus in the Iliad embodies the retroactive temporality of the poem, and offers a reading of the paradox as exemplary of the way time works in Homeric poetics.

Time in the Iliad is governed by the notion that the present is incomplete in itself and the expectation of a meaning that will only come in the future. This is demonstrated in the lack of surprise in the poem, where unexpected events are not greeted with surprise and bewilderment, but as the retroactive revelation of a hidden meaning that was already present from the very beginning. Agamemnon’s reaction to the Pandarus’ breaking of the truce and wounding of Menelaus is exemplary (IV. 155-7), because instead of interpreting the truce as something that first meant peace and only subsequently war when it is broken— with surprise intervening to mark the change of meaning—for Agamemnon the wounding of Menelaus only belatedly revealed that the truce has always meant misfortune. The retroactive operation that reassigns to events the meaning they always already had is also shown in the vignettes which accompany the deaths of minor warriors like Skamandrios, who is described as a fine huntsman (V. 49-58): the hunt and the favour of Artemis which he enjoyed in life are retroactively assigned the meaning which they always had, as that which would not be enough to save him from death at the hands of Menelaus.

This paper argues that, just as Agamemnon maintains an openness to the prospect that present events will gain a retroactive meaning, what the will of Zeus wills is the openness that the prospect of retroactive meaning imposes on the present. Zeus differs from every other character in that he wills openness so perfectly that the retroactive meaning which is to come actually overtakes itself and manifests as Zeus’ decree. This is what produces the paradoxically redundant configuration in which Zeus first seems to decree a particular outcome, and only afterwards consults his scales to find out that what is fated is precisely the outcome he decreed. This reading of the relationship between the will of Zeus and the agency of fate, which integrates both within the poem’s retroactive temporality, is thus able to supplement and to correct (1) Murnaghan’s (1997) identification of the will of Zeus with the mortality of man, which would fix the meaning of the Dios boulē and deny the poem’s openness; (2) Allan’s (2008) conception of
the *Dios boulē* as the rationalising principle of epic history, which takes epic as a totalisable whole; and (3) Morrison’s (1997) observations on the tension between predestination and freedom on the levels of the heroes, the gods, and the poet, which correctly notes the parallel tensions but is unable to explain their presence except as the creative will of the poet.

**Title: Time in the Scholia to the *Iliad***

**Name: Bill Beck**

How is time represented and distributed in the *Iliad*? Interest in this question began very early in the history of Homeric scholarship. Zenodotus is credited with having written a calculation of the number of days in the *Iliad*, a matter which continues to spark debate now more than two thousand years later. It is not hard to see why readers are so consistently drawn to issues of time in the *Iliad*. The narrator of the *Iliad* is remarkably precise about marking the passage of time, describing the sunrises that inaugurate each day, the sunsets that bring each night, and the position of the sun to indicate movement through diurnal time. And yet, it is deceptively difficult for the reader to keep track of time in the poem—due in large part to the extremely variable representation of time in the poem. While the narrator passes over the first twenty-two days in under 500 lines, a single day of battle spans well over 5,000.

In this paper I demonstrate that ancient scholarship on Homer (preserved as scholia to the *Iliad*) was on the whole very attentive to time in the *Iliad*, and I outline their methods for resolving perceived problems in the poem’s depiction of time. Their acute awareness of chronology leads them in certain instances simply to correct Homer’s usage (schol. *Il*. 1.472a, 19.141) and elsewhere even to athetize certain lines on a charge of anachronism (schol. *Il*. 1.222). They assume that the *Iliad*’s chronology is perfectly coherent and, further, that Homer intended his audience to take note of it (schol. *Il*. 1.477a, 2.48a).

Their attention to story time and their conviction in the flawless chronology of the *Iliad* generated many *zetemata* that compelled them to invent creative explanations for the poem’s depiction of time. I highlight the two most important methods of explanation: the recognition of the distinction between story time and discourse time and the recognition of subjective or experiential time. Why is the Great Day of Battle so long? Why has Nestor been drinking for so long? How has Patroclus forgotten about Achilles for so long? The answer to each of these questions points to the divergence of story time and discourse time. Nestor has not actually been drinking in his hut for hours on end (*οὐ τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἔπινεν*, schol. *Il*. 14.1) and Patroclus has not actually forgotten about Achilles (*οὐ πολὺς μὲν χρόνος*, schol. bT *Il*. 15.390); it is just that “it is impossible to narrate different events at the same time” (schol. *Il*. 12.1).

The scholia explain (what they perceive to be) peculiarities of time not only by consideration of the audience’s experience of time (i.e., discourse time), but by regard for the characters’ experience of time as well. A scholion to *Il*. 9.247, for example, justifies Odysseus’ use of the word *ὀψέ* (“late”) by arguing that even though Achilles has not been gone long, “the time of misfortune seems long to those in distress” (schol. bT *Il*. 9.247). Similarly, Achilles’ use of *δηρόν* (“for a long time”) is justified by the argument that “one day was long for Achilles while he stood apart [from the fighting], for he is very fond of war” (schol. *Il*. 18.125a).

Finally, I show that despite their desire for chronological precision, their own reckoning of the *Iliad* is often interestingly incomplete. A scholion to *Il*. 1.4, for example, disregards non-narrated days in his calculation of days in the poem, and a different scholion (to *Il*. 18.125) omits the twenty-third day (1.493-2.47) and the notoriously problematic twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth days (7.381-482) from his account. The scholia I discuss here provide important insights into the ways in which ancient readers interpreted the *Iliad*, and the questions they ask—simple though they sometimes seem—provide fertile ground for further inquiry.
Title: The Manipulation of Historical and Moral Turning Points in Sallust: A Comparative Perspective
Name: Brian M. Mumper

One of the chief attributes of Sallust’s historiographical style, across his corpus, is his emphasis on moral turning points in Rome’s history. This paper reconsiders our understanding of these turning points in Sallust, and argues that they serve as a literary and narratological device for conveying his particular interpretation of Roman history. Moreover, I illustrate that Sallust’s use of turning points as a literary tool finds both precedents in earlier historiographers and confirmation in his historiographical successors.

Scholars widely agree that in all his works, Carthage’s destruction in 146 B.C.E. is Sallust’s major turning point. It signals not the very beginning of moral decline (for this was present iam inde a principio: Hist. 1.11M; 1.7M; BC 6.1, 3, 7; 9.1, 39.3, 51.4), but the beginning of headlong decline (BC 10, BJ 41, Hist. 1.11, 12, 16M). Despite this consensus on what Sallust's moral turning points are, scholars largely have neglected to explore how his turning points may be used narratologically, or as literary devices that shape the reader's view of the course of Roman moral history. Instead, some have focused on the historical inaccuracies in Sallust’s choice of 146 (Earl 1961, Goodyear 1982, Lintott 1977, Levick 1982); others have explained his idealized picture of pre-146 history as an unintentional result of excessive focus on concordia, which blinded him to other causal factors for moral decline (McGushin 1977; sic Earl 1961). Even when general acknowledgement is made that Sallust’s “schematic” view of earlier history is shaped by literary concerns (Paul 1984, Dunsch 2006), the further step has not been taken of applying this view to understanding Sallust’s deployment of turning points.

In particular, considering Sallust’s turning points early in the BC through a narratological lense changes how we evaluate his supposedly idealizing digression on early Rome: keeping in mind that for Sallust vice existed at Rome well before 146, such a narratological approach allows us to perceive that the reason Sallust whitewashes pre-146 Roman history in BC 6-9 is to create a sharp moral dividing line precisely at 146. This manoeuvre benefits Sallust by further highlighting the unprecedented decadence of the post-146 era and specifically that of Catiline himself, who came of age in that troubled period, and whom Sallust, through narrative framing, marks as its direct, quintessential offspring (BC 5.6, 5.8-9; 14.1).

However, Sallust introduces a second fulcrum for precipitous decline in BC 11.4-12.5: Sulla’s return from Asia in the 80s. This may seem to make 146 less of a watershed moment, but I will argue this “Sullan” turning point actually reinforces the watershed status of 146; for Sallust’s addition of this “Sullan” turning point helps build the entire post-146 era in BC 10-12 into a continuous narrative of headlong decline, starting from 146 and continuing down through Sulla’s regime. In yet another way, therefore, Sallust has crafted his narrative of prior Roman history to underscore how the commencement of Catiline’s depravity in the 80s issues directly from this unbroken tradition of headlong decline begun in 146.

Has Sallust taken excessive license in narrating Roman moral history? Does his use of multiple turning points suggest inconsistency, perhaps even historiographical solecism? Comparative analysis reveals that earlier historians such as Polybius and Piso offered precedents for using two (or more) turning points to map moral change. Moreover, this usage was followed by several prominent writers after Sallust, including Livy, Pliny, Florus, and others, which suggests that Sallust’s employment of multiple turning points was considered an acceptable literary strategy by many of his contemporaries and successors. The moral turning point in Sallust, and in historiography more generally, is therefore like any literary device: it can be shifted about, duplicated, and ordered and emphasized in different ways – all according to the needs of a particular author or a particular context.
This paper focuses on the ways in which Richlin’s work has been influential far beyond Roman studies — for instance on the panelist’s own work on Greek tragedy. A fearless deployment of contemporary approaches marks Richlin’s work, making it relevant to others working on subjects far from her own. In her introduction to *Arguments with Silence* she summarizes the debate about incorporating theoretical approaches to work in Classics, and demonstrates the positive effects of using modern theory. For those working on canonical texts she presents the challenge of thinking anew about voices submerged beneath the ideology — broadening the search for evidence to include, for example, in the case of drama and oral poetry, how ancient audiences were constituted. In Chapter 5 of *Arguments with Silence* (“Reading Ovid’s Rapes,” first published in 1992) Richlin engages the hermeneutic potential of applying theoretical work on viewing and the gaze. In her concluding chapter Richlin addresses the dilemma feminists face when writing about women in the past: how are we to determine when there is continuity or discontinuity with the present? For those like Richlin who are writing about difficult subjects such as rape or slavery in antiquity the challenge is immense. Although she emphasizes the *longue durée*, Richlin refuses to be defeatist, and through her activism and ceaseless mentoring of graduate students and junior colleagues she goes beyond the printed page to educate, stimulate and provoke us to continue the search for positive change.

Title: Amy Richlin’s Challenge: erasing/tracing Roman Women’s Participation in Religious Life
Name: Fanny Dolansky

This presenter is a young specialist in Roman social history deeply influenced by Richlin’s work, especially by her *audacia* in bringing topics such as obscenity in Roman invective or rape narratives to the center of academic discussions. In her work on Roman women and religion, Richlin searches for information from largely ignored sources such as Festus’ dictionary and Italian inscriptions outside Rome, fruitfully combining them with comparative material from other disciplines. This methodology has inspired the speaker in her work on Roman social history, particularly when looking at domestic ritual. Here, like Richlin, she interrogates a variety of sources to find instances of women’s agency, collaboration, and community. The available record described by Richlin as “tattered lacework” in *Arguments with Silence* (204) can be helpful, she argues, once one accepts the need to investigate both the fabric and the holes. In an examination of women’s participation in religious life, the speaker demonstrates the value of Richlin’s methodology when researching women’s participation in religious life. She suggests that Richlin’s critique of treating Roman women as a homogenous group is fundamental, while at the same time insisting on the importance of recognizing the diversity attested by historical sources. She challenges us to try to understand how juridical status, class, and gender worked together and sometimes even against one another.

Title: Humor and History
Name: Sandra Joshel

This presentation focuses on two aspects of Richlin’s work as it has shaped the historiography of Roman women. First, focusing on three chapters in *Arguments with Silence* — the first (adultery in Rome), the second (satirical invective against Roman women), and the eighth (Pliny the Elder and folk remedies) — she examines how Richlin’s reading of the literary sources has affected historians who must use these sources to write the history of ancient women, separating discourse from social realities. Moreover, Richlin lays the basis for understanding how this approach to the study of women can serve other discourses—including those involving empire, social order, and disorder. Second, this panelist reads
Richlin’s exploration of humor from Plautus to Juvenal as providing a unique insight into the workings of power in Roman culture, and she elaborates the ways in which Richlin’s scholarly and theoretical approach to humor has enabled more sophisticated understandings of the experience of power in Roman society – the hegemony of the upper-class elite and the ways in which the lower-classes were able to speak to power.

Title: Re-reading Ovid’s Rapes
Name: Mary-Kay Gamel

This presentation tackles head-on Richlin’s reading of rape scenes in Ovid’s Metamorphoses – her argument that the poet’s coupling of violence and sexuality could be explained by the savage aggression to which Romans were exposed in the arena and by the opportunities for sexual abuse available to Roman men in a slave-culture. The panelist argues that on the contrary Ovid’s descriptions need not be read as normalizing rape but are, rather, part of the poem’s complex but deeply radical dissection and critique of Augustan Rome’s association of violence with sexuality. As this association was already present in the Amores and Ars Amatoria, the Metamorphoses was the carmen leading to Ovid’s exile, for Augustus was a careful and vindictive reader.

Session 30: Sovereignty and Money (Joint AIA-SCS Panel)

Title: Silver Coinage, Sovereignty, and Symmachia: Byzantion and Athens in the Fourth Century B.C.E.
Name: Nick Cross

In this paper I reexamine Byzantion’s first autonomous issues of coinage in the classical Greek period and how their dating can have an impact on the interpretation of Byzantion’s politico-economic relationship with Athens. This approach broadens the topic of money and sovereignty from a local to an interstate context. By so doing, this case study demonstrates the compatibility of a city-state both minting its own coinage and possessing a formal political alliance (symmachia) with Athens.

I begin the first half of the paper with the numismatic evidence. Although situated at an economically advantageous point on the Bosphorus Strait since its foundation in the seventh-century B.C., it was not until late in the classical period that Byzantion issued an autonomous coinage: silver drachms and hemidrachms on the Persian standard with other denominations on the Chian standard. The obverse of these issues contains a bull standing on a dolphin accompanied with the legend ΒΥ; the reverse an incuse square of mill-sail pattern. There is considerable debate over the dating of these coins. Many, following Edith Schönert-Geiss (Die Münzprägung von Byzantion I: Autonome Zeit [Berlin 1970], position them in the context of the Peloponnesian War when Byzantion seceded from the Athenian Empire, in which case the new coinage is a strong assertion of sovereignty and indicates liberation from the economic domination inherent in an alliance with Athens. I, however, dispute this scenario, positing that the context of alliance renewal with Athens in the fourth century B.C. is more appropriate than revolt.

As it happens, Georges Le Rider (Revue numismatique 13 [1971] 143-153) anticipated this alternative dating for the new coinage but offered no explanation for its inception. My contribution in the second half of the paper is to build on Le Rider’s numismatic work by incorporating previously ignored epigraphic and literary evidence for the reestablishment of alliance ties between Byzantion and Athens in 390/389 B.C. (Hell. 4.8.27), 383 B.C. (IG II² 41; lsoic. 14.28; Dem. 20.59-60), and 377 B.C. (IG II² 43, line 83; Diod. Sic. 15.28.3). The revised historical context, which emerges from this interdisciplinary approach depicts a new Byzantine coinage that coincides with the reconstruction of a politico-economic relationship with Athens. In sum, this case study of the first autonomous issues of Byzantine coinage engages with the specific theme of the role of money in classical Greek interstate alliances as well as with the broader study of money and sovereignty.
This paper aims to provide a comparative approach of the epigraphic evidence for instalments and for the acquisition of debt from the city of Athens by private individuals in order to understand the question of sovereignty as it pertains to the use of currency by centralized authorities. Hunter initially categorized types of loans by the apparent relationship of the state to the citizen, as well as different types of penalties placed upon debtors (Hunter 2000). However, these initial categories need further nuancing to be able to grasp initial conceptualization of the goals of the economic policy of Athens. In order to begin to understand the operation of the Athenian government as it pertains to debt, and thus questions of the Greek political economy at large, it is imperative to investigate further the way the city lent money to its citizens. Moreover, as the majority of attested cases are preserved because the individuals failed to repay the debt of the city in a timely manner or at all, the epigraphic evidence illustrates how the debtors brought to justice and how they were penalized by the city, along with the specified terms of lending instituted.

The most important conclusion that could be drawn by the examination of these epigraphical texts, however, is the way in which they portray the sovereign power of the city of Athens - the way that the polis could have potentially utilized debt in order to control its citizens. Smith 2015 defines sovereignty as ‘that dense array of practices that simultaneously authorize the polity as a legitimate association and defend its order through various disciplinary institutions’. I shall examine the political and juridical institutions that ensured the repayment of the public debt, the procedures followed for the policing of loans, and the mechanisms that were put in action for payout the debt. First, I shall seek a classification of cases which occur in the epigraphical texts and a categorization of the public debt, then I will set them in a political and judicial context. Finally, I shall examine debt as a form of obligation; the imposed by the state regulations to individuals to meet and settle these obligations; and the limits of sovereignty as an expression of the Greek polis’ apparatus and a “condition of political interactions” in the historical context and within the “actualities of relations” of the Classical Athens.

Was the currency of one ancient culture ever utilized to express the sovereignty of another? This paper explores how the relationship between sovereignty and money in the ancient world changes when a currency created by one state travels well beyond the extent of its sovereign control and becomes an integral feature in other monetary systems. In order to elucidate this phenomenon, I address one example in particular, namely the large presence of imperial Roman coinage in India. Roman trade with India, attested by ancient literary sources like Strabo, Pliny the Elder, and the so-called *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, involved the transport of Roman goods and coin to the western coast of India via sea, where these items were traded for various Indian commodities. Roman critics largely bemoan the resulting influx of Roman coinage to India, with Pliny the Elder quantifying the losses to India alone at 50 million HS/annum (*Nat. Hist.* 6.26.101, 12.41.84). Although Roman authorities (including Tiberius, according to Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.53) decried the perceived loss of coinage from the Roman money supply to eastern luxuries, ancient literary sources fail to address the potential for Roman currency to play larger roles abroad.

The enduring presence of Roman coinage in India as a result of this trade, attested in numerous archaeological finds, is paralleled by the minting activities of Indian potentates. While coinage traditions in India are initially shaped by Mauryan precedents and the Hellenistic coinage of Central Asia, the influx of Roman currency via trade catalyzes new types of coin production by Indian rulers. Scholars have largely focused on the role of Indian currencies in facilitating transoceanic trade; however, this paper
addresses the numismatic evidence from a unique perspective. I suggest that Roman coinage—as an abundant, foreign currency in ancient India—features prominently in various strategies of sovereignty undertaken by territorial states there, particularly in the first two centuries CE.

This paper differentiates between three geographic regions in particular: i) northern India/Central Asia, under the power of the Kushans; ii) the western Deccan, contested by the Western Kshatrapas and Satavahanas; and iii) southern India, ruled over by Tamil chiefdoms. In some cases, these cultures adapt or initiate currency production that rely on features of Roman money (imperial portraiture, iconography, weight, etc.); in others, they treat either defaced, imitation, or unaltered Roman coins themselves as currency, stores of wealth, or even specialized commodities. Iconographic emulation speaks to a likening between the Roman emperor’s authority expressed in coin and that of various Indian dynasts, while the cooption of Roman gold and silver coins as bullion for this purpose—sometime through deliberate acts of defacement—reflects a conscious attempt to express control over imported metallic resources. The presence Roman coinage further prompts dramatic structural changes to Indian monetary systems: for instance, as a result of the influx of the aureus to India, the Kushans begin to mint a gold coin called the dināra (after the denarius), which matches the aureus in weight, thus adding a whole new metal and denomination to the money supply. These strategies exist side-by-side with other means of expressing authority over contested territory, such as overstriking rival coinage, instituting a standardization of iconography on coinage, and investing in monastic institutions situated along territorial frontiers. In examining Roman currency far beyond the bounds of Roman political control, we can appreciate the interplay between sovereignty and money in a whole new light—such a relationship is dynamic, as Indian rulers willingly adopt features of a foreign currency designed in an entirely different political context as one of many instruments of local authority.

Title: Sovereignty and Coinage. The case of the late cistophori of Tralles
Name: Lucia Francesca Carbone

Can the study of a provincial coinage provide useful elements for a better understanding of the Roman idea of sovereignty? Are sovereignty and the right to issue coinage related?

According to MARTIN 1985, no direct relationship could be established between sovereignty and coinage in the Classical world. On the other hand, MEADOWS 2001 shows that the involvement of Roman authorities in municipal sovereignty was more heavy-handed and that therefore, we should consider a direct relationship between sovereignty and coinage in the Roman world. This relationship has been further expounded by BURNETT, AMANDRY and RIPOLLES ALEGRE 1999 by analyzing the imperial authorization of local coinages.

In this respect, the Provincia Asia offers a unique perspective, as provincial coinages were here issued up to Septimius Severus, notwithstanding the existence of a well-developed provincial administration and the use of the Roman currency as a unit of account.

By examining an original die study of the Trallian late cistophori, this paper aims to shed light on the complex relationship between municipal sovereignty within the Roman imperium and the right to issue coinage.

Cistophori, the Attalid silver standard-reduced currency, retained their pre-Roman appearance until Mark Antony. They probably served as a provincial coinage right from the establishment of the province, in spite of the presence of the ethnic of the cities where the mints where located and the local types. Their study will demonstrate the ambivalence of the relationship between sovereignty and coinage in Roman provinces.
While the production and circulation patterns of other important cistophoric mints, such as Ephesus, Pergamum, Apamea and Nysa have already been established in important studies, the study of the Trallian cistophoric mint represented up to this moment an important lacuna in the depiction of the Asian monetary system in the 1st century BC.

Based on an original database of 600 Trallian cistophoric tetradrachms, this paper offers an important contribution to the study of this intricate relationship through a new die study of the late cistophori of Tralles. This study enabled the author to establish on the basis of hoard evidence that the production of this coinage did not start before the last years of 2nd century BC and that their production went on in the Sullan Age, even after the city was severely punished by Sulla and lost its independence.

The impact of the Roman imperium on this coinage is made evident by their presence during the Sullan Age and by production peaks corresponding to the Mithridatic Wars. These elements, highlighted here for the first time, show a coordination between the cistophoric mints of the Province, apparently suggesting a sort of province-wide monetary policy.

At the same time, the ultimate municipal responsibility in the cistophoric production is suggested by the presence of control marks inspired by the contemporary Pontic coinage, which testifies for the famed amicitia between the city and Mithridates, which ultimately caused the already mentioned punishment at the hand of Sulla and Lucullus.

Therefore, the study of the production and of the circulation patterns of the Trallian late cistophori strongly suggests that, for what concern cistophoric issues, there was no univocal relationship between sovereignty and coinage in the Roman Asia. The research pursued in this paper is then not only central to the reconstruction of the monetary system of the Provincia Asia in the course of the 1st century BC, but also provides important insights into the relationship between local sovereignty within Roman imperium and coinage.

Title: When Sovereignty is not enough: Money Supply in 4th-Century CE Egypt
Name: Irene Soto

The political turmoil that characterized the Roman state during the 3rd century CE strongly affected the economic stability of the empire. The continuous debasement of coinage caused high inflation as commodity prices were adjusted to fit the new value of the minted currency and its diminished precious metal content. Subsequently, trust in imperial currency declined almost completely throughout the provinces. Even in Egypt, a province which had continued to function under a closed currency system since the conquest by Augustus in 30 BCE, papyrological evidence from the 260s orders bankers to accept the newly minted imperial coinage instead of the older ones which had a higher precious metal content.

By the end of this tumultuous century, Diocletian, the new emperor, instituted drastic Empire-wide economic and political reforms that were meant to stabilize the economy. One of these major reforms was the institution of new coinage and the introduction of Egypt into the new currency system that the rest of the Empire utilized. The effect that this reform had on the production of the Alexandrian mint, the only “official” mint in Egypt is unclear. Archaeological evidence points to a high number of bronze nummi throughout the province, hinting at a continuous output. However, during the same time period, archaeological and textual evidence point to both an increase in “illegal” coin production, manifested by hundreds of thousands of clay coin molds, and a shortage of precious metal supply, apparent in papyrological evidence. Furthermore, when looking beyond the bronze coinage, the picture changes. The absence of gold hoards or even single coin-finds of solidi in Egypt prior to the 340s further reinforces the view that the imperial authorities were suffering from a deficiency in precious metal. What did this mean
for this highly monetized local economy? The fiduciary and quotidian nature of the bronze coinage during this period represented little, if any, importance to the imperial authorities; nonetheless, it was one of the main modes of exchange in market transactions in the Egyptian countryside. In this paper I will argue that the level of interest in minting small value currency by the Roman authorities varied depending on the type of coinage being imitated, since gold and bronze currency played different roles in the economy. This could have led to an underproduction by the Alexandrian mint and forced local authorities to find a way to supply themselves with the means to support daily transactions, which lead to a widespread manufacture of imitation coinages.

The large-scale quantity of these imitation coinages questions their “clandestine nature” as well as the role of the state in both supplying coinage and controlling the purity of the currency in circulation. What can we say about the sovereignty of a state and its monetary system when tolerated imitative coinage of low intrinsic value make a functioning monetary economy possible, in part, by privately minted coinage?

**Session 31: The New Standards for Learning Classical Languages (Organized by the Committee on Education)**

**Title: Why the Standards Matter for College and University Educators**

**Name: John Gruber-Miller**

It is tempting to think that the revised Standards for Classical Language Learning are just for grades K-12. Many college and university instructors feel the time crunch of covering “all the grammar” in just one year. Many college textbooks tend to minimize the cultural content or else to offer it as random snippets that might add color and interest rather than present a coherent overview of the major aspects of Roman history and culture. How can it be expected that college and university Latin instructors add the five goals of the Standards for Classical Language Learning to their already tight curriculum? This paper asks these same instructors to view the Standards from a different vantage point: How do we make the case that learning Latin and the Classics is still relevant in the 21st century? I will argue that integrating the Standards into one’s teaching makes one a stronger teacher, that students learn Latin better, and that learning Latin (and Classics) is relevant to larger educational concerns about effective communication skills, intercultural competence, and flexible and nimble problem-solving skills.

So how do the Standards make one a stronger, more responsive teacher? If we look at why students study Latin, they not only want to learn vocabulary for the SAT and translate well, they also want to learn about history and mythology, speak Latin, read without translation, read ancient literature, and seek a new way of looking at the world (Goodman, *National Latin Survey*). By following the five Standards, teachers may attempt new activities, assignments, and assessments that go beyond the test and that introduce students to a wider range of material. The “Can-do statements,” sample indicators, and learning scenarios provide a wealth of pedagogical ideas to consider for the classroom.

Second, why do the Standards help students learn Latin better? Students whose classrooms are defined by the Standards learn the whole language—where language and culture impinge upon each other, shape one another, and create a dialogue about values and perspectives then and now. When students explore the intersection of language (Standard 1) and culture (Standard 2)—for example, by studying word clusters such as *libertas*, *pietas*, or *pudicitia*, their nuances and contexts (Syson, “Close Readings in a Latin Dictionary”)—students understand Roman core values and how these differ from our own sense of these words (Comparisons: Standard 4).

Finally, how do the Standards make our work more relevant in the marketplace of ideas? Inherently interdisciplinary, Classics can make a strong case for developing communication skills, critical analysis, intercultural literacy, and problem-solving skills, all emphasized by the Partnership for 21st Century Skills and the AAC&U (*College Learning for the New Global Century*). Standard 3 (Connections) emphasizes
the importance of using the target language to explore other disciplines. In reading Petronius or Martial, students can understand Roman lived space from multiple angles: the vocabulary of household rooms and items, commentary on social hierarchies, intertextual, parodic allusions, Roman funerary customs, etc. By considering this shared space from multiple angles, students learn the importance of approaching problems from multiple disciplinary perspectives to understand and solve problems of interpretation, reconstruction, or reception. In short, the Standards point to how Latin and Classics do the liberal arts better.

Title: Recontextualizing the Teaching of Ancient Greek within the New Standards for Classical Languages
Name: Wilfred E Major

The newly revised standards for teaching Classical languages provide an occasion to recontextualize the teaching of ancient Greek at all levels. Given the precarious enrollments in Greek, seizing this opportunity may well be essential to the future of teaching ancient Greek in the US. Pedagogical materials for ancient Greek remain dominated by a structure and approach that privileges formal analysis and literary appreciation. There is nothing inherently wrong with this, but it is rooted in times when this approach was integrated into students’ broader educational experience. The standards emphasize that language instruction is now embedded in broader cultural contexts. While this means a change for instruction in Greek, it is one Classicists are well-positioned to make. Culture classes are now a standard part of our curriculum, but we need to strengthen the connections between them and our Greek classes. Happily, newer materials for Greek are already moving in a direction to support and foster new types of connections.

While some traditionally canonical texts are no longer so central to students’ schooling, there remain many points of contact in students’ current educational experience for the reintegration of teaching ancient Greek. The five C’s of the standards, especially Communities, provide a productive framework to link Greek language instruction to areas in the educational curriculum that have deep roots in the Greek language, and the standards mean we can capitalize on students’ preparation to make such connections. Courses on mythology and the Judeo-Christian tradition routinely invoke Greek terms but Greek language instruction needs to reciprocate in this dialogue. The Greek roots of medicine and STEM disciplines are normally restricted to etymology, but the connections run deeper. Not just words but methodologies are embedded in Greek language and culture. Readings related to ancient medicine, biology and geometry resonate with students trained in the language models of the standards. Literary and philosophical texts, along with a broad array of visual arts, remain of interest as cultural artifacts of their communities and cultures.

Activities and lessons as simple as transliteration can foster the intellectual work for which the standards prepare students. More advanced activities (e.g., a broader array of readings even at the elementary level) will require bolder departures from traditional instruction in the Greek language, but the result can be a Greek classroom more truly central to education than ever before.

Title: Material Culture and the Greek and Latin Classroom
Name: Liane Houghtalin

The World-Readiness Standards for Learning Languages (2015) and its application to Latin and ancient Greek, the Standards for Classical Language Learning, embrace knowing and understanding the culture behind a language as part of the five Cs of learning languages (Communication, Cultures, Connections, Comparisons, and Communities). These standards recognize both that language offers a gateway into another culture and that a true understanding of another language cannot be attained without an appreciation of the language’s cultural context. The tangible material remains of the Greek and Roman
worlds and the practices associated with those remains therefore form an essential background to the study of Greek and Latin.

Every Greek and Latin classroom at every level should incorporate references to material culture, but college faculty often point out that there are entire courses on college campuses devoted to Greek and Roman art and archaeology and question why they should expend valuable time meant for languages on such topics. Not every Greek or Latin student, however, takes art and archaeology courses, and even for those who do, references to material culture as support and explanation for literary texts serve both to enhance the text and to reinforce the many interconnections within a liberal arts curriculum. Understanding the role that open courtyards played in Roman architecture, for example, will help the student appreciate Vergil’s description of Priam’s palace during the collapse of Troy. In addition, the typical college classroom contains future K-12 teachers, and it is important for college faculty to guide them through how material culture could be used in their own potential classrooms. Finally, including material culture in the Greek and Latin classroom will help the language student sort out issues of time and place in antiquity. Practices developed and changed over the centuries, after all, and a single period saw cultural norms vary from region to region. Military equipment and formations in Archaic Greece, for example, differed from those in the Hellenistic period. Ostracism was peculiar to Athens, while helotry was specific to Sparta.

Title: The New Standards for Learning Classical Languages and Latin Teacher Education
Name: Teresa Ramsby

In this paper I will discuss how the Standards for Learning Classical Languages, formulated in cooperation between ACTFL, ACL, and SCS, can be useful in helping teachers establish goals, implement lessons aimed at diverse learners, and find means of assessment for the various pedagogical methods they apply in the classroom. The categories of learning and assessment stated in the Standards provide a teacher with a broad view of the benefits that derive from language study, and encourage the instructor to seek a many-faceted approach to teaching language. Culture, inter-disciplinarity, reception, audience, linguistic influence, and communicative capability all have their place for consideration within a Classics program; the Standards articulate the value and applicability of these aspects to the teacher of the secondary student, the college student, or the graduate student. But in particular the Standards communicate a great deal about teaching a language to the teacher in training.

These standards, five in total (the “5-C’s), with 2 or 3 sub-standards for each, provide a helpful foundation upon which Latin teachers can establish goals, create plans and assessments, and adapt their methods to those objectives. In turn, when teachers formulate their curricula with these standards in mind, they do two things: they align themselves to the goals of other language teachers as well (thereby making connections between their Latin programs and the other foreign language programs in their school), and they provide themselves more defenses for their programs because they can demonstrate the ways that Latin effectively meets standards for foreign language instruction, despite any differences that Latin exhibits vis-à-vis modern foreign languages.

It is important to regularly review and implement the Standards within a teacher-training program. Students can then document what standard (and sub-standard) each part of a lesson plan meets, justifying and solidifying goals. Students can also design some lesson plans to meet specific standards, a useful exercise in aligning goals to outcomes. For example, regarding the Connections Standard, a student could create a lesson-plan that incorporates the aspects of another discipline. Such lesson plans can then be presented in the context of their utility to bridge gaps between Latin classes and classes in other departments. In this regard, the Standards prepare our students to enter their careers with the notion that inter-disciplinary teaching is something to seek out, and is a useful and successful endeavor. In my paper
I will demonstrate a range of exercises that students can do in order to bring together teaching goals with the Standards.

The recent and significant acronym in public teaching is DDM, or District-Determined Measures. Whether a teacher’s preferred approach is organized by grammar with readings tailored to the grammatical concept, or focused on reading with grammatical concepts tailored to the needs of comprehension, teachers are being expected by their administrators to use assessments to prove reading proficiency and demonstrate improvement in their students’ abilities to comprehend the language from semester to semester. The Standards provide guidance as to the benchmarks that teachers should strive to achieve so that their students can demonstrate proficiency and improvement. The recently created ALIRA test for Latin students, created in concert with ACTFL, is one measure teachers can use to prove student comprehension levels, but there are many others, as seen online (see a short list at the end of this document), and models are also found frequently at conference sessions for Latin teachers. In turn, national standards provide common ground between Latin and modern foreign language programs; those who need to defend their programs to administrators, or who wish to initiate programs will find many helpful formulations of the value of learning a language in the ACTFL Standards.


Title: The Queen of Dysphonia: Virgilian and Propertian Perspectives on Cleopatra
Name: Catalina Popescu

Both Virgil (Aeneid, 685-713) and Propertius (Elegy III, 11. 39-56) present Cleopatra not only only as a femme fatale, but also as a dissonant voice in the overall poetic harmony of Augustan warfare. In her work on the feminine art of lament, Holst-Warhalft asserts that women’s tunes follow a musical pattern that contrasts dangerously with the official logos. The Oriental strain in particular was accused of a magical disharmony, “not contrary to Greek logos but to logos itself” (2002).

Cleopatra at Actium is not far from this image. Both poets envision her leading her army with a sistrum (Aen. 696; El. III. 11, 43). It is not surprising that the Egyptian queen carries with herself elements of her cultural heritage, but the use of a musical instrument instead of a conventional weapon deserves a closer look. The sistrum has magical properties associated in the Egyptian world with the revitalizing powers of Isis and several rituals for mitigating the Nile (Lichtheim, 1980, 149). The queen appears to bolster her success on the battlefield by a magic item with both rejuvenating and apotropaic qualities. Virgil depicts her as a deity of the pre-Olympian disorder. Thus, Wyke notices that together with Anubis, the sistrum is part of “hierarchical oppositions” to Jupiter and the Roman trumpet (2009). However, her control in war will also depend on her ability to create assonances by tela and ferrum (694-995). The clangor of swords is paired with the subtle whistling of the arrows and the vibration of bow chords. In addition to these instruments of percussion, inarticulate vocalizations coming from monstrous dog-deities match the strident whipping of Bellona (703). Nevertheless, Cleopatra is not a good conductor of the orchestra, neglecting the signs of dissonance embodied by the two serpents behind her back. Instead of exploiting the apotropaic qualities of her sistrum to avert the hissing vipers of her Fate, she missuses her wand to “call” her troops (696-697).

Her off-key concert is finally defeated by the euphony of better maestros: Venus and Minerva (vv. 699) represent not only Augustus’ ancestry and warrior skills, but also Olympian harmony and its esthetics. The vibration of Apollo’s bow has not only martial connotations: it represents a larger instrument of percussion opposing the queen’s dissonant sistrum (704-705). In front of his threat, like a primeval entity, the queen withdraws to the bosom of the Earth (712-713). Cleopatra’s attempt to harmonize has failed.
If this Virgilian concert is literally “frozen” on the bronze shield of Aeneas in Alexandrine manner, Propertius presents a more tuneful duel. His Cleopatra is a mere *meretrix*, no longer the Virgilian elemental force piling mountains upon mountains. She barely stretches her mosquito nets on the Tarpeian rock (45). Instead of a loud growling force, Cleopatra is merely an auditory irritant, associated with buzzing pests and malaria. Nevertheless, her presence still brings dysphonia, and more explicit musical contrasts. Her loud-barking Anubis no longer faces the subtle percussion qualities of Apollo’s bow, but the commanding tone of Jupiter himself (43). Her *sistrum* tries in vain its apotropaic qualities against the far louder Roman war trumpet (41). The rhythmic tune of Roman wind instruments muffles her monotone percussion, while the *logos* of the supreme Olympian defeats the inarticulate Anubis. Finally the Romans raise their voices in song of triumph defeating her rattling with coherent verse (49). The Latin *carmen* embraces both the idea of poetic harmony and the effectiveness of magic utterance. The triumphant song mutes her tongue and charms her into submission while the venoms of sacred vipers drain her last drops of vitality (56). The Roman polyphony simply carries a better magic.

The subtle duel of percussion and inarticulate sounds in Virgil’s *Aeneid* reaches its final accords in Propertius, where instruments of wind, chords, animal and human voices mix together in an epic crescendo.

**Title: What Sanskrit Drama Might Teach Us about Music and Audience Reception of Later Greek Drama**

**Name: Nancy Sultan**

As Alexander the Great spread Hellenism through the Mediterranean to India, theatre venues expanded east far beyond Athens and theatre audiences grew more socially and ethnically diverse. Thus, we must ask how theatrical performances during this time succeeded in communicating the proper emotions to a mixed audience. In recent years, scholars of later Greek theatre have examined the problems of a more diverse audience in terms of gender, ethnicity and class, and exhort us to consider the input of non-Athenian, non-Greek communities (e.g. Hall 2006, Gildenhard & Revermann 2010, Moore 2012). The influence of Richard Shechner's broad and inclusive performance theory (1988) has further stimulated scholars of Greek theatre to employ cross-cultural and cross-genre comparisons.

In this paper I illustrate how music may have been used in later Greek drama to produce the appropriate pleasure (Aristotle's *hēdonē*) for mixed audiences, through cross-cultural comparison with music as employed in Sanskrit drama. Music, song, and dance were an essential, pervasive part of both ancient Greek and Indian drama and worked together to stimulate and give pleasure to large, mixed audiences (Gupt 1994:274). Both Greek and Indian writers on drama and music share the idea that a successful performance leads all spectators toward virtue, good character, and appropriate pleasure.

I focus on two forms of Indian drama—Kutiyattam and Kathakali dance-drama of Kerala—still performed today in India before mixed audiences. The key to success of these productions is the way they combine different emotions through music, dance, and drama to create *rasa* 'aesthetic pleasure'.

I begin with the definition of *rasa*, a key theoretical concept explained in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the Indian treatise on dramaturgy c. 4th c. CE, ascribed to Bharata. The goal of any dramatic performance (*nātya*) depends on *rasa*, which Bharata describes as the holistic combination of music, dance, and drama as received by the audience (Rangacharya 356-367; *NS* V 31-45). A performance that combines different emotions properly results in *rasa*, which thus "civilizes all varna-s (castes)" (*NS* I 1-20). I compare the concept of *rasa* with Greek *mousikē* as describing a collective aesthetic experience of music, art, poetry, and dance, tied to religious thought, and equal to "Culture" in its broadest sense, in that the entire community is involved in production and reception. I suggest that Bharata's explanation of *rasa* may
inform our understanding of Aristotle's statement that *mousikē* leads humanity toward *aretē, ēthos*, and proper *hēdonē* (*Pol. 1339a11-1340b19*).

Kutiyattam and Kathakali dance-drama share key musical elements with Greek drama. Both dramatic traditions employ songs and instrumental music to heighten the effect of the drama; music and meter were used in both to convey mood, character, gender, class and ethnic difference; Intervals, notes and modes were suited to word and action; Melodies and rhythm were composed in mimetic ways to suit individual characters, and the audiences would expect thrilling solos and complex music (*Murray & Wilson 2004; Rowell 1992*). In the *Poetics* Aristotle focuses on visual (*opsis*), plot, and character of tragedy and has no interest in *performance*; still, he states that song-making (*melopoeiia*) is the greatest of the components that creates pleasure (*hēdonē*) (1450b16). In the *Politics* he adds that rhythms and songs (*melē*) create emotions through different *harmoniai* (modal systems). The *Nāṭyaśāstra* deals at length with these same musical concerns as integral components of dramaturgy. Musical modes (*harmoniai, raga*), rhythm (meter, *tala*), and instruments (aulos, shenai), were used in both Greek and Indian dramatic traditions to convey not only emotions, but also gender, class and ethnic differences (*Baumer and Brandon 1981*).

Thus, despite the chronological, textual, and cultural differences that make it problematic to draw conclusions about Greek practices from a study of Sanskrit drama, cross-cultural comparative study of living traditions of Kathakali and Kutiyattam, alongside the textual evidence, may provide some clarity as to how the musical aspects of drama functioned in practice and inform and expand our understanding of audience reception of later Greek plays.

**Title: Ancient Greek Nomoi and Western Program Music: Some Methodological Issue**

**Name: Sylvain Perrot**

Scholars of past decades writing on the *Pythikos nomos* often compared it to modern “program music” (*Guhrauer 1875-1876; Gevaert 1881: 352; Seidenadel 1898; Grieser 1937: 70*), especially Beethoven’s *Sixth Symphony*, a famous example of program music considered the ancestor of the symphonic poem. More recently, Bélis has used the expression “sonate à programme” (*Bélis 1999: 131*). Indeed, the ancient Greek *nomos* does tell a tale, which is the program of its music. But scholars have underestimated the methodological implications of such a rich concept. The Western concept of “program music” is very general and is insufficient to describe the specificity of all the works belonging to this genre. Furthermore, the aesthetics of “symphonic poem” have changed considerably from Liszt to Rachmaninov or Honegger. We should therefore examine more closely the modern theory of “program music” to see which specific aspects should be taken into account when we seek to describe the *nomos*. Calcovoressi distinguished three aspects of program music: imitative, descriptive and representative (*Calvocoressi 1907-1908 and 1930*). Perrot has used these categories in examining the *Pythikos nomos* (*Perrot 2013: 373-416*). This paper demonstrates how Calcoveressi’s categories, used carefully, are relevant for the whole genre of *nomos*. It will use the same vocabulary while pointing out some implications of each aspect and then some methodological issues related to the Greek concept of *mimesis*.

First, imitative music consists in imitating sonic phenomena that exist in the daily soundscape, such as animal calls or even human music. The *Pythikos nomos* was supposed to imitate the hissing of the snake (*Perrot 2012*). But there are other animal cries in both ancient and modern music. Much later than Aristophanes, Debussy took up the challenge of incorporating the sound of frogs into music (*Chansons pour Bilitis*), and Messiaen spent part of his life reproducing bird voices with musical instruments. Such animal cries can reflect on the possibilities of each instrument. Although there was the capacity to put audio records of bird songs into the track, Messiaen, like Rautavaara (*Canticus Arcticus*), preferred exploring all the possibilities of instruments, much as Pythian winners must have done. Also, the soundscape of ancient Greeks, both the sonic environment and the instruments, changed from archaic to Roman times. Therefore, composers wanted to introduce foreign elements, as Timotheus did in his
Persae. We may compare Timotheus’ innovation to David’s Le désert, which featured a muezzin call transcribed for a Western orchestra. The concept of imitative music thus opened a large field for ancient Greek musicians: the incorporation of new sounds into existing aesthetics, a kind of orientalism.

Descriptive music is based on narrative: it is a musical transposition of not exclusively sonic phenomena. Tchaikovsky described a storm (Tempest), as Timotheus did in his Nautilos. We may consider here as well the relationships between music and visual arts. Western programme music has been more and more involved in the ballet (e.g. Roussel describing a spider in his Festin de l’araignée) and in the motion picture soundtrack, what Chion called “audio-vision” (Chion 1991). We may notice the same movement in Antiquity with the development of pantomime.

Representative music is the expression of feelings, which would suit the theory of ethos. Examining Plato’s texts in this perspective allows us to address differently the problem of the New Music. These different “levels of program music” (Chion 1993: 36-46) are very useful for understanding the abstract imagery of music in Antiquity, since some of the difficulties encountered were the same, even if techniques have evolved. Furthermore, the long evolution of Western program music opened the way for modern composers (Elias and MacDonald) to take on ancient challenges in their own versions of the Pythikos nomos (Perrot 2017).

Title: “Very much below the other arts of the Grecian people”: Modern Adaptations of Ancient Greek Music, 1841-1932
Name: Jon Solomon

The 1890s produced the discovery of several ancient Greek musical fragments, particularly the Delphic “Hymn to Apollo.” Describing the music as “weird” and “vexatiously monotonous, tedious, and unmusical,” even academic composers felt compelled to reorchestrate and expand upon the limited corpus of ancient musical texts. (Devrient) These efforts inspired the development of a modified ancient Greek musical idiom that would be palatable to contemporary audiences, and in the following decades ambitious live productions, radio broadcasts, and recordings targeted an even broader demographic spectrum, thereby introducing this adapted style of ancient Greek music to millions of lay consumers.

Beginning with the 1841 Potsdam production of Antigone, Felix Mendelssohn, collaborating with August Böckh, considered setting Sophocles’ choruses in authentic monodic style and scoring instruments approximating the sounds of the aulos, salpinx, and lyre. Finding this to be “impracticable,” he preserved the prosodic rhythms and irregular colometry of the choruses while offering his audiences familiar intervals and melodic contours. (Todd; Seaton) The Times described Mendelssohn’s music as “too modern and at the same time not modern enough,” but “striking by its deep solemnity.” Similarly, for the 1881 Harvard production of Oedipus Tyrannus, Professor John Knowles Paine composed in contemporary idiom, creating doubt that “any music ever heard in Athens was as rich, full, and expressive as that composed by Mr. Paine.” (Northwestern) Although Laura Sedgwick Collins made “a commendable effort to adhere to what little is known of the form of ancient Greek music” for the AADA revival of Sophocles’ Electra in 1889, neither she nor B. C. Blodgett’s 1889 Electra incorporated the harmonic signatures of ancient Greek music.

The 1893 discovery of Delphi’s “Hymne à Apollon” disappointed Théodore Reinach (REG) and Maxime Collignon, who, lamenting its lack of polyphony and violins, commissioned Gabriel Fauré to compose a harmonized accompaniment. Reaction to the hymn was similarly negative in England and the United States. Hannah Smith, for example, remarked that ancient Greek music was “very much below the other arts of the Grecian people.” (NY Tribune, 1898) Even the 350 delegates attending the 1895 Ann Arbor Classical Conference heard it “harmonized in modern style” by Gardner Lamson and Albert A. Stanley. (Detroit Free Press)
Such adaptations persisted into the 1910s, when the earliest American recording of the “Hymn to Apollo” [Victor #35279] and Victor’s home study course, “The Music of the Greeks,” were marketed. For her popular 1915 Berkeley production of *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Margaret Anglin had Walter Damrosch, conductor of the New York Symphony Orchestra, compose in an entirely modern idiom, albeit scored predominantly for flutes, clarinets, and harps. (*NY Tribune*, 1915; *The Sun*, 1915) Damrosch “endeavored to reproduce the spirit of the Greek tragedy by using freely the resources of modern musical art, rather than to imitate narrowly the letter of primitive Greek music.” (*New York Tribune*, 1918) Although David Stanley Smith reportedly derived his melodies for Harley Granville Barker’s 1915 productions of *Iphigenia in Tauris* and *The Trojan Women* from the ancient fragments, he nonetheless used medieval modes and scored a number of passages for violins. (*New York Tribune*, 1915, 1919)

A rare exception was Stanley’s *Iphigenia in Tauris*. *The Classical Weekly* declaring the result as an aesthetic triumph, commented:

In the *Iphigenia in Tauris* the Greek rhythms were closely followed, as they were in Mendelssohn’s music, but here for the first time the Dorian, Phrygian, and Aeolian modes were freely employed by a master hand and modern harmonies were avoided.

Nonetheless, commercially viable adaptations, like those in Edgar Stillman Kelley’s incidental music for the Broadway production of *Ben-Hur*, lecture-performances by Isadora Duncan and her brother Raymond, Diana Watts’ illustrated lectures on “The Movement of Greek Statues,” and Theosophist Katherine Tingley’s annual California productions of Greek tragedies, culminating in tenor Tom Nassos’ rendition of the “Hymn to Apollo” at the pre-Olympic festivities in Los Angeles in 1932, garnered public acclaim and commercial success.

**Title: The Classical Avant Garde: Harry Partch and Greek Music**
**Name: Sean Gurd**

*Dissonance* (Gurd 2016) makes the case that the remains of Greek song from the 6th and 5th Centuries BCE represent the earliest avant garde movement known in European cultural history, and invites a comparison between this tradition and the various avant gardes that populated the 20th Century (and, to a lesser extent, the early 21st). After a very brief overview of some of the evidence supporting the comparison, the purpose of this paper is to attempt to specify what it means to use avant-gardism as a basis for comparison in musical research. I do so with reference to the work of Harry Partch (1901-1974), whose life was dedicated to a self-consciously innovative musical practice that was also fundamentally about antiquity.

I am aware of three ways of using comparative evidence. In the first, evidence from different cultures is used to supplement gaps in evidence concerning a target culture. In the second, a maximally large cross-cultural data set is compiled in an attempt to identify “universals” shared globally. This approach is particularly favored in biological approaches to music: neurologists, cognitive scientists, and evolutionary theorists alike have an interest in identifying musical capacities which are species-specific (Mithen 2007; Patel 2010). The third use of comparative evidence is less commonly found, but I would argue is critically important: emerging particularly in the work of Walter Benjamin (2002) and then canonized by Theodor Adorno (1998), this method involves finding and juxtaposing different phenomena without attempting to resolve the difference, but rather creating dissonances that, in effect, generate new meanings.

My contention is that any posited link between ancient music and the avant gardes of the twentieth century must imply a comparison of the third, dissonant or juxtapositional type. The basis for comparison lies, primarily, in the fact that both modern avant gardes and ancient art music (at least before 400 BCE) sought innovation in order to achieve fresh sensation at the expense of commonly held, socially-enforced
expectations. Both were, to put this differently, systematically contrary to prevailing historical trends (Poggioli 1968, Burger 1984). This implies, however, that the basis for comparison between ancient music and modern avant garde music is, in fact, no basis at all, but a common refusal, a common commitment to having nothing in common with anything else.

Such a claim is, I recognize, paradoxical and perhaps infuriating, but it has value particularly in its ability to explain the curious and persistent fascination with ancient music among 20th Century avant-garde composers. This fascination I propose to illuminate through a discussion of Partch’s incoherent attempt to “revive” ancient Greek music through a resolutely modernist musical practice. The juxtaposition of ancient and modern that takes place in Partch cannot be resolved: rather, it generates something new from the dissonant combination of radical nostalgia and committed innovation. Points of reference for my analysis will be his major work of theory, Genesis of a Music, his settings of poems by Li-Po, and portions of his production of Oedipus Rex.

### Session 33: Philology's Shadow: Theology and the Classics

**Title:** Virgil, Creator of the World  
**Name:** Catherine Conybeare

This paper will argue that the sublimated pressure of theological concerns is present as early as the fifth century, and even in a writer long considered the poster child of late paganism, Macrobius.

‘Do you see the eloquence, marked by variety of every kind? Virgil seems to me to have mingled this industriously together using a sort of prescience ..., which he foresaw with divine, not mortal, genius: and following no guide but nature, he wove this harmony from disparate things just as if he were composing music. Indeed, if you look carefully at the world itself, you will find a great similarity between that divine creation and this poetic one.’

This passage comes from Macrobius’ great, quirky dialogue, the Saturnalia; it is the speaker Eusebius who is praising the Aeneid as a world in microcosm (Sat. 5.1.18-19). Macrobius composed his dialogue in the first third of the fifth century CE. Christianity had long been established as the dominant religion of the Roman empire; but you would never know it from this dialogue.

Or would you? The Saturnalia has long been interpreted as a backward-looking exercise in literary nostalgia, an act of reverence for the pre-Christian literary past (a nuanced version of this in Kaster 1980). This interpretation is supported by Macrobius’ unabashed and extensive excerption from earlier texts (Pelttari 2014) as well as the presence of Symmachus, purportedly the darling of the pagan resistance to Christianity, as a prominent interlocutor in the dialogue (Cameron 2011; emphasis on ‘purportedly’). Indeed, shortly before the passage quoted above, Symmachus has been cited as the only ‘modern’ writer in a list of exemplars that otherwise comprises Cicero, Sallust, Fronto, and Pliny. Meanwhile Curtius, the great scholar of the medieval literary traditions of Western Europe, saw something rather different: ‘It is clear that Macrobius already sees in poetry everything that the Middle Ages saw in it: theology, allegory, universal knowledge, rhetoric. ... The poem is comparable to the cosmos’ (Curtius 1953: 444; Cullhed 2015).

Nostalgia for antiquity – or anticipation of the middle ages? This paper will push Macrobius’ chronological reach yet further, and propose that he indirectly provides a model for readers of classical texts in the twentieth and twenty-first century. Bear in mind that Augustine of Hippo was an almost exact contemporary of Macrobius. Augustine at the time was energetically engaged in the dialogues and debates of Christianity; but the pressure from the cultural and intellectual ferment of Christianity in the Western empire, and its vigorous renegotiation of the classical tradition, tacitly shapes the work of Macrobius as well. Take, for example, his description of the reader’s approach to the ‘holy recesses’ of Virgil’s ‘sacred poem’ (Sat. 1.24.13): it is disconcertingly close to Augustine’s first approach to the bible
(Confessions 3.5.9). Allegorical readings of Homer had, of course, been established at least as early as the great scholars of Alexandria; but allegory had passed through Philo and Origen to achieve a new richness in the Christian biblical interpretation so vividly realized by Augustine and others in the fourth century. Again, could the image of Virgil as quasi-divine creator of a poetic world have been invented without the urgency of new Christian readings of Genesis in the background? Or, indeed, does the image of Virgil as consummate cosmic musician bear the traces of Augustine’s ascent to the divine in De Musica?

Above all, we see Macrobius anticipating our own scholarly practices in his concern to produce an intellectual genealogy – Virgil, Cicero, Fronto and the rest – without reference to Christian literary production. That nostalgic atheological canon is one that persists in classics to this day, in one form or another – but the very concern to create and reproduce a canon shows, yet again, its repressed other, the biblical canon established in the time of Macrobius and Augustine. This paper will argue that our intellectual heritage as classicists is radically incomplete if we continue to ignore the pressure of the cultural divisions of the fourth and fifth centuries on how we write and read and, indeed, select our objects of concern today.

**Title: Reassembling to theion: Greek religion as an actors’ Category**

**Name: Tim Whitmarsh**

This paper addresses what is arguably the single most important question for contemporary studies of ancient religion: can we imagine a critical language for analysing ancient polytheisms without retrojecting onto them modern theological categories?

That has been central to the field since the late nineteenth century, when classics’ anthropological turn shifted the emphasis away from appropriative readings based in idealism and Christian theology and towards stressing the radical otherness of antiquity. It has thus become standard to present Greek religion as wholly unlike Christianity, particularly in its protestant guise. To take but one example, Robert Parker’s recent *On Greek Religion* includes chapters called ‘Why believe without revelation?’, and ‘Religion without a church’ (Parker 2011). Yet while such tactics accurately diagnose the problem, they also risk exacerbating it by constructing ancient polytheism as merely the photographic negative of Christian monotheism.

Probably the most important area of contestation has been in the area of religious cognition. Price 1984 declared ‘belief’ an irredeemably Christian category, and therefore inadmissible in studies of Greco-Roman polytheism. Yet as Versnel 2011 has recently reminded us, the dogmatic assertion that ancient ‘orthopraxies’ could never accommodate notions of belief and disbelief flies in the face of ancient evidence – even if that evidence is not of the kind that exactly fits modern categories (esp. pp. 548-51; also Kindt 2012: 36-54; Harrison 2015). In the face of such discussion, the denial of ‘belief’ begins to look more like modern-western exceptionalism. More recent studies have thus begun to explore the idea that Greeks and Romans ‘believed’ (Morgan 2015) or even ‘disbelieved’ (Whitmarsh 2015) in their gods. This phenomenon is part of a wider shift away from the structural, anthropologically influenced models that dominated 20th-century scholarship, and towards actors’ categories – towards an understanding of how and why the ancients themselves understood their world.

This paper confronts an even more fundamental question. In 2013, Brent Nongbri argued that we entirely misconceive the apparatus of non-western, non-modern divinity when we use the very language of ‘religion’ (Nongbri 2013). Beginning with the Greeks, Nongbri demonstrates that *thrēskeia* had a very different, and much more limited, meaning than ‘religion’. If he is right, then even the study of ‘Greek religion’ as a discrete area already commits us to misreading ancient culture. My contention, however, is that he is wrong: the Greeks did indeed have an appropriate actors’ category. The concept of *to theion* or (more commonly) *ta theia* gained visibility in the fifth century. Semantically, it covered broadly the same
field as modern ‘religion’ (i.e. human institutions, conventions and collective beliefs relative to the worship of the gods) – but it also covered more besides, since it was also used to designate aspects of the nature of divinity itself.

In this paper I argue that the issue is not that the Greeks lacked a proper concept of religion; quite the opposite, to theion was an expansive and powerful model for understanding the divinity of the world. The challenge for us, however, is to understand actors’ categories for what they are, i.e. not simply as proxies for ‘social structure’. Building upon Latour 2005 (the classic account of actor-network theory), I argue that the Greeks understood better than we often do that ‘religion’ is not a ‘thing’ that is witnessed passively or epiphenomenally by agents but an open-ended, plastic field within which actors creatively and stochastically improvise their own relationship to the gods. Greek religion certainly had a strong theoretical, even ‘theological’ (Versnel 2011) dimension to it; but to grasp that, we need to move decisively away from systems and structures and towards the more agile models offered by actor-network theory.

Title: Classics in the Providential Order of the World
Name: Simon Goldhill

The study of the study of Classics in the 19th century has become a staple of the burgeoning field of reception studies for obvious reasons. Classics provided the mainstay of elite education [Stray (1998); Goldhill (2002)] and had considerable reach throughout society, not just in the literature and art of both the grander and lower sorts, but also in circuses, music halls, and theatres (Richardson (2013); Hall (forthcoming); Bryant Davis (forthcoming); Flashar (1991) (2001); Prins (1999)]. Classics, in short, provided the furniture of the mind [Goldhill (2011)]. As classicists, the recovery of the 19th-century privilege of classics has provided an important, if sometimes self-serving, understanding of the discipline and its history.

The central claim of this paper is that this important uncovering of classics’ disciplinary history has paid inadequate attention to the field’s repeated and significant engagement with theology. It is familiar that Arnold’s opposition of Hellenism and Hebraism is crucial for 19th-century intellectual self-definition [de Laura (1969); Leonard (2012)] but modern classicists in general are loathe to give theology the attention it requires in the development of our discipline – and such a repression has consequently hugely distorted the field of reception studies [Martindale and Thomas eds (2006); Hardwick and Stray eds (2008)].

In the limited space available, rather than speculate about reasons for such an occlusion, my aim is to demonstrate the costs of such a blindness to our historical understanding of classics as a discipline. It will make this case with three interlocking arguments. (1) It will show how classics and theology overlap in the life and work of scholars even and especially as the increasing professionalization and disciplinarization of classics appear to demand a close regulation and definition of each subject as a bounded field. So Benjamin Jowett for most classicists is celebrated as a translator of Plato and as the man who introduced the Socratic method – the tutorial – into Oxford [Faber (1957); Dowling (1994)]. But this represents only one side of Jowett’s life. He was most famous in his own day as contributor to the scandalous Essays and Reviews, a volume brought before the ecclesiastical courts for heresy. Jowett’s sentence – to us a tepid truism – that the “Bible should be read like any other book”, became an iconic catch phrase of the scandal. Jowett had his salary as a professor withheld for several years because of his shocking theological views. [Bebbington (1989); Larsen (2004); (Larsen (2011)) (2) It will explore how theology and classics share a methodology based on philology and critical history in a thoroughgoing and mutually implicative manner. Here the reception of the work of Wolf on Homer and Niebuhr on Livy will provide a test-case. How do shared methodologies produce imbricated fields of study? How do the sciences of classics and theology interrelate and develop hand-in-hand? [Zachhuber (2013); Grafton et al (1985)]. (3) It will uncover how the understanding of specific classical topics in the nineteenth-century...
academy are informed by a theological perspective. Here the paradigm will be the theologically-informed study of Sophocles in particular and Greek tragedy in general. How could a distinguished classical scholar could claim that Sophocles was a *paidagogos es Christon*, “a guide to Christ” [Goldhill (2013)]? Understanding the theological preoccupations of critics of tragedy changes how the history of scholarship can understand the purchase of the arguments of the past.

Finally and most provocatively, however, the paper will question how far the inheritance of nineteenth-century theology has indeed been disentangled from classics, and what impact it tacitly continues to have on the modern discipline and its argumentation. Thus this paper aims to explore how modern classics has conceptualized its place as a discipline within history, and what costs follow from the construction of an image of antiquity and of the discipline without theology.

**Title:** Theology's Shadow  
**Name:** Erik Gunderson

Perhaps when reading Macrobius we should ask ourselves questions about our own reading and writing practices. Perhaps when piously praising the Victorian greats of philology we fail to appreciate their own deep theological concerns. And what will they say of us in two hundred years? Who were our gods, and what did we mean by *to theion*? Perhaps our own tenebrous commitments make it hard to appreciate with much clarity the shadowy contours of others’ lives. Any suggestion that we might be strangers to ourselves will naturally be a painful one. The discussion I wish to provoke circulates around the question of where scholarly debates do not even exist for us in as much as our institutional catechism has mooted them in advance.

Though working under the banner of an atheistic scientism, classics as a discipline is invested in a monotheistic hermeneutic. A scientism that links knowing and meaning emerges and takes root. Supercharged-suprasensible versions of authorship, meaning, and hermeneutics ensue. The will to power folded into the genealogy of knowing-and-meaning itself gives birth to various new monsters.

We may provisionally summarize this monotheistic mono-culture as follows: the intending author, the plenitude of meaning within the text, and an intertextuality that supports the meaning-and-being dyad via a network of signifiers awaiting interpretation by the faithful (who can be counted upon to interpret said signifiers in the light of a monotheistic faith in the theodicity of the network itself, a network of meaning that, in every sense, gives these readers meaning specifically as their own meaning).

And yet there were abundant alternatives to such a situation available throughout antiquity even as most of them are continuously either killed off or rendered quaintly peripheral by the ever-active and ever-jealous forces of socio-political centralization. Bakhtin famously emphasized the ludic heteroglossia that persists throughout and beyond the classical era. The classical world is always also filled with improvisation, play, and comedy. These activities can be found at multiple levels as well: both popular culture and high culture embrace them. And, accordingly, even at the site where monologism might reign supreme, we can detect centrifugal forces. Deprecated genres and déclassé activities open onto vistas where authorial authority and culturally over-determined meaning are neither the be-all nor the end-all.

For example, Plautus is the Homer of heteroglossia: he is himself a fiction, and this fictional creature sires from mere translation new texts that are literally polyphonic in their musical expansion and sociological perversion of the original master-texts. And even within the elite domain there are productive possibilities that, while ideally suited for and targeted at normative and hegemonic ends, do not necessarily serve the same. The vanity of oratory as the most masterful discourse enables it to imagine a self-satisfied distance from the world of verse even as it both reads and trains poets. The ludic world of declamation indulges these trends to the fullest. An intertextuality of linear descent from an authoritative antecedent gives way
to a polyphonic agonistic community that explores situations and characters and problems amidst the give-and-take of the immanent performative context. More productively still the novel in its newness is ready to make breaks from monologism. The inset scholastici and their erudition appear hopelessly inadequate in both Petronius and Apuleius. Any investment in centralized normativity is woefully inadequate to living through the worlds of these novels let alone reading them.

An alternative, non-Alexandrian reading agenda has always been available, but it has always also been deprecated within the high genres as, at a minimum, a sin against good taste. Excluded from the dominant discourse of interpretation (which is also the dominant discourse of social meaning more generally) are productive themes such as play, error, misreading (whether willed or not), the abject (i.e. the unassimilable remainder of 1 a non-totalized community), and Kristevan intertextuality with its play of sign-with-sign and text-with-text instead of the allusive model wherein we find the concatenation of author-and-author linked together along paths of intending-and-meaning.

Philologists have been slow to feel the wounds that have afflicted humanistic vanity so grievously: names like Darwin, Marx, and Freud are not allowed to supplant ones like Plato, Callimachus, or Vergil. Nevertheless, what if god were dead? Mightn’t that itself be a bit of good news, news capable of quickening a number of otherwise lifeless texts?

FIFTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS
Session 34: What’s in a Name?
Title: An Ennian inscription for a statue of Cato in Plutarch’s Cato Maior
Name: Jackie Elliott

This paper proposes that the inscription at the base of the statue of Cato the Elder in the Temple of Salus, of which we hear via Plutarch, is mediated via famous lines from Ennius’ Annales.

Chapter 19 of Plutarch’s Cato Maior describes conflicting élite and popular responses to Cato’s censorship: as Plutarch has it, while the élite’s response was one of opposition, the people’s was one of admiration, and it culminated in the erection of a statue of Cato in the Temple of Salus on the Quirinal. Plutarch reports that the statue bore a Latin inscription, to which he implies he had access—although we know that the Temple of Salus burnt down in the reign of Claudius (Pl. HN 35.19). Plutarch remarks on the inscription’s extraordinary terms: it didn’t, he writes, record Cato’s military commands or his triumph but instead bore the words that Plutarch renders thus in Greek: ἧτον Ἡρωαίων πολιτείαν ἐγκεκλιμένην καὶ ῥέπουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον τιμητῆς γενόμενος χρηστὰς ἁγωναῖς καὶ σώφροσιν ἐθισμοῖς καὶ διδασκαλίαις εἰς ὀρθὸν ἀμφοτέρους εἰς ὀρθὸν ἀποκατέσησε (Plut. Cato Maior 19.3).

Plutarch’s report is in various aspects incredible. It is far from certain that the statue was erected in Cato’s own lifetime (Kienast 1954: 87, Fraccaro 1957i: 435, Astin 1978: 103, n. 89; contra Papini 2004: 366-7; Vessberg 1941: 44 and Gruen 1992: 122 simply accept the implication of Plutarch’s narrative that the statue was contemporary with Cato, while Richardson 1992: 341 leaves the question open). The language as Plutarch has it is characterized by a certain redundancy: the crisis of the state receives double expression (ἐγκεκλιμένην; ἐπι τὸ χείρον), while Cato’s salutary response is described threefold (χρηστὰς ἁγωναῖς; σώφροσιν ἐθισμοῖς; διδασκαλίαις) (Sehlmeyer 1999: 147). Strange too is the rejection, noted by Plutarch, of mention of Cato’s achievements and his triumph in favour of his ethical response to the alleged crisis of state—a crisis that some have found hard to attribute to Cato’s lifetime (Sehlmeyer loc. cit.; although, in the context of Plutarch’s account of Cato’s censorship, it seems best interpreted as a moral crisis of Cato’s own construction).
This paper proposes that the inscription as Cato has it is best interpreted by reference to Ennius’ famous lines on Fabius Maximus Cunctator: unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem. / noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem. / ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret (Ann. 363-5 Sk.). Fabius, under whom Plutarch reports Cato served, is an explicit model for Cato from early in Plutarch’s text (Cato Maior 3.5: τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸν βίον ὡς κάλλιστα παραδέχεται ἀπόθεμενος), making the compliment effected by the Ennian allusion one Plutarch’s Cato would have appreciated. Such a Fabian compliment would have been all the more appropriate in the context of the Temple of Salus, where the paintings of C. Fabius Pictor adorned the walls (Val. Max. 8.14.6; Pl. HN 35.19). Again, the prominence of the notion of salus in Ennius’ language underwrites the relevance of the Ennian verses to a statue placed in the Temple of Salus. The notion of a crisis of state that Cato remedied (τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν ἐγκεκλιμένην καὶ ῥεπουσαν . . . εἰς ὀρθὸν αὖθις ἀποκατέσησε; cf. Ennius’ restituit rem) also has a firmer foothold when it is set into the Hannibalic crisis that Ennius’ Fabian lines draw to mind. The ensuing section of Plutarch’s text (19.4) describes Cato’s habitual insistence that true glory in the form of men’s silent recognition of his contributions was in his eyes preferable to the common tokens of public esteem popularly sought; to which too Ann. 364-5 offers an analogy. After thus exploring the inscription’s proposed allusion to Ennius, the paper goes on to consider possible contexts for the statue and its inscription, including one at the end of the Republic, in that blurring and elevation of the two most famous Catoes that takes place in the wake of the suicide of the younger at Utica in 46 BCE.

Title: Counting to One: A Step toward Understanding the Homeric hapax ezeugmena
Name: James H. Dee

The Homeric hapax ezeugmena (noun-epithet combinations that occur only once) are an important element in epic composition; they were gathered in a section called “Repertory II: Frequency Lists” in Iuncturae Homericae (Dec 2010) but left without further analysis. This paper will examine from several different perspectives this category, which, perhaps surprisingly, comprises almost two-thirds of the 6005 iuncturae in the epics, concentrating on certain types of expressions and assessing their significance for the “oral-formulaic theory,” the most extreme forms of which suggested that the entirety of the two poems was formulaic. That is a position few would endorse now, but the sheer mass of these hapaxes requires attention; the ca. 4000 two-unit phrases together with “entrained” prepositions, particles, and other little words, must account for more than 10,000 of the 200,000 words in the corpus—a quantity that strongly implies the possibility of “coinage” by the poet.

Because of the obvious impossibility of dealing in detail with each of ca. 4000 hapaxes in a fifteen-minute paper, the focus will be on a few specific avenues of approach. One is the “degree of formularity,” culling from the full set those that exhibit parallelisms or analogies with established formulas. The linkage may be metrical (occupying identical cola) or semantic (serving as near-synonyms or variants). At the opposite end of the spectrum are expressions that seem like improvisations or at least appear formed for a specific and unique context—and thus deserve consideration as coinages. If one of the words in the iunctura is a hapax legomenon (extensively studied in Kumpf 1984), a relatively rare occurrence within the four-thousand-member set, that fact might increase the probabilities; but most of the phrases in question are harder to evaluate. A third category that needs examination are those iuncturae that might be called “vanilla,” since they have a generic or “all-purpose” quality that might lead us to expect more than a single instance in more than 27,000 hexameters. Some of these are, or are part of, elements labelled “under-represented formulae” (Hainsworth 1968 and the Cambridge and Oxford commentaries). No broad generalizations can be drawn from such select subsets, but there will be an overview of the rôle of this category as a critical element in the Homeric narrator’s toolbox.

The paper will conclude with some observations based on the particular examples given and will describe a larger and more challenging project that would attempt to gather and organize, not phrases or formulae, but full syntactical units (sentences anchored by a main indicative verb), as a way of reaching a deeper
understanding of the nature of Homeric narrative at the level that matters most, viz. the minimum core of the epic composer’s technique, the complete independent utterance. A tentative beginning appeared three decades ago (Visser 1987), but there is a rich vein waiting to be explored. A handout will offer a summary of the paper’s principal data and a catalogue of the *iuncturae* that are discussed.

**Title: The Utility and "Hellenization” of Personal Names in Hellenistic Uruk**

**Name: Christopher D. Bravo**

My project is an investigation of the names and identity markers from the city of Uruk during the Hellenistic period (the 4th–2nd centuries BCE). Uruk, an ancient city in southern Babylonia (modern Iraq), was a vibrant community near the center of the Seleucid Empire, a kingdom founded after the conquests of Alexander the Great and ruled by a line of Macedonian kings. This kingdom serves as an instructive case study of multiculturalism and cultural hybridity, since the ruling class adapted and incorporated their own societal practices with those of the local communities. My project looks at one corpus of documents from within this large empire and yields insights into the phenomena of cultural interactions. As a result of archaeological excavations in Uruk that took place during the late-19th and 20th centuries, scholars have access to nearly a thousand clay tablets from Hellenistic Uruk. The contents of these tablets include not only administrative and legal records of the day-to-day activities of the city’s populace, but also the religious, literary, and astronomical practices of the city’s literate elite. Within these Akkadian-language documents are the names of people living, working, and conducting business within Uruk, and as I demonstrate in this project, a name can say a lot.

In this period, typical Babylonian name formulations included a person’s personal name, their father’s name, their grandfather’s name, and their clan name. In exceptional cases, these formulations also included more generations of ancestors, an ethnic designation, or an occupation (e.g. priest or fisherman). Most legal texts included up to fifteen individuals with this degree of personal and familial data. In my project, I catalog every individual named in each document from Hellenistic Uruk. My corpus, which includes over 700 texts, contains nearly 10,000 individuals whose professional and economic activities spanned two centuries. I catalog each of these personal names in a digital database, and with the completed dossier of personal names, I reconstruct family trees that span several generations of the city’s elite and merchant classes. These reconstructions require the restoration of damaged texts, the discernment of people with identical names, and the association of analogous individuals who appear in multiple scattered documents. This work requires the untangling of thousands of people, but benefits greatly from the use of a digital database, which allows for instantaneous filtering and indexing of data.

This project results in a prosopography, or a catalog of the numerous individuals that made up Hellenistic Urukean society. A person’s economic activities, documents composed, and familial relations are included in each entry. Every person’s entry also includes the name’s variant orthographies, text and line citations, and associated seal impressions. This foundational work allows me to investigate more fully the diachronic trends of cultural change, which not only comprises my project's analysis, but also the starting point for much of my future research. Given names in this period included several linguistically Greek names in addition to the more expected dossier of Babylonian and West Semitic names. Although name-giving practices are almost never explicitly described in these documents, through the careful analysis of family lines and their wider kin groups, I deduce patterns of name-giving and name preferences. With this information, I illuminate issues of cultural hybridity as they are reflected in the realm of identity creation. Did Urukean society reflect the notion of “Hellenization” (the wholesale adoption of Greek culture by non-Greek cultures) that some previous scholars have positioned as the *de facto* mode of cultural interaction in the Hellenistic period in western Asia? I demonstrate that more complex and variable modes of identity creation occurred in Hellenistic Uruk. In essence, my project allows for a fuller look at a society in a period of transformation through its people’s most basic marker of identity—their names.
Title: The Etymology and Origins of Aphrodite
Name: Craig Jendza

There is no satisfactory account for the etymology of the name Aphrodite that provides a plausible linguistic explanation and accounts for her connections to goddesses of the Near East: Astarte, Ishtar, and Inanna. The various attempts to derive Aphrodite from Indo-European (Janda 2010; Mallory and Adams 1997) are necessarily committed to Indo-European speakers migrating from their homeland to Greece accompanied by a goddess named Aphrodite. This explanation is problematic for two reasons: 1) the name Aphrodite does not appear in Linear B texts as it should if the goddess was present in Greece at that time and 2) there is strong evidence that the goddess’s appearance in Greece was the result of a cultural adoption from the Near East. Attempts to reconcile these facts by treating Aphrodite’s name as a borrowing from Phoenician, meaning ‘she of the villages’ (West 2000), are equally dubious, as ‘she of the villages’ has little to do with the nature of Aphrodite, making the semantic connection tenuous at best.

I propose that Aphrodite’s name was originally an unattested epithet Ἀφραδίτη* that was subsequently altered to the canonical Ἀφροδίτη on analogy with the word ἄφρος ‘foam’, attested in Hesiod’s ἄφρογενής ‘foam-born’ (Theogony 196), which reflects a contemporary etymology drawn from a widely known story about Aphrodite’s birth from foam (Theogony 188-200; Homeric Hymn 6.5, Plato Cratylus 406c-d). Furthermore, I suggest that Ἀφραδίτη* originally meant ‘the one associated with mindlessness’ on the following analysis: 1) the PIE *-teh2 suffix signifying ‘one associated with’ (cf. ὁπλίτης ‘one associated with the ὰπλόν [shield] = hoplite’), and 2) the Greek word ὀφραδία ‘mindlessness’, formed from the alpha-privative and the PIE root *gwhren- ‘think’. Lastly, I assert that the creation of the name Ἀφραδίτη* occurred at some point during the Dark Ages (Budin 2004), and since the name described a distinctly female goddess, it avoided the Greek-internal addition of the masculine –ς (cf. Latin nauta and Greek ναύτη-ς), and maintained its status as a feminine first declension noun.

The semantics of Aphrodite as ‘one associated with mindlessness’ accords with the earliest depictions of the goddess in Greek literature, where she is frequently described in terms of her ability to make gods and mortals lose their ‘minds’ (φρένες, derived from the same root *gwhren- ‘think’ that I propose occurs in Ἀφραδίτη*). In the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, Aphrodite is so powerful that there are only three divinities (Athena, Artemis, and Hestia) whose φρένες she cannot control (HHAph 7, 33), and she can even deceive the φρένες of Zeus (HHAph 38). In a retaliatory usurpation of her power, Zeus causes Aphrodite to be struck in her φρένες with love for Anchises (HHAph 57). Later on in the poem, those associated with the love of Aphrodite feel deep emotions in their φρένες: for example, when Eos abducted Tithonus out of love, she lost the ability to think in her φρένες (HHAph 223). Elsewhere, at Iliad 3.442, Aphrodite’s presence causes love for Helen to envelop Paris’ φρένες. Aphrodite consistently generates ὀφραδία in those around her, and this seems to be an essential trait of her divine nature. It is reasonable that there would be an epithet associated with such a salient feature of Aphrodite, and Ἀφραδίτη* is a plausible candidate, as it literalizes the action she is so strongly associated with - the loss of control over one’s φρένες.

This argument provides an account for how Greek speakers, in a particular place and time, adopted a foreign divinity from the Near East and gave her an epithet based off of what they perceived to be salient features of her divine nature: Ἀφραδίτη* ‘the one associated with mindlessness’, and only later was this obscured by the connection that Hesiod and others made with ἄφρος ‘foam’. Still, this ‘mindless’ aspect of Aphrodite’s character permeates early Greek literature. This paper, then, makes a contribution to scholarship at the nexus of linguistics, religion, and archaic Greek literature.
In 1967 Louis Zukofsky made a poetic rendering of Plautus’ *Rudens*, which he incorporated into his a long poem “A” as the twenty-first of its twenty-four sections. This paper offers an introduction to “A”-21 aimed at classicists. Zukofsky’s “transliteration” (his term) of Plautus’ comedy is less well known than the complete *Catullus* he made in collaboration with Celia Zukofsky. It is also less easy to describe and evaluate, both as a poem and in relation to what, on the ordinary translation model, would be called its source text. Barry Ahearn, in the first full length critical study of “A”, asserted that to call “A”-21 “a translation expands that term beyond recognizable bounds,” suggesting instead that Zukofsky had used the text of *Rudens* as a “template” and a “frozen language on which he could play variations” (Ahearn 1983: 176).

More recently, in an essay referenced by Zukofsky’s biographer Mark Scroggins as “the definitive discussion” (Scroggins 2007: 540) and on which the present paper will expand, David Wray has described and in part elucidated the “ruthless concision” of “A”-21’s poetic form (Wray 2004/5: 58). Unlike the Zukofskys’ *Catullus*, where each Latin verse was rendered with a verse of matching syllable count (plus or minus one syllable) made out of English words chosen to follow the sound of Catullus’ Latin words at least as much as their sense, “A”-21 is not a “homophonic” translation of Plautus’ *Rudens* in anything like the ordinary understanding of that term. What Zukofsky does in “A”-21, instead, is (most often) to echo the sound of a single Latin word or accented syllable, as if capturing only the climactic note of a musical phrase, or sketching with a few strokes of a pencil the physical attitude and energy of a model’s musculature.

This (1) “experimental” and rigorously tight constraint of accounting for each verse of *Rudens* with a line of exactly five words, combined with (2) the exploratory hyperattention with which Zukofsky had to comb the phonic surface of each Latin line (once he had construed it with the help of Paul Nixon’s Loeb translation) in order to “ping” what he took as its high point, and modulated through (3) a poetic consciousness steeped in the study of Shakespeare and Spinoza (among other poets and thinkers): these three elements conspire to give “A”-21 a wild dictional tone and feel that is also wildly cerebral, the way poetry might sound if every line of it were a crossword puzzle clue. At moments, Zukofsky seems to make his translation thematize precisely the set of quirky, almost mathematical qualities that inhere in its language.

For example, when Polly and Amabel (Plautus’ Palaestra and Ampelisca) end one of their pleas for safety with a *captatio benevolentiae* focused on their disheveled post-shipwreck appearance—“don’t be angry, we’re virgin / whatever bit unwashed we appear”—their speech suddenly veers all the way out of homophonic resonance with the Latin and all the way into a limpid clarity of sense. Here it is as if the translator-poet is momentarily speaking to his reader/hearers in a metapoetic, metadramatic, and programmatic aside. The verses themselves are as if they are begging you, their reader or hearer, for safe haven in the sanctuary of your mind’s ear. And when Track (Plautus’ Trachalio) answers the women’s plea with an intercessory prayer to Venus, his first line—“Venus, I believe they’re intelligent!”—corresponding to (and echoing, with ecstatic polyglot hilarity), but not exactly translating, Plautus’ *Venus, aequum has petere intelligo*, at *Rudens* 702)—it is as if the approving nod of the goddess (and the reader’s assent) is being called down on the space in his poetry that Zukofsky has opened up in “A”-21 for a dance of the intellect to a tune called by Plautus.
Plautus’ *Rudens* was an especially apt choice for Louis Zukofsky’s eccentric manner of translation (Zukofsky 1967), as its fascinating mixture of comedy and melodrama, its lively stage action, its metrical/musical variety, and its exuberant sound play combine to make it unique in the Plautine corpus. After a brief introduction to the play, this paper describes how these features work together in the passage chosen for performance at this workshop: lines 615-705.

In keeping with the tone of the play as a whole, the action and language of 615-705 are unusually melodramatic for Plautus: Trachalio, after seeing the pimp Labrax attack the women Palaestra and Ampelisca inside the shrine of Venus, pleads first with the *Cyrenenses populares* in general and then with Daemones in particular for help. As Daemones and his slaves enter the shrine Palaestra and Ampelisca come out and take refuge on an altar, refusing to be consoled by Trachalio’s promise to protect them. Yet even in this most melodramatic of scenes, Plautus never lets the seriousness overwhelm comedy. Before he agrees to help, Daemones banters with Trachalio; and even after the two fleeing women enter, the seriousness of their laments is undercut by Trachalio’s rather inept interjections and the audience’s awareness that their danger has in fact just come to an end.

*Rudens* offers an unusual amount of lively motion, which Zukofsky would have noted in Nixon’s translation; indeed, the play has so much movement to music that it has been called a “dance drama” (Moore 2012). Lines 615-705 feature some of the play’s most energetic movement: Trachalio runs on stage and must move violently as he implores help from anyone within earshot. He probably falls down before the knees of Daemones (635). When Daemones calls upon his *lorarii*, they move swiftly across the stage as a group and enter the shrine with Daemones. Almost immediately, the audience would witness Ampelisca and Pardalisca entering from the same doorway through which Daemones and the *lorarii* have just exited. They move frantically and uncertainly for a number of verses until Trachalio admonishes them to run to the altar. Trachalio then probably moves back across the stage to the shrine as he concludes the passage with a prayer to Venus.

The passage’s unusual metrical variety suggests that this part of *Rudens* was extraordinary musically as well as visually (Beare 1964, Questa 1995, Moore 2016). Before the passage begins, Daemones had been speaking iambic senarii. Trachalio enters with trochaic septenarii, thus beginning music (615). Palaestra enters singing a polymetric *canticum* consisting primarily of cretics (664), echoing the rhythms she used in her earlier lament that opened the music of the play (185ff.). Ampelisca and Trachalio continue the cretics in their initial dialogue with Palaestra, underlining musically the affinity of the three characters (676-681). Refusing to be consoled, Palaestra switches the meter to iambic septenarii (682), which remain throughout the rest of the passage. This switch is an example of a pattern that occurs throughout *Rudens*: moving from lyrics, characters sing iambic septenarii instead of the more expected trochaic septenarii. Because of their conspicuous association with comedy (Varro, *De serm. lat.*, fr. 39 Funaioli), the iambic septenarii help to maintain the comic tone in the midst of the unusually melodramatic action.

Moving his eyes from Nixon’s English to the Latin on the left side of each Loeb page, Zukofsky would have heard in this passage—and throughout *Rudens*—a great deal of sound play that he would have found most congenial. The best example comes at the opening of the scene, where Trachalio’s assonance and alliteration are “over the top” even by Plautine standards, reaching their peak at 617-618, which overflow with “p”s:

>ferte opem inopiae atque exemplum pessumum pessum date.
vindicate, ne inpiorum potior sit pollutia.
If there was a consensus among readers of the corpus of wisdom literature, it is that a proper understanding of these texts requires interpretation. For Gregory the Great (d. 604), one of the earlier writers on wisdom literature, this drive often took the traditional form, commentaries composed in the form of a treatise such as the monumental Moralia in Iob and In Canticum Canticorum. In this paper I shall give a reading of another text attributed to Gregory, the Dialogues, and argue that Book IV of this work can be better understood when read as a commentary on both the meaning and the literary form of a difficult passage from Ecclesiastes: *uiuentes enim scint se esse morituros; mortui vero nihii nowerunt amplius, nec habent ultra mercedem, quia obliuionis tradita est memoria eorum* (9:5, but also all of Chapter 9 in general).

The Dialogues are a complex text. Divided into four books, their aim was similar to standard hagiographical themes, to provide an exposition of the lives of the saints (in this case, those who had dwelt in Italy), which would serve as models for emulation by pious devotees, but also as reminders of the great distance separating the holy saints from their not-so-holy readers and listeners. In response to Peter’s (Gregory’s sole interlocutor throughout the Dialogues) fears expressed at the conclusion of Book III (III.38.5) that the soul was extinguished at the death of the body, Gregory begins Book IV with a discussion of Ecclesiastes. The reader of Ecclesiastes, Gregory says, can gravely misunderstand this text if he does not realize that Solomon has adopted the erroneous viewpoints of his students as a pedagogical strategy (IV.4.1ff). In regards to chapter 9, the uninformed reader might believe (incorrectly) that the soul is mortal and perishes when the body dies. This alarming problem requires clear interpretation. To combat this difficulty, the author of the Dialogues untangles the ventriloquized voices spoken through the single persona of Solomon in Ecclesiastes by dividing them between the two interlocutors of the dialogue, a clever usage of *ex utraque parte* as a means of clarification of the form of Ecclesiastes. Gregory adopts the voice of the teacher, while Peter voices the fears of the ignorant (cf. *Petrus: Sed queso te ut me aequanimitier feras, si ipse quoque apud te more Ecclesiastis nostri infirmantium in me personam suscepero*, IV.4.9), so that his readers might avoid the pitfalls the reader of Ecclesiastes might not. The rest of Book IV represents a commentary on the meaning of Ecclesiastes 9, including extensive arguments for the immortality of the soul, some of which will be discussed over the course of my paper.
transform ancient wisdom. Indeed, the *Distichs* come to be a sort of architecture or substrate on which to build new ethical and sapiential works. One should begin a history of this commentary tradition with the Carolingians, with the glossing of Remigius of Auxerre and the accessus, the latter in all probability reflecting the late antique schools (as does the dedicatory *epistula*). But for the sake of offering a robust comparison, I leap to the end of the middle ages, when Erasmus wrote a commentary that he hoped would supplant two very successful late fourteenth century commentaries, those of Philip of Bergamo and Robert of Euremodio. In finding fault with his medieval predecessors’ ethical understanding Erasmus was trying to open an unbridgeable gap in philological method certainly but also in the ethical understanding and application of the text. His method will not be so modern or novel as he pronounces.

My method will be to present what Erasmus says of his predecessors, characterize their commentaries, and compare Erasmus and Robert treating a single passage. Of Philip Erasmus wrote uncharitably *ineptissime philosophatur*. More particularly he does not like and certainly does not follow the adducing of parallels from Christian literature. His philology returns the *Distichs* to its historical milieu. In so doing he made the *Distichs* again an early school text, one of those preliminary texts we have students read. I will describe not simply Erasmus’ *animus* in abusing his printed competition in the field of Christian education but how in practice his commentary tried to educate the reader in a new, self-styled critical theology. Still the *Distichs*’ great tradition as sapiential literature did influence him, but not in the edition of the *Distichs*. The *Adagia* in some formal ways, including the production of miniature discursive essays as showpieces for what you are to do with a sententia, reprises the expansive mode of the old commentaries.

**Title: The Sources of Wisdom: Robert Holcot’s Political Theology**

**Name: Erin Walsh**

The Dominican preacher, exegete, and philosopher, Robert Holcot (b. circa 1290) trained at Oxford and there completed his regency (c. 1338). At this point in his career he became acquainted with Richard de Bury, the bishop of Durham and scholar often credited with composing the *Philobiblion*. His relationship with the house of Richard de Bury provided Holcot access to classical texts which feature prominently in his later commentary on the *Twelve Prophets*. Drawing upon these same resources, Holcot composed a commentary on the book of Wisdom that became a “bestseller” in the medieval world. This text, *Postilla super librum Sapientiae*, was readily found in any well-curated 15th century European library, and survives in 175 manuscripts and over twelve incunabula spread across Europe. Rarely commented on, the book of Wisdom becomes in Holcot’s hands the raw material for constructing an elaborate scaffold for building a political theology that is deeply informed by pre-Christian authors and Roman political sensibilities.

Frequent extra-biblical allusions were a feature of fourteenth century writing as a strategy to entice readers. This feature of Holcot’s sermons on Wisdom has been characterized as merely decorative. The premise of the present project is to challenge this characterization of Holcot’s engagement with classical sources and to highlight the explanatory work that these pre-Christian texts do within the sermons. Within the first two sermons, Holcot painstakingly sets out the purpose of the book of Wisdom, and classical texts are invoked as part of a genealogy for *sapientia* that becomes fully realized in the Incarnation.

The evolutionary model, however, does not lead Holcot to dispense with “pagan” voices, but he repeatedly returns to the texts of Cicero and Seneca for insight into political and social structures. Holcot is particularly concerned with highlighting the importance of this book for rulers, and he paraphrases Cicero’s *De officiis* to provide an explanation of how human communities came to be organized and ruled. The political backdrop of early 14th century England and the political unrest sparked by Edward II may provide suggestive context for the urgency of Holcot’s political concerns. This text therefore contains a type of social logic that addresses political crisis through literary allusion and verbal virtuosity.
This particular invocation of Cicero provides a perfect instance of how Holcot pairs a classical author with a Christian writer (in this case, Boethius) to draw out the implications of the biblical book for modern readers. Paraphrasing Ambrose’s *Hexameron*, Holcot further notes that the call to love justice is not simply equivalent to loving other virtues, but the presence of justice indicates a harmony of the rest of the virtues. It is noteworthy that Holcot’s use of *concordia* for harmony of the virtues is not, as far as I can tell, present in Ambrose’s work nor do the passages in the *Hexameron* discussing *iustitia* contain this sentiment, but this term is pervasive in classical thought on the organization of both the macrocosm of the state and the microcosm of the household. This paper will focus on links Holcot builds between the texts he cites, often by the interchange of key terms and flexibility in quotation.

Session 37: The Intellectual World of the Early Empire (*Organized by the International Plutarch Society*)

**Title:** Plutarch’s Science of Natural Problems in Its Imperial Context  
**Name:** Michiel Meeusen

This paper provides a concise overview of how the Aristotelian Natural Problems were received in the Early Empire (esp. the first two centuries A.D.), an era in which the genre of natural problems revived and gained in popularity beyond the confines of the Lyceum. The evidence shows that the Problems sparked much debate among Greek and Roman philosophers, doctors, sophists and scholars. The work was known to a variety of authors, such as Apuleius, Athenaeus, Cicero, Clement, Galen, Gellius, Pliny, Plutarch, Seneca and Strabo, and a number of new collections of natural-medical problems were composed, each of which shows clear overlaps with – and also clear departures from – Aristotelian orthodoxy. None of these collections (except Plutarch’s) have been studied in depth, if at all.

The goal of this paper is to examine which intellectual traditions outside of the Lyceum interfered in the text’s circulation process in the Early Empire, that is, how the Problems became an authoritative scientific text among Greek and Roman authors, through which networks of social and intellectual exchange it travelled, and in which spheres of influence it thrived. Special attention goes to Plutarch’s contribution to this tradition. The Chaeronean discusses natural problems in several of his writings: not only in an autonomous fashion in *Quaestiones naturales* but also within the literary-symphotic framework of *Quaestiones convivales* and in a number of scientific digressions (*παρεκβάσεις*) in the narratives of the *Vitae*. A seminal passage from *Quaestiones convivales* (734C-D) sheds light on how the Problems circulated in the Mediterranean region. Plutarch there reports how his Roman friend, L. Mestrius Florus, obtained a copy of the *Problems* that had been brought to Thermopylae, and shared it with his friends for discussion during daytime strolls. Aristotle’s authoritative explanation is cited in the debate that follows (on unreliable dreams in fall), but it is not simply accepted by Plutarch and his peers. Clearly, the Problems were not conceived of as a static text but a dynamic one that was open to further development and adaptation.

Recent scholarship has greatly advanced our understanding of Plutarch’s science of natural problems and its ‘internal’ organization, both at literary and intellectual level (see, e.g., Desideri 1992; Harrison 2000a-b; König 2007; Bouloge 2008; Kechagia 2011; Oikonompoulou 2011; Van der Stockt 2011; Meeusen forthcoming). Therefore, the aim of this paper is to provide a more ‘external’ perspective by confronting Plutarch’s case with that of other Imperial authors and texts (listed above). By taking into consideration the socio-intellectual dynamics in other Early Imperial milieus, our aim is to further chart and analyze the reception of a very influential, yet largely forgotten ancient scientific genre in a period that was key to its transmission (from ‘Aristotle’ to the Middle Ages).

The following questions are relevant to us: ‘What latent agendas can be identified in the reception process of the Aristotelian *Problems* (e.g., scientific, philosophical, medical, scholarly)?’, ‘How does the opposition between ‘high’ and ‘low’ culture manifest itself in this process?’, ‘What were the eventual
goals later authors had in mind in re-creating the text in the first place and what was their measure of success?"

The argument will be centered around three focal axes, examining (1) the availability and mobility of scientific knowledge – and of the Aristotelian Problems more specifically – in the Roman Empire, paying attention to the role formal and informal institutions played in this regard (such as public and private libraries, philosophical and medical schools and networks of learned individuals); (2) the Problems’ actual use in numerous social and intellectual milieus in the Mediterranean region, showing how the work provided much food for thought to Greek and Roman intellectuals (spawning not only serious debate but also playful discussion and even caricature); and (3) the intellectual appreciation, not just of the Problems’ peculiar scientific contents, but also of its methodological standards (providing a useful causal-inquisitive model for explaining a wide range of particular natural phenomena).

**Title: Plutarch’s and Pliny the Elder’s Greek Artists: Two intellectuals of the Empire and their perspectives on Greek art**  
**Name: Eva Falaschi**

Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives* and *Moralia* are studded with anecdotes on Greek artists such as Polignotus, Pauson, Zeuxis, Pheidias, Nicomachus, Apelles, Protogenes of Kaunos, Nikias, Nealkes, Lysippus. On the other side, it is well known how books 33-37 of Pliny the Elder’s *Naturalis Historia* are rich in stories, anecdotes and information on the lives and careers of Greek artists. In some cases, the two authors refer the same anecdotes, in other occasions, they select different information on artists.

This paper aims at pointing out the reception of some Greek artists in Plutarch’s and Pliny’s works. A careful study of passages in their context of transmission will help to emphasize the peculiar point of view of each author on ancient artists. Differences and analogies in literary genre, finalities, interests, personality, social role and relations will be taken into account to show how these factors influence the artists’ image transmitted by the two writers. Moreover, the paper will focus on Plutarch’s and Pliny’s knowledge and use of previous treatises on art, as well as on the spread and reinterpretation of some anecdotes in other fields, which were familiar to these two intellectuals, such as philosophy and rhetoric.

Through this comparison the paper intends to point out how two intellectuals of the Empire, who belonged to the same elite, but came from different regions and had different social and political roles, could interpret and appropriate the image of Greek artists, and differently elaborate the same artistic knowledge they shared. It also allows to understand how their personal experience as politicians as well as intellectuals and writers determines their choices and pushes them sometimes in the same, other times in opposite directions.

**Title: Greek Wisdom and Philosophy in the Early Empire: Plutarch in comparison to Flavius Josephus**  
**Name: Andreas Schwab**

In my paper I will illuminate and compare for the first time in which contexts, how, and why Plutarch and his near-contemporary Flavius Josephus, both active in the intellectual world of the Early Empire (Kendra 2012), engaged so intensively with early Greek philosophy, philosophers and the wisdom of the so-called Seven Sages (Solon, Thales etc.). Plutarch’s writings, particularly the famous *Banquet of the Seven Sages*, his *Life of Solon*, and the Delphic treatises, are our most important testimonies on the Seven Sages and certain early Greek philosophers in the intellectual world of the Early Empire before Diogenes Laertius (Hershbell 1971, 1986, Busine 2002, Wöhrle/McKirahan 2014). Flavius Josephus’ references to some early Greek philosophers and sages play a significant role in his two books *Against Apion*, *On the Antiquity of the Jews* and also as a source for some early Christian writers such as Clement of Alexandria
or Eusebius (Schwab 2012: 166-8). This use raises important and neglected questions: how and why do Plutarch and Josephus engage so creatively with these famous figures of the past? Instead of reconstructing an ‘original’ doctrine of Solon or the ‘real’ image of Thales from textual evidence in Plutarch and Flavius, I will instead focus on the remarkable argumentative contexts and genres in which these two intellectuals of the Early Empire refer to these representatives of early philosophy and wisdom (Schwab 2015).

Both writers have a number of points in common: they are remarkably well-educated authors with a religious background, with Plutarch serving as a Delphic priest and Josephus, originally ‘Joseph Ben Mattijahu’, descended from a Jewish priestly caste and affiliated with the Pharisees. Both are originally from the periphery of the Roman Empire, Boeotia and Judea respectively, and each plays a remarkably prominent role in social and public life. Both have connections to Rome and also write for Greek and Roman readers (Pastor et al. 2011, Stader 2015); each is profoundly interested in history and biography, dealing in their writings particularly with the past as one major subject: the past of Greece and Rome, Egypt or the Jewish people, portraying important figures such as Solon, Lycurgus, Moses, and Abraham. In a comparison of Plutarch’s Lycurgus and Josephus’ Moses, Feldman (2005: 241) notes that “their biographies share a number of similar themes: genealogy, upbringing, subjection to envy, the cardinal virtues (especially moderation), eagerness to learn from others, relation to the divine, rejection of kingship, organization of government, military leadership, educational policies, etc.”.

In my paper I will investigate a selection of key passages from both authors in which they refer to some early Greek philosophers and sages: mainly from Plutarch’s Isis and Osiris, The E at Delphi, The Oracles at Delphi and The Banquet of the Seven Sages (Kim 2009) and Josephus’ two books Against Apion, On the Antiquity of the Jews. By a close analysis and comparison of both authors’ references to early Greek philosophers and sages, I will argue that each reference is part of a larger argumentative project that can be connected to the cultural, social and intellectual marketplace of the Early Roman Empire. A comparison between these two contemporaneous writers will reverse the traditional focus on reading the philosophers back into the archaic period, and instead will shed new light on the presence of early Greek philosophy and wisdom in Plutarch and Josephus, by explaining why these references to the past constitute a vivid part of the rhetorical, literary and intellectual world of the Early Empire.

Title: Suetonius’ mockery of the “Great King” Caligula: The other side of the coin of Plutarch’s Alexander
Name: Giustina Monti

In this paper, I shall try to show how Suetonius played with the concept of Imitatio Alexandri, especially in the Life of Caligula: he did it in different ways which helped him to underline when an emperor was a good ruler or not. Moreover, he used this similarity even to mock – in a very shrewd and subtle way – the emperor he was describing. Thus, I shall highlight how Suetonius utilized the sources at his disposal: he probably was using the same materials as Plutarch, but, especially in the case of the Life of Caligula, it is possible to analyze how an identical tradition was employed in a completely different way. In this respect, I believe that my paper fits well in with the panel’s theme, The Intellectual World of the Early Empire, as it aims at showing that Plutarch and Suetonius made different use of the same material, whilst they employed it in the same literary genre.

It has already been shown that Suetonius made use of the sources Plutarch used and vice versa (Moles 1992) or that, at least, they shared the same sources (de Wet 1990). They also had in common the same kind of humour, and the use they made of it was almost identical (Reekmans 1992). In particular, Beneker 2011, 85-89, has demonstrated that, although Plutarch and Suetonius used the same source, they had “quite different interpretations”.

137
Alexander the Great represented a strong figure in both the Greek and the Roman imagination, and the attempts at imitating him had not been scarce (Nenci 1992:183). Especially in Roman emperors’ mind, Alexander was a model to follow, since he had been the king, the general and the conqueror *par excellence*. To this, it should be added that the ‘nickname’ Great was ‘created’ in Roman times, as a form of brachylogy for ‘the Great King Alexander’ (in Latin *Alexander Magnus Rex*), the title assumed by Alexander after he became the heir of the Great King Darius (Cagnazzi 2005). However, after Caligula and Nero, the idea people had of Alexander was somewhat negative, and he was not seen in a positive light (see, for example, Seneca’s and Lucan’s depictions). Afterwards, Plutarch, chiefly in his *Life of Alexander*, seems to attempt a reconstruction of a positive image of the young king (see, for example, Cammarota 1992, Placido 1995, Whitmarsh 2002, and Asirvatham 2005). Suetonius, on his part, appears to keep this positive tradition in mind when he reverses Caligula’s image, who was one of Alexander’s first negative ‘imitators’: Caligula is not Alexander, or – even better – he is not Plutarch’s Alexander.

In this paper, I shall start from chapter 19 of the *Life of Caligula*, a well-constructed passage in a sort of ring composition of references. The mention of the bridge built by Caligula from Baiae to the mole of Puteoli, for example, soon brings to mind Alexander and his foundation of Alexandria on the strip of the land between the swamp Mareotis and a vast gulf bordered on the north by the island of Pharos: indeed, the strip of land was a sort of bridge connecting the island and the mainland. However, I shall demonstrate that here Suetonius associated Caligula with Xerxes and not with Alexander, reversing the image of the emperor who becomes the anti-Alexander and the mad king *par excellence*. Then, I shall examine the reference to an *aurea chlamyde*, which again might evoke the foundation of Alexandria, and the image of Caligula on horseback, recalling the battle at Issus, in a reverse situation again. Finally, I shall examine some other relevant pieces of information in chapters 22, 29, and 34, and I aim at demonstrating that Suetonius made use of two kinds of mocking account in his description of Caligula: the subversion of Alexanders’ image and the link with some Alexander’s acts criticized at that time.

Session 38: Roman Religion and Augustan Poetry (Organized by the Society for Ancient Mediterranean Religions)
Title: *Princeps* and poet-priest: Horace and the Transformation of religious authority under Augustus
Name: Zsuzsa Varhelyi

This paper examines Horace’s exploration of his own and the emperor’s poetic image as priest and as a figure of connection to the divine. I argue that Horace’s works allow us a glimpse into a more dynamic reception of the Augustan takeover and transformation of religious powers among contemporaries in Rome.

Scholars of religious studies have successfully outlined the far-reaching religious appropriations by the princeps: his membership in all major priesthoods, his iconic depiction as the main sacrificer and thereby Rome’s main connection to its gods, his unification of political and religious powers in his new house and temple complex on the Palatine, to mention only some key elements. Literary scholars explored the transformations of the image of the poet in Horace’s work: the new emphasis on the civic-minded obligations on the writer’s creative output, the increased demands for engagement with Augustan rule and its religious justification, and also possible signs of ambivalence towards some of these transformations. While the implications of these changes with regard to the role of the poet have been explored by select literary scholars, what Horace’s poems, and especially his engagement with notions of the poet-priest, reveal about more complex perceptions towards the princeps’ appropriation of religious authority has not been sufficiently investigated.

My examination follows images of the poet-priest in Horace’s poetry against their cultural and historical backdrop (Woodman and Feeney 2002): such as the *vates*, addressing the newly installed Palatine Apollo,
who prays for the pleasures of his simple life (Odes 1.31) and the Musarum sacerdos, who creates a new song for boys and girls, and sings of a divine hierarchy in which kings rule over people, but Jupiter rules over kings (Odes 3.1). Quite significantly, in the relatively late Epistle to Augustus, Horace goes as far as comparing himself to an aedituus, the much more prosaic figure of the temple-caretaker (Ep. 2.1. 230, a sort of recusatio, for which now see Freudenburg 2014). Without pursuing a pro- or anti-Augustan interpretation, my reading investigates ambivalence along the fault lines of Augustan religious renewal as revealed by these images: may an “Augustan” poet pursue private wishes with a god who stands for and alongside with the emperor? Horace is of course the poet to write new songs of the gods to be taught to the young, yet, as I show, the poems implicitly question how much space is open to songs that thematize the power of the gods over rulers, or even, more generally, to innovation in a religious atmosphere that cherishes antiquity. Comparing the ceremonial tone of the Saecular Hymn of 17 BCE and the last book of Horace’s Odes on the one hand with the second book of his more ambivalent Epistles on the other hand, I trace the bifurcation of a civic-minded, pragmatic sacerdos and the dignified yet subversive poeta. Significantly, the final reference to the poet as vates occurs in a context describing the almost magical powers of Orpheus and Amphion (Ep. 2.3. 391-407), yet one which strangely also juxtaposes their divine honor with their wisdom to fulfill civic functions. This final image of poet-priests suggests a seemingly well-ordered literary-religious universe that nevertheless reveals the alternative power of poetic inspiration and irrational forces (Citroni 2015).

Title: Isis, Bacchus, and Apollo: Propertius on Religion and Power
Name: Barbara P. Weinlich

Religion, and in particular the cult of Apollo, loomed large in Octavian-Augustus' socio-political transformation of Rome. Yet, while this renewed focus on human interactions with the divine and specifically with Apollo, is reflected in various as well as variegated responses by a number of poets of the post-triumviral / proto-imperial era, current scholarship is concerned mainly with one aspect, namely, Octavian-Augustus' self-representation by means of associating himself with the realm of the divine, especially with the archer-god, and his contemporaries' perspective on that (e.g., Gurval 1995; Miller 2009). This rather narrow investigative approach is perhaps best illustrated by the imbalance in the scholarly literature on the elegies of Propertius that deal with deities. While the two poems on Apollo, i.e., Elegies 2.31 and 4.6 have received huge attention, very little ink has been spilled on Elegy 2.33A on Isis and Elegy 3.17 on Bacchus.

In response to this observation this proposed paper introduces a different approach to the topic of Roman religion in Augustan poetry in general and Propertius' elegiac oeuvre in particular. Based on the analysis of how the Propertian speaker represents Isis (2.33A), Bacchus (2.33B; 3.17), and Apollo (2.31; 4.6), I will argue that these five elegies contribute not only to a discourse on religion, but on controlling religion, a privilege coveted by the senate in previous times. By examining the nature of this discourse in Propertius and by showing how this discourse responds to the new significance of religion in the socio-political realm, this proposed paper will point out a dimension of Elegy 4.6, which has remained unnoticed thus far: the Propertian speaker's claim of control over religion. Far from paying lip-service to the celebration of Actian Apollo (Stahl 1985; Gurval 1995; Miller 2009), the Propertian speaker re-claims the god's divine assistance for poetic production.

Among the main arguments in support of this paper's thesis and approach will be the Propertian speaker's claim of superiority over Isis and her cult, which puts the goddess and her worship at his mercy; the aspect of soterism and the political tensions that the references to religious practices banished from Rome, i.e., the cult of Isis and the cult of Bacchus, reintroduced by Caesar, may evoke; and the Propertian speaker's explicit endorsement of Bacchus has his savior.
By exploring the interactions between the elegiac discourse and the Propertian speaker's critical engagement with the infringement of aspects of élite identity this paper hopes to show that Roman religion is appropriated not only by Octavian-Augustus but also by the so-called 'Augustan poets.' The Propertian speaker's representation of Isis, Bacchus, and Apollo aims not only at unmasking the princeps' power aspiration but also at wrangling with him over this former foundation of the nobility's social dominance. The latter culminates in Elegy 4.6. As the realistic details of the battle give way to symbolism, Augustus' one-man rulership has been established, and Apollo can now be claimed -- so to speak -- by someone else and for something else.

Title: SI SIC DI: The Fantastic Jupiter of the Fasti
Name: Julia Hejduk

More than any other Latin poem, Ovid’s Fasti has been mined for evidence about the bizarre complex of beliefs and practices we call “Roman religion” (Hejduk 2009: 45-46). Yet those using Ovid as a source should consider not only the biases of a poet facing imminent or recent exile, but also the particular slant of the elegiac Fasti compared with its rough contemporary, the epic Metamorphoses (Hinds 1987: 99-134). The two poems’ contrasting treatments of Jupiter, whom Ovid increasingly associates with Augustus, reveal how the poet shapes his “religion” to suit disparate thematic aims: if the Metamorphoses Jupiter is a tyrannical nightmare (Segal 2001), the Fasti, in many ways, shows the Jupiter of the poet’s dreams.

The story of the singer Arion (Fast. 2.79-118), proverbial in antiquity as a fable that beggars belief (Gibson 2003: 229), highlights the two poems’ utterly different Jupiters. Attacked by sailors for the wealth he accumulated through his art, Arion leaps overboard and rides to safety on a dolphin entranced by his song; Jupiter then rewards the dolphin with catasterism for his “pious deed” (117). Such spontaneous Jovian benediction of a poet and his aquatic fan would be unimaginable in the Metamorphoses universe, where Jupiter “rewards” only his own family members, rape victims, and worshippers. Ovid marks the episode’s conclusion as wistful fantasy with an acrostic, SI SIC DI, “If (only) the gods (were) like this!” (112-18)—especially in their treatment of poets.

Flora (Fast. 5.183-378), the elegiac goddess par excellence (Newlands 1995: 105-110; Boyd 2000: 75-78), similarly contributes to the Fasti’s theme of wish-fulfillment, horizontally and vertically. Her own story begins in letter-play (Greek theta becoming Latin F) and describes Zephyr’s rape of her in astonishingly bland and forgiving terms. Most strikingly, the god “emends the violence,” vim emendat (205), by marrying her and making her goddess of flowers; an acrostic, VI EA VIVA EA, “Through that violence, she is alive/life-giving” (201-210), literally emends VI (ablative of vis) to make it VIVA. The fantasy of defusing male sexual aggression continues in her outlandish version of the birth of Mars, traditionally the most violent of Jupiter’s offspring, through Juno’s parthenogenesis of the war god by means of Flora’s magical flower. The vertical voice calls attention to the contrast between this gentle generation and Jupiter’s usual modus operandi with yet another SIC acrostic, AN SIC EO EUNTI, “Is it like this when he comes?” (237-48).

Finally, the poems’ theoxenies, Baucis and Philemon (Met. 8.611-724) and Hyrieus (Fast. 5.495-536) (Griffin 1991), point up the contrast between the Metamorphoses’ divine tyrant and the Fasti’s more benign ruler. The Baucis and Philemon episode is full of dark and ironic touches, such as the similarity to stories where Jupiter and Mercury go trolling for girls, the obliteration of the aged couple’s community, and the transformation of their quintessentially happy hut into the god’s temple (Green 2003). The Hyrieus episode markedly lacks these elements: the addition of Neptune to the Metamorphoses’ divine duo removes predatory overtones, no humans are harmed, and the gods’ miniature “flood” has only the positive effect of giving the lonely widower a son.
Especially in the absence of other sources, scholars will and must continue to turn to the Fasti for evidence about Roman religion. But “literature people” and “religion people” will get the best results by pooling their efforts, especially when a mercurial poet like Ovid handles a subject as important to him poetically, politically, and personally as the god who is so often a projection of the emperor, from whose thunderbolt the poet never fully recovered.

**Title: A Blight on the Golden Age: The Robigalia in Ovid’s Fasti**

**Name: Morgan Palmer**

In the Fasti, Ovid gives a detailed account of the mysterious Robigalia. He describes his encounter with the Flamen Quirinalis performing the rites for Robigo, and quotes the priest's address to this destructive deity known for harming crops (Fast. 4.905–942). The Flamen Quirinalis entreats Robigo to cause weapons to rust, but to leave farm tools and crops unharmed (Fast. 4.921–930). Ovid's description of the Robigalia is the most detailed extant source for the festival (Seullard 1981), but it must be read within its historical and poetic context. In this paper I argue that Ovid appropriates the anxiety underlying the religious ritual in order to subvert the ideal of the Augustan golden age.

The Flamen Quirinalis was associated with Quirinus, the deified Romulus (Burkert 1962; Dumézil 1966) and was also under the authority of the pontifex maximus (Vangaard 1988), a role which Augustus claimed for himself (R.G. 7.3, 10.2). Hinds (1992) and Barchiesi (1997) have argued for Ovid's subversive portrayals of Romulus, and by extension Augustus. In addition, Hinds (1992) has noted the tensions underlying Ovid's references to arma in the Fasti. Dumézil (1966) has observed that the Flamen Quirinalis' emphasis on peace would have resonated in the age of Augustus, but no study has yet argued for a subversive reading of Ovid's Robigalia.

In this paper I will use literary and epigraphic evidence to suggest that Ovid integrates the anxiety underlying the Robigalia into his subversive program. First, I will compare Varro's explanation of the Robigalia at De Lingua Latina 6.16.8 ("Robigalia dicta ab Robigo; secundum segetes huic deo sacrificatur, ne robigo occupet") with the portrayal of the rites on the Augustan Fasti Praenestini ("ne robigo frum[en]tis noceat") (Degrassi 1963; cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1987). These examples illustrate that the purpose of the ritual was to prevent Robigo from causing harm, and imply fear of the deity's destructive power. Next, I argue that when the Flamen Quirinalis says "utilius gladios et tela nocentia carpes: nil opus est illis; oti a mundus agit" (Fast. 4.925–26) he subverts the ideal of otium by highlighting the continuing presence of tela nocentia (cf. Fantham 1998). Nocentia parallels noceat on the Fasti Praenestini; the tela share with Robigo the power to cause harm. The priest emphasizes this potential in his entreaty to Robigo: "nec teneras segetes, sed durum amplectere ferrum, quodque potest alios perdere perdere prior" (Fast. 4.923–24). The Flamen Quirinalis makes it clear that iron, like Robigo, continues to threaten destruction during the golden age. Next, I suggest that when the priest entreats Robigo to spare Ceres and to be content with the vows of the colonus (Fast. 4.931–32), Ovid recalls his description of the Cerialia earlier at Fast. 4.407–408 "pace Ceres laeta est; et vos orate, coloni, perpetuam pacem pacificum ducem," subverting the idea that peace may be taken for granted. Finally, I argue that these anxieties must be read within their broader historical and poetic context. It is notable that these subversions occur after Ovid calls the emperor's attention to this particular month and its association with Venus, the Julian ancestor goddess (Fast. 4.19–30). The role of the Flamen Quirinalis must also be contextualized with subversive portrayals of Romulus and Augustus in the Fasti. A Romulean messenger voices contemporary fears that threaten to undermine the pax Augusta, and he does so in a way designed to catch the emperor's attention. In short, Ovid appropriates the anxiety underlying the Robigalia in order to subvert the Augustan message of peace, putting a blight on the golden age.
In his first two books *On Rhetoric*, preparing for his later demonstration that those who say that rhetoric and political science can be derived from the philosophy of nature—particularly the Stoic Diogenes of Babylon and the Democritean Nausiphanes—are wrong, Philodemus explains the Epicurean position. He insists that for Epicurus political oratory and epideictic rhetoric were quite different things, not ‘parts’ of one discipline, and that the ‘ sophistic’ rhetorical schools taught only epideictic, which was an art giving rules for composing display speeches and writing, but did not teach politics, which could not be an art and depended rather on practice and historical research into a city’s affairs. Philodemus insists on this, because it was challenged by Epicureans from Rhodes and Cos, who argued that Epicurus said that no part of rhetoric was a *technē*. Philodemus virtually calls these men parricides.

In the second book, Philodemus getting down to cases. The arguments he uses are interpretations of the words of the most authoritative Epicureans: Epicurus, Metrodorus, and Hermarchus. Philodemus cites the passages adduced by Zeno to show that Epicurus recognized that sophistic rhetoric was an art, while politics was not. Then he moves on to the passages cited by one of his opponents. The first of these comes from a work of Epicurus, who portrayed his young friend Idomeneus in conversation, where someone is told that it is odd for him to think he is not prevented by his youth from surpassing his elders ‘in rhetorical ability, which seems to depend on a great deal of practice and habituation, while it is possible to be prevented because of age from worldly understanding, whose cause would seem to be knowledge rather than practice and habituation’ (*Rhet.* IIb *PHerc.* 1672.10.34-11.13). Philodemus analyzes this passage, which his opponent claimed shows that Epicurus thought that all of rhetoric depended wholly on practice and habituation and not at all on knowledge and rules.

*Rhetoric* II is preserved in two of the first papyri unrolled by Piaggio’s method in 1756-7. *PHerc.* 1674 leaves off just before the quotation from Epicurus, while *PHerc.* 1672 does not stop but continues on until the end of the book. *PHerc.* 1672 is the only papyrus unrolled, but not cut into manageable pieces: what remains of its original ca. 16 meters is now stored as a single piece 3.34 meters in length, impressed with glue into a canvas backing. The glue used to fix the papyrus on its canvas support has darkened considerably with time, and the papyrus itself has become oncorporated into the canvas, making very difficult to read, where it isn’t entirely gone. G.-B. Malesci, when he made the earliest copy of the papyrus, was able to see more, but not everything, and not always correctly. The best edition of the papyrus, understandably, has many holes and places where only isolated letters could be read.

Current understanding of the text has it that Epicurus’ ‘young’ speaker was Idomeneus, who rebuked another youngster for saying that there was only one art of rhetoric and politics and that he, though still young, had mastered it in the rhetorical school. A new study of the text shows, I think, that the speaker is Epicurus himself, who rebukes the young Idomeneus for making this claim. We know from Seneca (*Epp.* 21.3-5, 22.5-6) that Epicurus wrote to Idomeneus persuading him to abandon his political career and come to philosophy, and the new reading of *Rhetoric* II fits well with this fact.

My paper goes on to analyze the interpretative methods used by Philodemus to turn the meaning of the passage around against his Rhodian opponent. Finally, I consider the philosophical significance of this method of fighting for philosophical truth by arguing over words taken out of their dialectical context.
Title: Hamming It Up in the Villa dei Papiri  
Name: Christopher Parslow

Among the legions of bronze and marble statuary and the mountains of charred papyrus scrolls recovered during the Bourbon excavations in the Villa dei Papiri emerged a humble yet practical object: a silver-plated bronze, portable sundial in the shape of a ham. Though the *Encyclopédie* scooped the Accademia Ercolanese by publishing the first widely circulated description of the sundial in 1757, the Accademia responded in 1762 by featuring it as the first small find subjected to their rigorous analysis in the preface to their third volume of *Le Antichità di Ercolano*. In so doing they ridiculed the *Encyclopédie* for not recognizing it was shaped like a prosciutto and offered the first detailed description of its design and function. While the members of the Neapolitan court recognized that the inclusion of the month AUG(ustus) required dating the sundial after that emperor’s reign, and while they knew the exact date on which it had been recovered in the ruins of Herculaneum, they appear unaware that it came from the Villa dei Papiri. Since that time, the prosciutto sundial has made passing appearances as a curiosity in descriptions of the museums at Portici and Naples and catalogs of the finds from the Villa, and it is routinely mentioned in the scientific literature on ancient sundials, but it has never been given a comprehensive treatment. This paper explores the discovery and reception of this unique timepiece, its function, and its relationship to its context in the Villa dei Papiri.

Title: The history of Greek philosophy in some neglected Herculaneum papyri  
Name: Richard Janko

In 1819–1820 the Prince Regent sent to Naples the distinguished British scientist Sir Humphry Davy (1778–1829), who was joined by the classical scholar Rev. Peter Elmsley (1773–1825) and by the artist Sir William Gell (1777–1836), for them to make and document the latest of a series of efforts to unroll the Herculaneum papyri. Since the Neapolitans were reluctant to subject yet more papyri to damaging experiments, and by this point most of the centers of the rolls that could be continuously unrolled had been opened, only stacks of detached fragments (*scorze*) were left, and the expedition accomplished rather little. However, with the help of F. Celentano they did obtain pieces of text from 17 different papyri, of which Celentano made numerous drawings (most of the pieces are marked as being no longer extant). The sets of drawings were then divided: some remained in Portici, but other drawings were taken to Britain, where they are in notebooks kept in the Royal Collection at Windsor and at Oxford. Because of their inaccessibility, these and related materials have not been studied until now.

The first step in their analysis has been to sort the texts out by language (Greek versus Latin) and by scribal hands, which are hard to recognise on the basis of drawings. A number remain unidentified, including many pieces of Latin prose and a fragment by Demetrius Laco on music. However, several fragments are from the lost outer parts of known works, notably Philodemus' *On the Gods* and *Academica* from his history of Greek philosophy. The latter comprises a number of tantalizing fragments, including references to Pythagoras, a passage that quotes Plato's *Gorgias* 485e, an anecdote about Socrates and his follower Aeschines that also appears in Diogenes Laertius 2. 7, references to the travels of Xenophon and Plato, and mentions of Dion and Dionysius. The same notebook also contains unknown transcriptions of Greek inscriptions that Elmsley saw in Athens (*IG*² 1199 and 2492) and of a lost inscription from Syracuse that is in fact extracted from Pindar.

**Session 40: Animal Encounters in Classical Philosophy and Literature**

Title: Eros and Animal Bodies in Xenophon’s *Cynegeticus*  
Name: Alex Petkas

This paper examines the complexities of the human-animal interface in hunting by focusing on key differences in the treatment of the dog and the hare in Xenophon’s *Cynegeticus*. 
Well known structuralist treatments of hunters in Greek culture have correctly identified how hunting is marked as a fringe or liminal activity (Segal 1978) and that this aspect is essential in its incorporation in rituals of initiation (Vidal-Naquet 1981). But recent studies of human-animal interactions reveal another aspect generally overlooked by structuralism: that the human subject develops (or reinforces) a conception of him/herself as human through such interactions. Thus (in the case of hunting) the essential moment of identity formation may not be so much at the point of re-entry and reintegration into society, but rather at the point of furthest extreme into the realm of ‘nature’ when one encounters the prey animal amidst companion-helper animals (dogs). This analysis does not directly conflict with structuralist approaches since civic/social identity formation and ‘anthropogenesis’ are not the same thing, but it suggests new potential for interpreting the cultural phenomenon of hunting in the Greek world.

Xenophon’s (Gray 1985 defends authenticity) Cynegeticus, is a mainly technical treatise on hunting, though it is bookended by a mytho-critical preface and an anti-sophistic postscript. Despite its purportedly instructive purpose, it is in many aspects more record of hunting experience than guidebook, and certain passages serve more to evoke the mood of the hunt than to contribute to a practical purpose (Hutchinson 2009). Schnapp, emphasizing its normative aspects, has even described it as an ideological apology (1973), and Johnstone (1994) interprets the text as essentially reinforcing Greek aristocratic values and education. Without fundamentally disagreeing with such treatments of the text’s social function, I propose a more anthropological examination of certain of its literary features in light of recent trends in Animal Studies.

The main question I ask of Xenophon in this paper is, why hunt? He offers several explicit justifications for hunting in the opening and closing sections of the treatise: it was invented by the gods; famous heroes hunted; hunting teaches military virtue, etc. But in contrast to these explicit justifications I argue that he offers a reason that is less explicit and, I suggest, prior: pure desire. Many passages (cf 2.1; 2.3; 12.7; 12.8; 12.22; 13.17;) discuss the pleasure (hedone) of hunting and the desire (prothumia, chairein) which incites the human to take up hunting. One passage is most illustrative: the hare makes such a charming spectacle that the sight of seeing one tracked, found, chased, and caught would make someone forget whatever – or whoever – they desire (ἐπιλάθοι τ’ ἄν έπι έρως) (5.33). While the hare (alongside other animals) as an erotic gift from erastai to eromenoi, well attested on pottery, is important background (Barringer 2001), the hare in particular and the hunt in general are conceived here as objects more desirable than or at least independent of the eromenoi of aristocratic pederasty-ritual. This sentiment comes at the end of an extended description of the hare’s anatomy, which is praised in terms that evoke the ideal of harmony, balance, and beauty; it is an aesthetic contemplation of the prey animal. Moreover the Xenophon inverts the usual comparison: erotic relationships themselves now become the ‘absent referent’ (cf. Adams 1990). This account stands in striking contrast to the normative description of dog anatomy in chapter 4 and dog behavior in chapter 3: dogs “should” be of specific dimensions (the ribs should not (χρῆ...μή) sink to the ground but be straight, etc). The dog, like the human in whose society she interlopes, can be good or bad (or shameful/ugly) (cf. Franco 2014), and is the second-person object of naming (7.5) and exhortation (6.17, 20). But the hare is chiefly beautiful, attracting both human and dog (the latter is also capable of experiencing pleasure in the hunt (4.4)) to an inter-species encounter which promises both knowledge and pleasure.

Title: Varro’s Aviary and Hortensius’ Menagerie: Private animal collections in ancient Rome
Name: Matthew McGowan

Did the Romans have zoos? This paper offers a qualified “yes” to this question by analyzing private animal collections in ancient Rome in light John Berger’s idea of the captured animal as an “index of our power” (Berger 16). My argument focuses, in particular, on the words Romans used for enclosures meant for animals in captivity: vivaria, leporaria, roboraria, therotrophia, paradisi, aviaria, ornithones, piscinae. The last three terms refer to aviaries and fishponds, an important subset of the more common
vivarium or “place where living creatures are kept; a game enclosure or preserve” (OLD sub voce). One such vivarium belonged to renowned orator and optimate, Quintus Hortensius Hortalus (114-50 BCE), and is described by Varro in the De Re Rustica 3.13.3:

Nam Silva erat, ut dicebat, supra quinquaginta iugera maceria saepta, quod non leporarium, sed therotrophium appellabat. Ibi erat locus excelsus, ubi tricilinio posito cenabamus … ut tanta circumfluxerit nos cervorum aprorum et ceterarum quadrupedum multitudo, ut non minus formosum mihi visum sit spectaculum, quam in Circo Maximo aedilium sine Africanis bestiis cum fiunt venationes.

For there was a forest which covered, he said, more than fifty iugera; it was enclosed with a wall and he called it, not a warren, but a game-preserve. In it was a high spot where was spread the table at which we were dining … whereupon there poured around us such a crowd of stags, boars, and other animals that it seemed to me to be no less attractive a sight than when the hunts of the aediles take place in the Circus Maximus without the African beasts. (trans. W.D. Hooper / H.B. Ash 1934 [Loeb])

The emphasis here is on the spectacle: beasts in Hortensius’ private therotrophium are likened to those hunted during public venationes in the Circus Maximus. In both instances, humans are cast as observers of a contrived form of nature, of wild beasts brought under control, and animals are encountered to be dominated. Nowhere is this domination more vivid than over African beasts, whose mention reminds of us of Rome’s lust for the slaughter of nature’s most powerful animals. Varro’s contemporaries, Pompey and Caesar, competed with one another to have more lions and elephants put to death in the arena: the greater the slaughter, the greater the display of power (Wiedemann 60). Pompey and Caesar set the standard for grisly venationes, to which the emperor Augustus clearly aspired when boasting of some 3,500 African beasts killed in his hunts (Res Gestae 22). Successive emperors—e.g. Caligula, Claudius, Nero—vied to top Augustus in individual games (Dio Cassius 59.7.3; 60.7.3; 61.9.1), but they were all outdone by Trajan, who had 11,000 beasts butchered to celebrate his Dacian triumph (ibid. 68.15).

Although we know a great deal about the number and sort of animals killed for sport at Rome and throughout the empire, we know far less about how they were kept. A mid-third century CE inscription from the Castra Praetoria in Rome (ILS 2091), set up by the custodes vivarii (“zoo-keepers”), corroborates the description of the βιβάριον in that part of the city we find in Procopius (Bellum Gothicum 1.23.16-17). Surely the conditions were deplorable and must have provided a stark contrast to the idyllic aviary (ornithon) Varro had constructed for his villa at Casinum (Monte Cassino), replete with a little theater (theatriadion), duck ponds (piscinae), and elaborate seating for the birds (RR 3.5.8-17). Like Hortensius’ therotrophium, Varro’s ornithon was built for pleasure (detectationis causa, RR 3.4.2) and is to be distinguished from the profit-driven collections of (exotic) animals for the arena. Yet as I shall demonstrate, keeping animals in captivity, whether for slaughter or observation, is a feature of human control over nature and an expression of power. This paper will explore that aspect of Rome’s contribution to the history of the menagerie both in view of post-classical private collections and today’s well-manicured zoological parks.

**Title:** Porphyry’s Partridge: Animal Speech in De Abstinentia Book Three  
**Name:** Richard Hutchins  

The capacities of nonhuman animals were much debated in the philosophical schools of Late Antiquity (Sorabji, 62, 82-5, 192-4). This paper reconstructs an aspect of Porphyry claim in De abstinentia, Book Three, that all animals, insofar as they have soul, perception, and memory, participate to some extent in logos (Abst. 3.1 and 3.26.1; cf. Haussleiter, 332-3; Preus, 153-7). These arguments for animal logos are exemplified in a story Porphyry tells about how, when he lived in Carthage, a partridge flew to his window, whom he raised to speak with him. The partridge, Porphyry says, communicated with him, “in a
way different than partridges customarily address each other (Abst.3.4.7),” and Porphyry describes his own communication with the partridge not in human-centered language but in terms common to both the partridge and himself.

For Porphyry, animal logos is continuous with human logos, in accordance with the Neoplatonic scala vitae, and, “in many [animals] it [logos] has the groundwork for being perfected (hupobolas exwn pros to teleion, Abst. 3.2.4).” As the anecdote about Porphyry’s encounter with the partridge is meant to show, animals not only learn from humans and other animals of their kind but can learn to improve the species-specific logos they are born with (eite barbarws eite hellenikws eite kunikws eite boikws, Abst. 3.3.3.). Nonetheless, Porphyry does not think that animal logos is as articulate as human logos. While less determinate than human logos (Porphyry uses phone and pthegma to describe animal speech) “animals capable of voice,” nonetheless, “participate in logos (logou ge ontos metochta ta zoia ta phonetika, Abst. 3.3.3).” Animal logos, according to Porphyry is expressivistic (prophorikos logos, Abst. 3.3.2), and Porphyry defines it as voice meaningfully expressing things undergone in the animal’s soul (phone semantike ton endon kai kata psuchen python, Abst. 3.3.2). “And if we don’t understand them, so what?” Porphyry says. To bring home his species-relative view of animal speech, Porphyry reverses Homer’s simile of Trojan speech as like the shouting of cranes (Il. 3.2-6), suggesting to his audience that, just as was once thought about the Trojans, they should at least be open to the possibility that crane speech might participate more in logos than they might assume. Porphyry ends by suggesting that if we cannot understand the logos of other animals, we should wonder whether it is not our failing and not theirs (Cf. Haussleiter, 230-1).

Porphyry and the partridge discover new capacities for logos in each other. For instance, Porphyry describes his own speech as, not superior, but the mirror image of the partridge’s, which he reflects in the Greek: the partridge was “speaking in response (antiptheggomenou) to my speech (pthegma),” and it, “did not speak when I was silent; it only responded when I spoke (phthegxamenou antephthegxato). This knotted language shows Porphyry and the partridge bound in regard and respect and—to use Donna Haraway’s term—in “becoming with.” But the partridge does not completely escape Roman stereotypes. It is framed as Porphyry’s pet, and Porphyry, to echo John Berger, “has become the-special-man-he-is-only-to-his-pet” (“Why Look at Animals?,” 15).

At stake for Porphyry in this encounter is the question of whether animals are moral patients, i.e. beings worthy of receiving moral treatment, or even moral agents, beings capable of being held accountable for their actions (cf. Dombrowski, 552-3). Contrary to the Peripatetics and Stoics (esp. Pol. I.2; cf. Osborne, 228; Bouffartigue et al., 127), Porphyry ultimately uses the story about the encounter with the partridge to show that certain animals should be included in considerations of justice because they too are logistika zoa.

This paper seeks, therefore, 1) to offer close readings of (newly resonant) arguments for the existence of something that might, broadly construed, be called animal logos, from the the beginning of De Abstinentia Book Three in order to 2) show how these arguments for animal logos are supplemented and encapsulated by the lovely story Porphyry tells about his encounter and conversation with a partridge that flew to him when he lived in Carthage.
Critics have long maligned Epistulae ex Ponto 4, the last book of Ovid’s career, for its incoherent structure (Evans, Helzle). Individual poems have attracted attention: 4.7 to Vestalis (Williams) and 4.8 about Germanicus (Fantham, Myers), but the book as a whole has not been evaluated. This paper shows that the book has a structure in which poems exploring the nature of the Roman consulship under Tiberius are contrasted with poems about other poets and their compositions. Ovid also juxtaposes his rise as a Getic poet with Tiberius’ ascension to emperor. He establishes these themes with two programmatic poems: 4.1 to a politician, Sextus Pompeius, and 4.2 to a poet, Cornelius Severus. Ultimately, I argue that Pont. 4 shows politics becoming increasingly dominated by the emperor in contrast to poets who still have the freedom to write what they want.

Ovid’s interest in Augustus during his exile has been thoroughly covered, particularly with regards to the Fasti (Barchiesi), but his presentation of Tiberius has not been addressed despite the fact that Ovid documents his ascension in Pont. 4.14. Instead of writing about Tiberius directly—he never names him in his poetry—Ovid draws attention to the diminished power of the Roman consuls in order to show the changes to political hierarchies. This analysis helps explain the prominent role of Sextus Pompeius (con. 14 CE) in the book. He is the subject of four of sixteen letters, 4.1, 4.4, 4.5, 4.15. His consulship in 14 CE was especially significant because this was the year when Augustus died and Tiberius became emperor, events that Ovid documents in 4.6 and 4.14. The other two Tiberian consuls, Graecinus (suf. con. 16 CE) and his brother Flaccus (con. 17 CE), are both mentioned 4.9 in order to emphasize that they followed each other by the will of the emperor and not the Senate.

Over the course of Pont. 4 Ovid presents an image of the consulship that puts it in tension with the emperor. Ovid’s assertion that there is no office greater than the consulship (4.9.63-68) is ironically undercut by the reality that the emperor controls the nomination process. Ovid manipulates the reader’s impression of the consulship to show that it is rigorously Republican in appearance yet imperial in practice. The consuls still bear their traditional trappings, the sella curulis and vestments, but their duties are diminished as Ovid makes clear when he says they have to seek advice from the emperor before making decisions (4.5.23-24).

Ovid articulates a dramatic portrayal of his poetic career over the course of the book that parallels the rise of Tiberius. He starts out by not even being able to address the locals, but soon he is writing a poem in the native Getic language about the rise of Tiberius (4.13.18-32). He then becomes so popular that he gains immunity from taxes (4.13.53). Because Ovid gains fame from a poem about Tiberius, we are encouraged to examine the combination of poetry and politics. Ovid claims to have written a flattering poem and this made the locals support Tiberius. The tacit threat is that Ovid could write a very different poem and shift public opinion again.

Just as he alternates himself with Tiberius, Ovid also juxtaposes the new consuls with a variety of poets. In contrast to the consuls and their subservience to the emperor, these poets have all chosen their own material and act independently of patrons. He first addresses Cornelius Severus, who is writing a poem on Roman kings (4.2). Albinovanus Pedo is writing about Odysseus’ adventures on Phaeacia (4.10), Carus is writing about Germanicus’ campaigns (4.13), and Tuticanus is composing a Thesiad (4.12, 14). By comparing the political and literary landscapes, Ovid shows that while the empire can change the way in which politics is conducted and who can be a politician, it cannot control who becomes a poet and his subject matter.
Frontinus’ *De Aquaeductu* has suffered from a limited range of critical engagement from scholars of ancient literature and history (notable exceptions: Baldwin 1994, DeLaine 1996, and Del Chicca 1995). This paper focuses on chapters 87-102, where Frontinus moves from describing the history of each aqueduct and the quality of the water it conveys to outlining the laws concerning the water supply and the history of the water administration (*cura aquarum*). Building on the work of Williams 1978 on the narrative of decline in the early empire, I consider how Frontinus’ self-portrayal as a historian of the *cura aquarum* and his manipulation of this decline narrative operate in tandem. By tracing the development of the water administration in the city of Rome, Frontinus acts as a historian of this part of the Roman bureaucracy. In so doing, he both participates in and manipulates the imperial narrative of decline, as he portrays his tenure as *curator aquarum*, and thus the reigns of the emperors under whom he serves, Nerva and Trajan, as part of a new golden age. Like Tacitus, who declares in *Agricola* 3 that, under the rules of these two emperors, *nunc demum redit animus*, Frontinus praises the foresight of Nerva (87-88), thereby associating himself with this rupture in the decline narrative, the history of which Frontinus makes clear in his treatise.

I begin by arguing that chapters 87-102 constitute an archaeology of the *cura aquarum*, similar in tone and purpose to the archaeologies found in ancient historical works (e.g., Thuc. 1.1-23; Sall. *Cat.* 2, 6-7). Through this archaeology, Frontinus represents himself as a historian of the *cura aquarum*; his citation of old laws, senatorial resolutions, and archives create an authorial persona that is knowledgeable about the office’s development, independent of his participation in it (Bravo 2007 on antiquarianism). By means of these citations, Frontinus creates a history of the water administration, informed by and indebted to the actions of his predecessors in the office – the *veteres* or *maiores* (Hölkeskamp 2010, 17-18 on the importance of *mos maiorum* in Rome).

However, Frontinus’ relationship to these forebears is complicated, in large part due to the contemporary ideas about decline that condemned the recent history of the Roman Empire (particularly the reigns of the later Julio-Claudian emperors, Claudius and Nero, and that of Domitian; Gowing 2005, especially chapter 4; Luce 1993; Caplan 1944; Kennedy 1972; Fantham 1978; Barnes 1986). He holds up the positive examples of Republican Romans who – as aediles and censors – oversaw, repaired, and augmented the city’s water system and of Augustus’ right-hand man Marcus Agrippa, the first *curator aquarum*, as paragons of what the office can and should be. It is these *maiores* to whom Frontinus refers when, condemning how the water supply for the city of Rome has been infected by overabundance and indulgence in private luxury, he writes that “*manifestum est quanto potior cura maioribus communium utilitatum quam privatarum voluptatium fuerit*” (95).

At least in the view of the senatorial class, corruption and incompetence had plagued the imperial bureaucracy, including the water administration, in the generations following the reign of Augustus, as responsibilities were increasingly assigned to imperial slaves and freedmen. With Agrippa as his model, Frontinus portrays himself as a reformer of the corrupt, inept *cura*, which had languished in the previous decades. Frontinus revives the Republican tradition of active oversight and competent management of the water system, thus situating his tenure of the office of *curator* as a point of rupture in the narrative of decline. By aligning himself with the legacy of his predecessor Marcus Agrippa, Frontinus brings the emperors he serves (Nerva, then Trajan) into parallel with Augustus, severing the narrative of decline and reinvigorating Rome, both rhetorically and hydraulically.
L. Verginius Rufus, a lifelong friend and mentor of Pliny the Younger, is featured in three letters of Pliny’s *Epistulae* (Ep. 2.1, 6.10, and 9.19). Notably, Verginius’ most singular deed took the form of a refusal: in the early months of civil war in 68/69 CE, Verginius rejected multiple troop acclamations, effectively declining the principate. Nevertheless, Pliny defines Verginius’ restraint as a glorious, exemplary action, in effect lauding a man who could have been emperor in terms of Republican glory. Pliny’s Verginius letters suggest the tensions between Republican ideals and the limited possibilities for imperial exemplarity and fame.

In order to understand Pliny’s unusual combination of exemplary Republican rhetoric and imperial *Realpolitik*, I compare Verginius’ epistolary portrait with three alternate exemplary possibilities. First, Pliny evokes traditional exemplary values, such as deference to the state over the self, much like a Cincinnatus or Brutus. Second, Pliny’s Verginius reflects the forced modesty and restricted prospects of the imperial age, in the vein of Agricola’s silent virtue or Frontinus’ refusal of a monument in Ep. 9.19 (Sailor 2008; Marchesi 2008: 146-148; Whitton 2012). Third, and perhaps most contentiously, Pliny presents Verginius as an alternate emperor, in the traditionalist vein of Vespasian or Nerva. In each case, Pliny portrays the difficulties and discrepancies of memory under the empire, insisting upon his own version of how and why Verginius is remembered in the post-Flavian era.

For example, Verginius’ legacy and his *immortale factum* (6.10.3) seem less assured in the two later letters. In Ep. 6.10, Pliny laments Verginius’ incomplete monument; in Ep. 9.19, he defends Verginius’ legacy from competing claims of contemporary historiography and new types of memorialization. In these letters, Pliny portrays Verginius as both particularly traditional and well-attuned to imperial realities. This is revealed in Verginius’ intended, but ultimately un-inscribed epitaph: *Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam / imperium adseruit non sibi, sed patriae* “Here lies Rufus, who once defeated Vindex / He freed imperial power not for himself but for his country” (Ep. 6.10.4). Alongside the personal victory claimed by the epitaph, the verb *adseruit* served as a nouveau-Republican watchword, often connected with notions of senatorial *libertas* (Shotter 1975, 2001; Levick 1985).

However, this particular version of events relies upon Pliny’s portrayal of a noble, triple refusal of power. Under the Flavians, it was likely dangerous to promote Verginius’ actions as a virtuous refusal of *imperium*, particularly in contrast to the similar rise of Vespasian. This unflattering comparison is often invoked as the reason why the Flavians denied Verginius any official role during their twenty-six years of power (Townend 1961, Shotter 1975 and 2001, Levick 1985). Verginius’ third consulship in 97 CE, shared with the new emperor Nerva, suggests rehabilitation in the last years of Verginius’ life. Pliny ultimately ensures that this interpretation of events survives (Leach 2013). In doing so, Pliny transforms Verginius’ intended verses into a meta-literary epitaph that endures only through inclusion and circulation in the *Epistulae*.

In short, the post-Flavian era allows for a different kind of memory to emerge, in which Pliny can present Verginius’ refusals as a positive counter-memory to the silences and omissions of the Flavian era. The Verginius letters focus these concerns through the complex legacy of a single figure, allowing Pliny to perpetuate his mentor’s fame and re-frame it for posterity.
static. As performance was a key aspect of virtus and masculinity in general, examining one method of displaying virtus provides an opportunity to track these changes and contextualize the conversation that they reflect (Gleason, xxii). In this paper, I examine the representation of virtus on Roman imperial coinage, which reveals the shifting and contested nature of this idea central to Roman masculinity. These coins connected the emperor with virtus and allowed him to display the characteristic to a wide audience. Although coins were minted by the imperial administration and tend to present the “official line,” this official message was not developed in a vacuum. In order to be effective, the advertised concepts and iconography had to be in line with popular attitudes and beliefs (Howgego, 40). Shifts in the iconographic display of virtus on coins, therefore, reflect similar shifts in widespread ideology. The coinage suggests that after the fall of the Republic, virtus underwent a crisis. As a fundamental characteristic of the military men responsible for the political upheaval, virtus is downplayed and renegotiated under the Julio-Claudians. The traditional meaning then returns under the Flavians and a growing importance is placed on the concept, which can be traced until the reign of Septimius Severus.

Virtus coinage is relatively common under the Republic. However, under Augustus and the following Julio-Claudian emperors, virtus coinage disappears. In the aftermath of the civil wars, which were led by men who gained power through military exploits and virtus, advertising such a characteristic was not politically advantageous. Literary sources from this period, such as Seneca, display a similar discomfort with the traditional military concept and advocate an alternative definition for virtus based on philosophical precepts (Nat. 3). Rather than viewing this lack of virtus coinage and the literary debate as the result of the new political institution, I suggest that the emperor was taking part in the dialogue and adopting the consensus. Virtus reappears under Galba’s short reign and becomes prolific under the Flavians, Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian. These emperors maintain the Republican model and rarely deviate from the conventional virtus coinage and iconography. These coins typically display the emperor’s bust on the obverse, with an image of personified Virtus on the reverse with the legend reading VIRTUS AUGUSTI (RIC 222, 423). These coins evolve under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, whose coinage presents far more elaborate scenes on the reverse. The legend continues to read VIRTUS AUG; however, the scenes depict Marcus Aurelius or Commodus engaging in an activity that demonstrates their virtus, such as combat or hunting (BMC 446, 295). Under Septimius Severus this tradition is continued. In addition, coins begin to make the connection between virtus and authority more explicit. Several coins issued under Severus depict personified Virtus crowning the emperor, thus locating the source of his power in the concept (RIC 693, BMC 562).

The changes that virtus coinage underwent between 27 BCE-212 CE suggests the intricacy of the concept, which is often viewed as a constant. Although it played an important role in Roman identity throughout Rome’s duration, the changes and shifts that the idea undergoes illustrates the plurality and malleability of such social identities it represents.

Title: Lucan's Parthians in Nero's Rome
Name: Jake Nabel

For an epic that recounts the horrors of civil war, Lucan’s poem refers with surprising frequency to an enemy that is not domestic but external: the kingdom of the Parthians, a vast empire to the east of the Euphrates ruled by the Arsacid royal family. The Parthians, the poet says, have unleashed the strife between Caesar and Pompey by killing Crassus, the only man capable of suppressing the rivalry between the two commanders (1.98–108). They escape vengeance for Carrhae as Rome sinks into civil war (1.10–12, 7.431). And the nature of their realm is debated at length by Pompey and Lentulus in a pair of speeches that dominate the eighth book of the epic (8.202–455) – a passage that this paper reinterprets.

Commentators usually read the Parthian debate as an illustration of Pompey’s character (Ahl 1976: 170–3; Bartsch 1997: 82–7; Fantham 2010: 55; Lintott 1971: 501–2, 505) or as a demonstration of Lucan’s
rhetorical skills (Postgate 1917: 38–40; Mayer 1981: 118–41; Narducci 2002: 329; cf. Radicke 2004: 443). But such treatments have not discussed the contemporary resonance of the speeches in the context of Roman-Parthian relations during Nero’s reign. Lucan lived and wrote through a protracted Roman war with the Arsacid empire (54–63 CE), a conflict over Armenia that was a primary concern of Neronian foreign policy (Heil 1997). This war ended not with a decisive battle, but with a brokered settlement that involved negotiation, compromise, and concessions on both sides. Against this background, Pompey and Lentulus’ debate can be read as a dramatization of a central problem of Roman foreign relations under Nero: the anxiety over whether Parthia – a land so often viewed with distaste, apprehension, and fear – could be a diplomatic partner, and more than a mere enemy.

In its call for an alliance with the Arsacids, Pompey’s speech echoes Nero’s diplomatic overtures to Parthia in the wake of a humiliating military defeat. The loss suffered by the Roman commander Paetus at Rhandea in 62 CE meant that diplomacy and negotiation would assume critical importance in the Neronian regime’s efforts to save face (Chaumont 1976: 123; Heil 1997: 130–1, 196–7; Campbell 1993: 232–3; Wheeler 2002: 289; Mratschek 2013: 52). Lucan’s Pompey wonders whether the Parthians can be relied on to uphold a treaty (8.218–20), but he also affirms the necessity of trusting “the savage family of the Arsacids” for lack of better options (8.306–8).

Lentulus’ response is that of a hardliner who brooks no accommodation with the eastern enemy. He draws on a host of Roman clichés about the unreliability of the Parthians, inveighing against their treachery, lustfulness, and incestuous marital customs (8.368–416; cf. Sonnabend 1986; Schneider 2007; Lerouge 2007: 305–49). Moreover, he is unequivocal that the Roman defeat at Carrhae can be avenged only on the battlefield, not with a treaty; Pompey errs in pursuing peace with the Parthians instead of victory over them (8.420–39). Such arguments present a vivid contrast with eastern policy in Lucan’s own day. Peace instead of victory was precisely the choice that Nero made when, in 63 CE, he ended hostilities with the Parthians and ceded Armenia to a member of the Arsacid family. This settlement was a recent development when Lucan began work on the later books of his epic (Griffin 1984: 155–60; Rudich 1997; cf. Fantham 2011: 13–14).

The debate between Pompey and Lentulus is no straightforward guide to Lucan’s view of Roman policy in the Parthian east. It can, however, be read as an expression of the fear, uncertainty, and suspicion that accompanies détente with a long-demonized enemy. The troubled history of Roman-Parthian relations shows how Lucan’s Parthian debate had deep roots in the politics of the Neronian age.

Session 42: Ethnicity and Identity
Title: Agglutinative Ethnographies: Valerius Flaccus and Ammianus Marcellinus on Sarmatian Warfare
Name: Timothy C. Hart

Amidst the standard ethnographic and epic topoi employed in his catalogue of Scythian enemies (Argonautica 6), Valerius Flaccus provides some unexpected contemporary details on Sarmatian arms and tactics (6.162, 231-238). This paper considers how Romans processed new information about barbarian peoples within a conceptual system where established stereotypes and traditional topoi held primacy of place.

Isaac (2004) has convincingly demonstrated that the Romans, building on Greek traditions, tended to view foreign peoples through the lens of stable ethnographic stereotypes, frequently connected to geographic location. These tropes had great staying-power because they described foreign customs as distortions or inversions of Greco-Roman cultural norms (Hartog 1980). Ethnographic topoi permeated every genre of literature and were thus deeply inculcated in the minds of Rome's political decision makers, educated as they were in the ancient liberal arts (Mattern 1999). Lee (1993) has shown
that military intelligence-gathering did occur, albeit in a haphazard manner, but what room was there in the broader Roman ethnographic system for such new information, once acquired?

I argue that new facts could be included in literary descriptions of barbarian peoples, but that fresh knowledge rarely displaced older stereotypes. Rather, the new was often simply presented alongside the old creating potentially paradoxical descriptions. Understanding that Roman popular perceptions of barbarian peoples operated on an agglutinative principal can help us decipher contradictory descriptions when we encounter them.

Together, Valerius Flaccus and Ammianus Marcellinus provide a good example of this process in action. Most of the tribes included in Valerius Flaccus' Scythian catalogue originate from Herodotus and are described using Herodotean tropes about nomadic behavior and warfare. Not so the Sarmatians, who, unlike their Herodotean selves, are described here as armored lancers (6.231-238). Syme's point was well made: these lancers reflect the real Sarmatians Rome was then dealing with in the plains beyond the Danube (1929). Valerius presumably included this modern information in order to connect his narrative to a topic of contemporary interest. With Vespasian warring against the Roxolani in 69-70 CE, and Domitian facing down the Iazyges during his Dacian campaigns in 89 and 92, Sarmatians would have been on people's minds at Rome, wherever we may date the Argonautica.

Looking ahead almost three centuries to Ammianus Marcellinus, we find a more complex treatment of the Sarmatian peoples. Here we can identify three contradictory characterizations. First, the Alani, a Sarmatian tribe, are described by Ammianus using details lifted directly from Herodotus (31.2.13-25). Elsewhere, the Sarmatians of the Hungarian Plain are introduced as armored lancers famed as plunderers because of their great mobility (17.12.2-3). Were these two passages all we had to account for, interpretation would be easy: like Valerius, Ammianus has used contemporary data in one place and relied on established tropes to describe the distant Alani. There are, however, other Sarmatian scenes. Whenever Ammianus actually describes Sarmatians engaged in battle (17.13.8-15; 19.11.13-16), they appear mainly as infantry, fighting to defend settled villages, not nomad horsemen in the vein of either Herodotus or Valerius Flaccus. Ammianus, a career military staff-officer, has been judged largely reliable in his presentation of battles and tactics (Austin 1979), so we cannot simply dismiss these descriptions as military commonplaces.

Ammianus, then, presents a highly paradoxical picture of Sarmatian warfare and society. The Alani are described as bow-wielding nomads, while the more westerly Sarmatians are first identified as rapacious lancers only to be shown in battle as common barbarian footsoldiers. This three-part characterization is telling. The battle narratives show that by the later 4th century, Valerius' armored, lance-wielding Sarmatians - once the product of contemporary knowledge - no longer reflected reality. The fact that they still make an appearance in Ammianus' Sarmatian introduction shows how ethnographic stereotypes could snowball over time. Valerius' description became canonical, to be repeated with the older tropes by successive generations even as updated information occasionally revealed the lie; careful reading of other Roman ethnographic material will certainly reveal further examples.

Title: Ethnicity and Genealogy in Heliodorus' "Aethiopica": Theagenes Reconsidered
Name: Emilio Carlo Maria Capettini

In Book 2 of Heliodorus’ Aethiopica, the Delphic priest Charicles provides a detailed account of the ethnic affiliation and genealogical self-presentation of Theagenes, the male protagonist of the novel. This young man, Charicles reports, belongs to the ethnos of the Aenianians, who are the most noble inhabitants of Thessaly and can be said to be Greek in the truest sense of the word (akribōs Hellēnikon, 2.34.2) since they descend from Hellen, the son of Deucalion. What is more surprising, however, is that Theagenes claims that Achilles was an Aenianian and that he himself is one of his descendants. For the region that
Homer calls “Phthia” is, Theagenes contends, none other than the area along the coast of the Gulf of Malis where the Aenianians live. The disparity between the limited relevance of the Aenianians in the ancient sources and the grandiose claims made by Theagenes has not been left unremarked by scholars: according to Whitmarsh (1998) and De Temmerman (2014), Heliodorus carefully crafted it so as to emphasize the arbitrariness of many a genealogical reconstruction and to present his protagonist as untrustworthy. As I will show in this paper, however, the situation is not so straightforward. For Theagenes’ genealogical self-presentation, although questioned by Charicles and Calasiris, his interlocutor, does not seem to have been invented by Heliodorus.

The so-called Periodos to Nicomedes, a description of the world written in iambic trimeters in the second century BCE, presents the Aenianians in terms that lend support to Theagenes’ self-presentation: Δολόπων τε Περραιβῶν τε συνορίζοντ’ ἔθνη | τὰ τ’ Αἰνιάνων, οἵτινες τῶν Αἰμόνων | ὑπεράνεια Λαπιθῶν Μυρμιδόνων τε γεγονότα (ll. 615-17). The Aenianians are here said to descend from the Myrmidons, the very people Achilles led to Troy. As is clear, then, the reader of the Aethiopica is encouraged not to dismiss Theagenes’ genealogy as an example of self-aggrandizement but rather to assess on her own whether this character resembles his alleged ancestor. As I will argue, Heliodorus invites us, by means of clear allusions to the Iliad, to realize that his protagonist possesses not just Achilles’ beauty and physical ability but also his impulsiveness and pride. Moreover, I will suggest that Theagenes’ refusal to lie and say what he deems shameful in Book 7 should be interpreted as proof of his Achillean descent. Whereas his beloved, Charicleia, who is associated in more than one passage with Odysseus, shows no qualm about the necessity of lying to protect herself, Theagenes, in a way that recalls Neoptolemus in Sophocles’ Philoctetes, does not conceal his uneasiness at the idea of saying something that he does not mean.

Since Charicleia, the female protagonist of the Aethiopica, is a fair-skinned Ethiopian who grows up in Greece persuaded of being Greek, scholars have argued that Heliodorus presents identity not as the result of innate traits determined by birth but as the product of human culture and the performance of a role (Whitmarsh 2011, 125; De Temmerman 2014, 277). The seeming implausibility of Theagenes’ genealogical self-presentation has been interpreted as further proof in this regard. However, a closer look at the ancient ethnographic tradition on the Aenianians and a careful assessment of the ἑθος displayed by Theagenes in the course of the novel enable us to put forward a more nuanced interpretation. Even though the importance of culture in shaping identity in this novel cannot be denied, the case of Theagenes suggests that character traits can still travel along the genealogical axis.

Title: Carian A(door)nment? The Anthesteria, Carians, and Ionian Identity
Name: Emily Wilson, University of Chicago

The Anthesteria was a curious three-day festival held in early spring in Athens and greater Ionia to celebrate the uncorking of the new wine, which was marked by an amalgamation of traditions and odd events. For example, young children received wreaths, drinking parties were conducted in silence, a hieros gamos was performed between the wife of the archon basileos and Dionysos, there was swinging by young girls, new wine was brought and presented to Dionysus of the Marshes, and a meal was offered to Hermes of the Underworld (Parker).

One puzzling aspect of this festival is a proverb, related by Zenobius, that was purportedly uttered on day two of this festival and ordered the Carians to leave because the Anthesteria was over (θυράζε Κάρες, οὐκ ἔτ’ Ἀνθεστήρια). This seemingly out-of-context phrase has caused a great deal of consternation, even among the ancients, with Hesychius changing it to the ghostly Κῆρες. Scholars who do not accept Hesychius’ emendation generally suggest that the Kāρες refers to the large number of Carian slaves present in Attica or the Carian ancestors that once inhabited Attika (Robertson). Scholars who take the
view of Hesychius, on the other hand, argue that the proverb reflects the belief that ghosts and spirits roamed the city and surrounding countryside (Burkert, Parke). Neither explanation is particularly satisfying, however, and the former does not explain why the Carians would be singled out of the entire slave body of Athens for expulsion.

This paper argues for a new interpretation of this proverb, one that sees this phrase as a holdover from the formation of Ionian identity in Western Anatolia in the 7th and 6th centuries BCE. In particular, it highlights the trope of Carian expulsion found widely within in the foundation myths of the Ionian poleis of Western Anatolia (See Paus. 7.3.7, Pherec. F 3 F 155, and Hdt. 1.146 for Carian origins at Miletus; Str. 14.1.21 and Pherec. F 3 F 155 for Carians at Ephesus, Myus, and the Mykale; Paus. 7.3.2-3 for Colophon; and Str. 7.7.2 for all of Ionia). The fact that this trope of Carian violence and expulsion appears to be a common theme among the foundation myths of most of the Ionian cities suggests that it was part of the formation process of the Ionian identity in the Archaic period, when this region was setting itself apart from the neighboring regions (MacSweeney, Herda, Crielaard). The Carians, so closely intertwined with the Ionians (via mercenary activity and trade for example) were likely the people that the Ionians most specifically had to differentiate themselves from. A myth of the expulsion of the Carians, therefore, likely arose in Ionia so that the Ionians could define themselves partly in opposition to their neighbors.

It is important that this proverb was uttered at the end of the second day, which also saw Dionysus arrive from the sea, be welcomed to Attica by a festive procession, and then take part in a hieros gamos to the basilinna. This sequence of events parallels the foundation stories told in Ionia that record the arrival of the Ionian colonists and their subsequent settling of the land and expulsion of the original Carian inhabitants. Indeed, Herodotus gives an example of the Ionian colonizers marrying the Carian women at Miletus that precisely parallels the actions of Dionysus and the basilinna (1.146).

Since this proverb, therefore, appears to be a holdover of the identity formation process that took place in Archaic Ionia, it makes sense that it was incorporated within the Athenian Anthesteria. The Anthesteria was an appropriate religious venue for this proverb because every spectrum of the community was represented in this festival, and its very purpose— to celebrate the drinking and consecrating of new wine - celebrated a medium that helped knit together the entire community.

Title: Bronze men: reading Herodotus on 'the sea of Greeks'
Name: Christopher Stedman Parmenter

In Herodotus 2.152, the exiled Psammetichus, erstwhile warlord in the Nile Delta, receives a prophecy from the oracle at Buto: “vengeance would come from the sea, whence bronze men would appear.” Shortly thereafter, Psammetichus recruits a crew of shipwrecked Ionian and Carian pirates to help retake his kingdom. The tradition of raiders in the Delta is well established by the time of Herodotus. Odysseus tells two pirate tales in Egypt (Od. 14.246-316; 17.424-44), and when Herodotus disputes the Cypria’s account of Paris and Helen in Egypt (2.113-16), he seems to participate in an ongoing discussion. Contemporary Egyptian and Near Eastern imperial sources, more concerned with issues of land empire than the sea, consider these maritime travelers annoyances, whose access to the sea and its resources is integral to their identity as outsiders. This paper argues that in this outsider, maritime identity becomes part of a vague and incipient sense of the physically ‘normal’ in Archaic Greece. As early as the eighth century, visual and literary sources from the still indeterminate ‘Greek world’ begin to normalize the the bodies of bronze-armed, sea- borne raiders as natural (cf. Lissarague 2015). The bodies of their landlocked enemies are not. If Herodotus’ fabulous Egyptian and Assyrian ethnographies—presenting Greek as normal and non- Greek as ‘Other’ (Hartog 1988)—date to the mid-to-late fifth century, the seeds of his thought date long before (cf. Skinner 2012).
Gunter (2009) and Kim (2009) argue that the administration of Near Eastern empires facilitated the development of distinct regional identities based on tribute or craft production. Both of these practices are visible in Herodotus’ accounting of Persian tribute (1.192, 3.89-97). This imperial stereotyping extends over borders. Take how Assyrian and Egyptian sources tend to characterize the people they call ‘Ionians’ (cf. Braun 1982a, 1982b, Haider 1996, Rollinger 2001, Luraghi 2006, Gunter 2009, Moyer 2011, Hale 2013). We find, for instance, the Assyrian chronicle of Sargon II complaining about incursions by the “Iaman who live beside the sea” (Lie 1929 no. 20-21). Three hundred years later, the matching customs stelai of Naukratis and Thonis/Herakleion prescribe export duties for products carried on the “sea of the Greeks” (von Bomhard 2012, Villing n.d.a, n.d.b). Ezekiel, listing the products brought to Tyre by merchants of different nationalities, remarks that the Iavan arrive with a cargo of bronze cauldrons and slaves (27.13). These texts ranging from the seventh to the fourth centuries BCE imagine a traffic in metal and bodies over the sea—enslaved and free, peaceful or threatening—and this traffic is given an ethonym: Ionian.

As a case study for the naturalization of the bronze-armed Ionian body, I will look at two archaic stamp seals from Mediterranean contexts—Delphi and Kourion, Cyprus—that juxtapose bronze-clad hoplites and zoomorphic creatures in Nilotic settings. A glazed stone scaraboid of likely Cypriot origin found at Delphi (inv. no. 31231; publication Perdrizet 1908) depicts such a scene, juxtaposing two zoomorphic bipedal figures holding weapons, in a hostile stance, against a single human figure wearing Greek-style armor. The scene takes place against a Nilotic backdrop of papyrus, trees, and antelope. Likewise, on a cubical steatite seal from the archaic precinct of the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates outside Kourion, Cyprus (inv. no. St. 841; publication Arwe 1982), a single hoplite in profile faces frontal-faced demons, vegetative imagery, and animals.

I argue that these seal depictions repurpose Assyrian and Egyptian appellations of Ionians as “Yaman who live beside the sea” (cf. Moyer 2011). In their strong periods, the Assyrian and Egyptian state systems group seaborne raiders and merchants together under the appellation Ionian Yaman, and the Ionians accept this title. When Herodotus in the mid to late fifth century comes to depict Egyptians as a landlocked people of the past (cf. Vasunia 2001), he reverses the language. It is the peoples of the great empires of the eastern Mediterranean who are ‘Other.’ With Herodotus, as it were, Ionians write back.

**Title: Josephus’ Remarks on his Greek and Elite Identity in the Second Sophistic**

**Name: Sarah Christine Teets**

It was a commonplace in scholarship of an earlier generation to assert that Flavius Josephus was not a particularly competent Hellenist (Laqueur 1920 and Thackeray 1929). Such pronouncements seemed to be invited, or at least justified, by Josephus’ own claim to have struggled to attain precise Greek pronunciation at *Jewish Antiquities* 20.263 (τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δὲ γραμμάτων ἐσπούδασα μετασχεῖν τὴν γραμματικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἀναλαβὼν, τὴν δὲ περὶ τὴν προφορὰν ἀκρίβειαν πάτριος ἕκώλυσεν συνήθεια.), as well as his statement that he employed συνεργοί (Thackeray’s “assistants”) for the Greek language while composing the *Jewish War at Against Apion* 1.50 (χρησάμενός τις πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν συνεργοῖς οὕτως ἐποιησάμην τῶν πράξεων τὴν παράδοσιν). While more recent scholars interpret Josephus’ claims in these passages less harshly, and generally hold that Josephus’ skills in Greek are no worse than his contemporaries (Rajak 1983 and Mason 2009), many nevertheless maintain that Josephus’ remarks at *Antiquities* 20.263 and *Apion* 1.50 constitute straightforward claims of linguistic incompetence, regardless of whether these claims are sincere. This paper dispels this notion by situating the passages in the context of the nascent Second Sophistic. In this context, such self-conscious statements of an author’s purported shortcomings as a Hellenist are a form of posturing and identity performance, and are found among other contemporary or near-contemporary authors who, like Josephus, express bicultural identities, such as Favorinus and Lucian. I argue that Josephus presents himself in these passages as an author deeply
engaged in the elite Hellenophone culture of his time, an active participant in rather than an outsider to this culture.

The Greek language itself, and specifically the use of Attic Greek, became arguably the primary site of Greek cultural identity during the Second Sophistic (and a trend already in evidence in the late first century CE), even for non-ethnic Greeks (Swain 1996 and Whitemarsh 2001). In this context, Josephus’ display of Atticizing tendencies in his Greek (Pelletier 1962, Feldman 1998, Redondo 2000,) itself takes on new meaning, and shows a degree of participation in Greek cultural identity (despite Josephus’ overt protestations to the contrary throughout Apion), which gives us grounds for situating the remarks at Antiquities 20.263 and Apion 1.50 within the milieu of the Second Sophistic.

Mason, in his analysis of Josephus’ remarks on his Greek, gestures toward the context of the Second Sophistic milieu of hyper-criticism of others’ Greek, specifically toward Lucian’s Pseudologista and Pro lapsu inter salutandum. Yet Lucian in these works seeks to satirize not only the culture of Atticism, but the anxiety purportedly experienced by would-be Atticists. If we compare Antiquities 20.263 and Apion 1.50 with these works by Lucian as well as with Favorinus’ remarks in his Corinthian Oration (Dio 37.25-6) on his laborious attainments in Greek culture, a picture emerges not merely of a self-consciousness regarding one’s use of Greek, but a pattern of asserting the difficulty involved in achieving proper (Attic) Greek. In a world in which there had been no native speakers of Attic for centuries, and in which composition of Attic prose was always an artificial exercise (Swain 1996, Horrocks 2014, Kim 2014), these remarks constitute further markers of elite cultural identity. In this regard, Josephus was hardly at any major linguistic disadvantage by the time of his composition of Antiquities and Apion, but like his (near-)contemporaries used such statements about the difficulties involved in his attainment of Greek language and learning in the construction of his identity as a member of the Hellenophone elite.

**Title:** No Place Like Home: Exile and Theban Identity in the *Thebaid*

**Name:** Clayton A. Schroer

In recent years, scholarship on Statius’ *Thebaid* has emphasized the complexities and nuances of Theban identity, whether in relationship to the enemy Argives (Augoustakis 2010) or anachronistically to Statius’ contemporary Rome and its mytho-historical past (Braud and Cowan). Such analyses accept that Statius promotes the idea of a unified Theban identity, an assumption which needs to be challenged. Beginning with Lovatt’s observation that Statius prefers to mark Theban identity with epithets recalling its exilic roots (e.g. Tyrrius), I employ Edward Said’s essay on exile and argue that Thebes is a city of exiles without a “rhetoric of belonging.” In the *Thebaid*, the poet depicts a city which is foreign to itself. In particular, I examine the portrayal of several characters, addressing such questions as: how are we to interpret Statius’ use of adjectives marking non-Theban identity in his description of Thebes and her soldiers? Does Statius present Menoeceus as a unifying or destabilizing figure in terms of Theban identity? How are we to interpret the opposing views on Theban identity espoused by Menoeceus and his father Creon?

My argument unfolds through analyses of three scenes: the arrival of Atys on the battlefield (book 8), Menoeceus’ appeal to his Theban comrades in the defense of their wounded ally (book 8), and the suicide of Menoeceus (book 10). Atys, betrothed to Ismene, is called by Statius Tyrii iuvenis non advena belli (*Theb.* 8.555), although the boy is not from Thebes. This description marks Atys as one who signifies the “uneasy relationship between Thebans and others” (Augoustakis 2016). The problem lies not with Atys but Thebes and her citizens: the war to which Atys is said to be non advena is Tyrium. Similarly, Atys’ betrothal to Ismene is described through the words pactus Agenoream, a reference to Statius’ allusive account of Cadmus’ exile at *Theb.* 1.5-6 (inexorabile pactum / legis Agenoreae). Tyrium and Agenorea point to Theban identity only by pointing away from it. In Said’s language, without a “rhetoric of belonging” the distinction between advena and non advena becomes difficult to maintain.
Other scholars (especially Bernstein) have argued that Menoeceus provides a voice of Theban unity. This interpretation is largely based on the rallying cry of the youth at *Theb.* 8.602 (*sanguine nostro*): the Thebans are to emulate the Spartoi (601: *terrigenas*) and fight their enemies. Such argumentation ignores the allusions made by the poet and Menoeceus himself to the exilic origins of Thebes just two lines before the youth’s unifying exhortation (600: *nec prohibent Tyrii*; “pudeat, *Cadme a iuventus...*”). Menoeceus’ attempt to spur the Thebans to action by invoking the city’s unifying, autochthonous origins is itself measured against the city’s alienated, exilic founder Cadmus who encourages flight/metaphoric exile (*fuga*) from the battlefield (*nec prohibent Tyrii*). Statius, in addition to adopting his Homeric source material (Juhnke, II. 16.422: *αἰδὼς οί Λύκιοι: πόσε φεύγετε; νῦν θοοὶ ἔστε*), also exploits the exilic connotations which the former implies.

Finally, in book 10 Creon espouses a rhetoric of belonging in opposition to his son’s but in keeping with the fractured identity we have seen above. The future monarch names his fellow Thebans as *externi* and *alieni* (10.708: *externi te nempe patres alienaque tangunt...*), implying by *externus* that most of the other Thebans are not autochthonous (i.e., were not born in the *terra*) and are, therefore, “other” (cf. Paul. Fest. p. 79: *externus est alienus terrae*). Such wordplay in the context of a *Thebais* goes back at least to Aeschylus’ *Septem*, where Theban citizenship is expressed by the adjective *ἐγχώριος* (Sept. 413). Aeschylus presents autochthony as the marker which differentiates native citizens from foreign enemies. By contrast, in the *Thebaid* autochthonous origins guarantee not unified Theban identity but a fractured one without a rhetoric of belonging.

---

**Session 43: Women and Agency**

**Title: Controlling Images: The Loyal Slave Woman in Roman Comedy**

**Name: Anne Feltovich**

In so many Greek and Roman comedies, a slave woman saves the day. Of the surviving plays of Menander, Terence, and Plautus, thirteen involve the reunion of a lost-daughter with her citizen family. Slave women are responsible, intentionally or unintentionally, for bringing about the recognition in ten of these thirteen plays. Focusing on the nurse, Giddenis, in Plautus’ *Poenulus*, this paper examines why the playwrights imbue characters of such low status with such power.

The lost-daughter presents a problem, and slave women offer a solution that makes sense within the genre. Convention dictates that citizen daughters – even those who do not know their true status – be restricted in their movement (these restrictions fail on multiple occasions, resulting in her rape). Because of the literary ideal, men in comedy have limited access to unmarried citizen girls. This is taken to its extreme in several plays, in which fathers are unable to recognize their own lost-daughters: Daemones of the *Rudens*, standing next to his lost-daughter, ironically remarks that his own little girl would be about the same age now; when Periphanes’ wife (*Epidicus*) demands to know how he mistook their houseguest for his own child, he explains that he never really saw either girl much; and Hanno (*Poenulus*) remarks that he wouldn’t know his own daughters if he met them. But he says he would recognize their nurse, Giddenis.

Denise McCoskey warns that the intersection of gender and status often leads us to overlook the category of slave women (38). This intersection makes Giddenis both hypervisible and hyperinvisible, and the playwright uses both in service to the citizen class. Giddenis is the link between the master and his daughters because only she is capable of recognizing, and being recognized by, all three. On account of her status, she interacts with the world at large; on account of her gender, she has intimate access to the girls, enabling her to bring about the reconciliation on their behalf. But when Giddenis has served her purpose, she retreats into the background, still highly visible but now silent: her master interrupts her reunion with her own lost-son, saying, *tace atque parce muliebri supellecti* (1145). She never says another word.
Slave women often serve as proxies for free women in comedy, just as slave men serve as proxies for free men (on the latter, see Parker). Solidarity along gender lines is a fiction created by slave-holders to alleviate the anxiety of potential overthrow (Rabinowitz 64): in so many stories, slave women like Giddenis rescue citizen daughters from prostitution and restore them to their families. Is this a reflection of reality? Of course not. The question was: why do the playwrights imbue characters of such low status with such power? The answer is: wishful thinking. Patricia Hill Collins describes “controlling images” faced by modern African-American women (68). One image, the mammy, is shown having both a natural talent for and an innate desire to care for white people. Her alleged desire justifies the exploitation of her labor. Collins refers to such stereotypes as controlling images because they allow the white patriarchy to both justify and perpetuate the oppression of black women. The loyal slave woman in comedy, who reunites the master with his daughter, is akin to the mammy: she is, in essence, a guardian or caretaker for the daughter. And crucially, the story is constructed so that what is best for the slave woman is also best for the master. And therein lies the fantasy.

Title: "Hysterical" Virgins in the Hippocratic Peri Partheniōn
Name: Abbe Walker

In the opening of the Hippocratic treatise the Peri Partheniōn, the author explains that there are certain fears that people dread so exceedingly that they go out of their minds and behave as if they see hostile daimones both day and night. This affliction can happen to both men and women, though more commonly to women, and it is especially common in young girls of marriageable age who are approaching menarche. In the course of his investigation into the causes of this disease, the doctor offers a physiological explanation based on the distinct makeup of the virgin female body, the root cause of the disease. While previous scholars have taken issue with the author’s dubious assessment of the disease and have looked for more medically sound explanations, in this paper I turn the focus away from the doctor’s perspective on the female body and instead analyze the ways in which the young female patient expresses her symptoms, particularly her claims to see hostile daimones. I argue that this is a culturally-structured condition based on the socially constructed “nature” of girls.

Although earlier scholars’ attempts to retrospectively diagnose the ‘disease of young girls’ as hysteria, King argues that the label hysteria is not applicable to Hippocratic medicine and in fact is detrimental to our understanding of Hippocratic gynecology (King 1998: 205). I claim, however, that we can use modern anthropological approaches to hysteria, more neutrally referred to as conversion reaction, to understand why girls might interpret an illness, whatever it may be, at the highly marked age of transition as an attack from daimones. I argue that by emphasizing cultural and historical factors, the concept of conversion reaction (hysteria) can be stripped of its pejorative sense and used to understand symptoms with no apparent pathological cause, precisely the sorts of inexplicable behaviors attributed to daimonic attack.

For the girls represented in the Hippocratic treatise, the pressure to marry and become a mother, that is, to successfully fulfill their role in life, creates a fear of failure to fully transition into adulthood. Their expression of this fear and anxiety about their future is shaped by their cultural context, which exhibits a belief in the existence of vengeful ghosts, daimones, of prematurely dead girls who attack their still living counterparts. This explanation provides the Hippocratic virgin with the mythical vocabulary to express to her parents her own fear and apprehension at her transition. By applying anthropological models that explain the symptoms of conversion reaction as culture and history-bound, I attempt to explain both why the symptoms in the Hippocratic text occur predominantly in females and why these girls would express their symptoms as attacks from ghosts. Taking my cue from these anthropological approaches to conversion reactions, I argue that the symptoms themselves are simultaneously a window into this cultural framework expressed in myth and superstitions and a portrait of the psychological state of young girls as they approach marriage. By placing these daimones within the mythico-religious tradition of the...
dying maiden whose spirit demands propitiation, as elaborated by Johnston, I argue that they are the explanation for a perceived hindrance to transition made by girls who were conditioned through myth from a young age to imagine their transition to marriage and womanhood as a confrontation with death that must be overcome through proper religious channels. Such an approach emphasizes female “nature” not as a biological fact, but as a social construct. The contradiction implicit in the idea of a socially-constructed “nature” points to the essential problem: “hysteria” is not a historical constant, but a historical variable.

Title: “Although She Wished to Speak”: Plutarch’s Creation and Silencing of Powerful Women in his Dialogues
Name: Dawn Teresa La Valle

Plutarch has a professed interest in recording women’s speech and women’s deeds, and the women he records often do not fit into the gender expectations set by his predecessors. Yet at the same time, I argue in this paper, Plutarch follows the long-standing literary tradition of not allowing women to speak in their own voice in philosophical dialogues, seen most spectacularly in his dialogues the *Amatorius* and the *Symposium of the Seven Sages*. While he allows for a much wider expression of gender characteristics in his women’s lives, he does not extend that generous expansion to their literary lives.

There has been a recent surge of interest in the Imperial dialogue, stemming from the challenge laid down by Goldhill 2008 that the genre went through a fundamental change in the Imperial period, leading to its ultimate self-destruction. Many scholars have recently pushed back against Goldhill’s reading, such as Cameron 2014 and Föllinger and Müller 2013. However, the debate over the changes in this fertile period has overlooked one of the key areas of transformation. Starting in the 3rd century, women are at last allowed to speak on-stage in dialogues (e.g. Methodius of Olympus, Gregory of Nyssa and Augustine). Plutarch’s experimentation with the vibrant presence of women in his dialogues who are nonetheless not allowed to speak, is an important stage in this larger story of the shift in women’s literary roles and the shift in expectations of the dialogic genre.

Plutarch insists on commemorating women in public not only in works such as the *Virtues of Women* and the *Sayings of Spartan Women*, but also within his large corpus of dialogues. Perhaps the most strongly-painted of these figures is Ismenodora, the rich widow who courts and finally abducts a youth Bacchon in the course of the dialogue *Amatorius*. Her superior position over her beloved in terms of age, wealth and virtue make her a frightening character for some of the interlocutors. Plutarch, on the other hand, in his own persona in the dialogue, defends the possibility of the wife being superior to the husband in a marriage: “No one is his own master, no one is unrestricted. Since this is so, what is there dreadful about a sensible older woman piloting the life of a young man?” (754D, trans. Helmbold). Yet even this strong woman is compelled into literary silence. The entire dialogue may be about her and her controversial actions, but she herself never appears on-stage to argue her defense.

In this paper, I will compare Plutarch’s treatment of Ismenodora in the *Amatorius* with his treatment of another powerful woman, Cleobulina, in his *Symposium of the Seven Sages*. Cleobulina is spoken of in the highest terms as a fitting member of the company of the ancient sages because of her fame in composing riddles. When first introduced, she is said to possess a political mind (νοῦς πολιτικὸς) and be influential with her father, the tyrant Cleobulus. Although deemed worthy to take part in the symposium (against all Greek tradition), she too like Ismenodora is never allowed to speak in her own voice. When riddles are belittled by a symposiast in the course of the party, Cleobulina wishes to speak a rebuttal but it is Aesop who comes to her defense and reports a clever riddle she told them all before dinner (154B).

Both of these powerful women, respected for their wisdom and feared for their power, are not allowed to speak during the dialogues. In fact, in all of Plutarch’s approximately fifteen surviving dialogues, not a
single woman speaks in her own voice. Through following a generic expectation established by Plato, Plutarch puts a literary constraint on women whom he otherwise approvingly depicts as pushing against traditional gender roles. He plays with allowing gender non-conformity, only to quietly and forcefully put these women back in their place as non-speakers.

Title: Pamphila's Historical Commentaries
Name: Dina Guth

Pamphila of Epidaurus, a polymath and Greek author of the mid-1st cent. CE, is now best known as an early miscellanist who influenced the likes of Aulus Gellius and Apuleius (Müller-Reineke, 2006; Klotz and Oikonomopoulou, 2011). Not included by Jacoby in his magisterial *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* (even though she appeared in Müller’s older *Fragmenta Historiorum Graecorum* (Müller, 1849 vol. 3, 520-1)), Pamphila has received hardly any recognition as a historian (Cagnazzi 1997 is a notable exception).

Yet Pamphila’s major work, the Ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα, is deeply embedded in ancient historiography. Much of the modern confusion surrounding the genre of the Ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα may be due to Pamphila’s self-fashioning as a female author. In her introduction Pamphila carves out for herself an unusual, and uniquely feminine, space as a historian: she states that her material was gathered largely by listening to discussions between her husband Socratidas and his friends, and that she decided not to organize her work by any set system but to write in a ‘variegated’ (ποικιλῆ) manner for the enjoyment of her readers. Both claims emphasize the feminine nature of Pamphila’s work, first in drawing on a typically female source of knowledge – her husband – and second in employing an organizational methodology that recalls the feminine labour of embroidery. These authorial decisions result in a writing style that closely resembles that of the miscellanists; yet considerations of source material and organization are essentially historiographical problems that had exercised historians all the way back to Thucydides, who equally expressed concern over his source material (Th. 1.22) and crafted a clearly defined chronological system for the main body of his narrative (Th. 2.1). It is surely no accident that Pamphila claims that her unsystematic writing process will make her work more pleasing (ἐπιτερπέστερον) for her audience (T1), where Thucydides had contrasted the displeasing (ἀτερπέστερον) style of his work with its useful (ὠφελίμα) nature (Th. 1.22.4). As a work with universal scope, Pamphila’s project also drew and similarly innovated on notions of universal history as articulated by Polybius, Ephorus, and especially Strabo, who also wrote Ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα some hundred or so years before her time. The playful manner in which Pamphila engaged with her predecessors is clear not only in her introduction but also in the other fragments of her Ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα.

Pamphila’s influence on later miscellanists should not blind us to her roots within Greek historiography. Accepting her work as essentially historiographical provides new avenues for exploring the eleven fragments of her Ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα and, perhaps more importantly, a new, ancient reinterpretation of the genre of history from the perspective of a woman. Pamphila’s Ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα is unique, in large part because of her female authorial voice, but its unusual qualities are also precisely what make it worth study.

Title: Being Better than Sappho: the Social Life of a Poeta Docta, c. 100 CE
Name: Hannah Mason

This paper re-examines the assessment that Roman women were barred from attendance at literary recitations, and, therefore, from participating in one of the most important avenues of intellectual life. Recent work on the education of Roman women and their production of literature (e.g., Hemelrijk (1999) and Shelton (2013)) frequently assumes, with comparatively little discussion, that conventions of feminine modesty would have prevented women from even attending recitationes, let alone presenting
their work at these gatherings. This assumption deserves further consideration partly because it is not well-supported by the sparse surviving evidence, but also because it has some serious repercussions for the composition and reception of poetry written by Roman women. If these female poets were excluded from the literary communities of men, particularly as poet-reciters, must we assume that there was a distinctly feminine tradition of writing and reading poetry in private and publishing it purely in written form? And how would the existence of such a tradition affect our interpretation of their work?

Focusing primarily on a period when recitationes were at the height of their popularity (around the end of the 1st Century CE), this paper uses a range of literary evidence to argue that the conventions associated with the engagement of women in Roman socio-literary life were not so clearly defined. The case of Pliny’s wife Calpurnia, hidden behind a curtain at her husband’s recitationes in Ep. 4.19, is cited most frequently as an indication that women did not participate in these events (cf. Hemelrijk (1999), 42; Shelton (2013), 358, n. 89). However, this depiction of Calpurnia is part of a collection of polished and ideologically conservative letters, and seems to be coloured by Pliny’s concern for his wife’s modesty. Given that Pliny’s ideal recitatio is more formal than that of his peers (cf. Ep. 1.13), there is every reason to suspect that Calpurnia’s segregation may not be indicative of the realities of Roman women’s behaviour.

A broader survey of the surviving evidence from the period supports this hypothesis. For example, Tacitus describes C. Lutorius Priscus reciting political poetry in front of women (Ann. 3.49); Pliny congratulates a mother after her son recites (Ep. 5.17); Sulpicia Caleni, along with her husband, seems to have been a part of Martial’s literary circle (Mart. 10.35; 10.38; 1.99). While Roman women evidently were often obliged to navigate a tension between modesty and learnedness, I argue that this tension was not insurmountable. On the contrary, the strength of Roman familial relationships and the flexibility of the recitatio as a social institution give us every reason to believe that Calpurnia’s exclusion was the exception to the rule, and that at least some Roman women had greater opportunities to participate in socio-literary life.

Title: Getting Bishops: Galla Placidia’s Contribution to the Bonifatian-Eulalian Schism
Name: Jacqueline Long

Three documents of the Collectio Avellana’s dossier of the Bonifatian-Eulalian schism of 418-419 are docketed as letters of the Western emperor Honorius, but express their thoughts markedly differently from Honorius’s other letters in the group. Two of the three refer to domni germani mei Augusti principis (Coll.Av. 27.2, 28.3), plainly correcting the docketer: they were written not by Honorius but by his sister Galla Placidia, at that date also a member of Honorius’s court. This paper will analyze the epistolary rhetoric of all three letters in comparison with letters of Honorius himself, so as to confirm with new concreteness the suspicion expressed in scholarship previously that the third too is Placidia’s (Coll.Av. 25). The paper will connect Placidia’s writing with her residence in Rome before 410. Although extant direct evidence does not trace what she did at that time, the Collectio Avellana letters reinforce the probability that Placidia participated as an imperial woman in the ecclesiastical networking of which the bishop of Rome was a node (cf., e.g., August. Ep. 20*). They thus add to the clarity with which late-Roman aristocratic women’s agency in Church concerns can be understood. In particular, when Placidia flatters Aurelius of Carthage that he is princeps of the doctissimos viros whom Honorius and she are now summoning to a second synod to decide the schism (Coll.Av. 27.1), or Paulinus of Nola that his absence from the first synod caused its deliberations to wreck corruptly (Coll.Av. 25.1), she delicately suggests how she wishes their and their adherents’ votes to sway the second synod’s results, while Honorius stiffly professes impartiality and reliance on the synods’ judgment (Coll.Av. 18.2, 20.3, 26.3). Recognizing Placidia’s technique, and the possibility of preexisting relationships on which she builds, supports a hypothesis that in the schism she worked contrary to her husband Constantius’s alliances in order to promote a result she liked better. Events in Rome ultimately caused Honorius to impose a decision.
reinforcing his own authority, rather than deferring to a second synod, but the dossier illuminates the religious politics of the imperial family.

Honorius in all his own letters in the Bonifatian-Eulalian dossier pounds out an impression of conscientious deference to abstract procedure and authority. He recapitulates urban prefect Symmachus’s first report of the dual elections point by point (Coll.Av. 14, 15). When unrest in Rome makes plain the procedurally legitimate election, as Symmachus had presented it, was not popular, Honorius rescinds his authorization without prejudgment and calls for a collective decision of priests (Coll.Av. 18). Impersonal phrases deliver his exhortations (e.g., Coll.Av. 26). Honorius thus conspicuously conforms to decorums of imperial modesty (e.g., Euseb. VC 3.12, Pacat. Pan.Lat. 2.47.3). Placidia, by contrast, invokes personal emotions and mutual presence (Coll.Av. 27.1, 28.3). Her references to her “lord brother Augustus the emperor” ostensibly defer to Honorius while also underlining her own importance, but the intimacy with which she imbues her messages follows a traditional style of Roman aristocratic female interaction much noted, and reprobated, when churchmen were involved (e.g., Coll.Av. 1.9). In the private confidence of this created relationship, Placidia delivers her opinions of the first synod sharply (Coll.Av. 25.1, 27.1, 28.1). She does not mar Honorius’s official rectitude by crassly naming which candidate she prefers, but her addressees can have made no mistake. While both siblings use similar themes in their parallel letters inviting bishops and other clergy to the second synod, and both use grammatical structures in ways that reinforce the meaning of their words, Placidia’s stands out as the more accomplished performance.

Session 44: Traditions and Innovations in Literature
Title: Tradition and Innovation in Fourth-Century Tragedy
Name: Almut Fries

Thoughtful preservation of traditional elements is not commonly associated with fourth-century tragedy. Aristotle speaks of development, often implying decline, while modern scholars have either believed his verdict (and the image created in Ar. Frogs) or highlighted the innovative power of post-classical tragedians like Astydamas II and Carcinus II (Taplin 2009; 2014: 147-53; cf. already Webster 1954). Yet the only complete play which very probably belongs to the fourth century, the pseudo-Euripidean Rhesus, consciously combines progressive elements with archaisms, such as the deeply integrated role of the chorus (anticipating Arist. Poet. 1456a25-7; Fries 2014: 40) and a very low trimeter resolution rate (ca. 8%). On the reasonable assumption that Rhesus was not unique in that respect, I explore our remains of fourth-century tragedy for similar tensions between tradition and innovation, both within plays and across the genre. The focus lies on the choice of myth, plot structure, metre, style and the treatment of the chorus, and due allowance is made for the constraints that arise from the fragmentary state of the evidence and its sometimes insecure attribution to the period.

Aristotle (Poet. 1453a17-22) confirms that the tragedians of the fourth century largely dramatised the same myths as their fifth-century colleagues. In some cases one can see that they looked back to old plays, of increasingly ‘classical’ status, while also finding new ways to tell the story. Carcinus’ Medea (TrGF I2 70 F 1e + West 2013 ~ 2007), where the heroine tried to save her children, is an obvious example. Another one is Astydamas’ Hector (TrGF I2 60 FF 1h-2a). If the plot is rightly reconstructed as consisting of scenes in which Hector has to test his resolve to fight Achilles against a Messenger, Priam and Andromache, followed by a report of his death and perhaps a lament (Snell 1971: 143-52; cf. Thum 2005: 217-18; Liapis 2016: 67-77), its structure resembled that of some early Aeschylean war-plays, notably Seven against Thebes and Myrmidons (the first play of Aeschylus’ Iliadic Achilles-trilogy). Striking innovation would come in with Taplin’s suggestion (2009: 259-62; 2014: 149) that Cassandra’s vision of Hector’s death in TrGF II Adespota F 649 replaced the ordinary messenger speech attributed to Astydamas’ Hector as F 2a (see, however, Liapis 2016: 77-84).
Metrically, most earlier post-classical tragedians maintained the freedom of the late-Euripidean iambic trimeter (some figures in West 1982: 85-6). Yet the fragments variously attributed to Critias (TrGF I 2 43) and Euripides are an exception. Their low resolution rate (ca. 10 %) certainly militates against assigning the ‘atheistic’ Sisyphus-speech (F 19) to Euripides’ satyr-play Sisyphus of 415 BC. In verbal expression personal traits similarly override general trends. Euripides and ‘Critias’ are stylistically all but indistinguishable, but the linguistic idiosyncrasies of Chaeremon or the Rhesus- poet stand out clearly from the ‘tragic koine’ in which they are embedded.

Finally, the chorus: there is no reason to believe in Aristotle’s linear account of its decline (Poet. 1456a27-32), as Jackson (2014) has shown. Textual evidence is extremely sparse (e.g. TrGF II Adesp. F 662.8), but choruses integral to their plays will have been familiar from classical revivals, and it is noteworthy that the alleged inventor of the embolimon, Agathon, is presented by Aristophanes (Thesm. 101-29) as composing a lyric chorus-actor dialogue (cf. Jackson 2014: 67). There is also continued evidence of play-titles in the plural, some of which presumably refer to the chorus (e.g. Agathon, Mysians; Dicaeogenes, Cyprians).

It is evident that the poet of Rhesus was not the only fourth-century tragedian to engage creatively with the conventions of the genre. In studying the scanty remains of their work, continuity is as important to look for as innovation because the latter only shines in the light of the former, and together they give a truer picture of a playwright’s individuality and the artistic spectrum during a period that was emphatically not ‘the end of an era’.

**Title:** Integration or Imperialism? A Reassessment of Aeschylus’ Aetnaeans

**Name:** Mark Thatcher

Aeschylus’ lost tragedy Aetnaeans (written in the late 470s) celebrates Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse, and his colonial foundation of Aetna but also, surprisingly, highlights a pair of indigenous Sicilian deities, the Palici. One prominent interpretation (Dougherty, Bonanno, Morgan) has argued that the Aetnaeans participates in a strategy of “cultural imperialism,” through which Greeks take possession of the indigenous deities, familiarize and Hellenize them, and thereby demonstrate their cultural superiority over the Sikels. The presence of indigenous deities in a Greek tragedy presents an intriguing case study of cultural politics in colonial Sicily. In contrast to earlier work, however, I focus on a two-way accommodation between Greeks and Sikels that is also suggested by the play, which highlights the contributions of both cultures to the social and religious landscape of Deinomenid Sicily.

In an opening section, I show that relationships between Greeks and Sikels – while always fluid – were particularly in flux in the early fifth century. The Deinomenid program of new foundations and forced migration of populations led to massive social change for all Sicilians (Lomas, De Angelis). The long-standing process of selective adoption of Greek cultural features by Sikels (Albanese Procelli, Antonaccio, Giangiulio, Shepherd) reached new heights when the sanctuary of the Palici in central Sicily was remodeled along Greek lines (Maniscalco and McConnell). The efforts of the Sikel leader Ducetius, shortly after Aeschylus’ time, to carve out a state with its capital at the sanctuary (Diod. 11.88.6-89) not only added to the turmoil but also show the importance of the Palici in Sikel culture (Cusumano).

With this context in mind, I reassess three aspects of the Aetnaeans. First, the one securely attested fragment (F6 Radt) accepts what seems to be a non-Greek story, the birth of the Palici from the ground: in an etymological pun, Aeschylus derives the name Palici from palin hikousi, “they came back” from under the earth (where their mother had disappeared while pregnant). Dougherty argues that explaining the indigenous deities in the language of the colonizer is an act of appropriation that legitimizes Greek power in Sicily; by contrast, I show that the etymology expresses a productive blending of Sikel beliefs and Greek linguistics. Similarly, Aeschylus makes the Palici sons of Zeus, inserting them into the dominant
Greek cultural discourse. Yet Zeus had many non-Greek sons, including Belus, an Egyptian king, and Targitaus, a Scythian founder. As Erich Gruen has recently shown, such mythical liaisons often served not to claim priority for the Greek gods and subordinate foreigners to Greeks but – as I demonstrate for Aetnaeans – to forge connections between different peoples. Finally, a hypothesis preserved on papyrus (POxy 2257 F1) indicates that successive scenes in the play were set in several locations throughout southeastern Sicily, including Mt. Etna, Leontini, and Syracuse; this has been interpreted as establishing a celebratory movement towards Syracuse and the telos of the Deinomenid regime (Poli-Palladini, Smith). While accepting this, I also draw attention to the role of the Palici in this movement, which evokes the relevance of the native deities to the audience’s present day. I suggest that Aeschylus celebrates the social order of fifth-century Sicily by dramatizing its origins, which are rooted in the contributions of all of the island’s disparate peoples.

Reading the Aetnaeans in its fifth-century Sicilian context thus points to a politics of integration and accommodation, rather than imperialism, in which Greeks are shown the importance of Sikel deities for the foundations of their contemporary society and Sikels find a place within Hieron’s empire. Aeschylus, a vir utique Siculus (Macr. Sat. 5.19.17), thus contributed to the development of a distinctive local culture, different from that of mainland Greece, in which all Sicilians could take pride.

Title: Timotheus’ Sphragis in the Persians and the Idea of Progress
Name: Nicholas Boterf

The influence of the Sophists on New Music has recently become more recognized (e.g. LeVen 2014; Fearn forthcoming). This relationship not only sheds light on the aesthetics of New Music, but also its politics. There has been a tendency in the scholarship to downplay the inherent politics of New Music. For instance, Eric Csapo writes, “It would be difficult to argue that politics motivated New Music in any fundamental way...The poets and musicians were mainly interested in exploring the potentialities of musical form” (Csapo 2004: 229). He instead argues that critics and audiences, rather than the poets themselves, politicized New Music. This talk disputes this notion, and hopes to demonstrate how New Music could be fundamentally political. I will focus on the so-called sphragis portion of Timotheus’ Persians and analyze how Timotheus echoes and recalls sophistic theories of “progress.” The fifth-century marked a revolution in understanding human anthropology, as sophistic models of progress from a primitive state replaced visions of regression from a lost golden age. In this new conception of human history, mankind began in an animalistic “state of nature” only to reach its current civilized state by a series of discoveries (see Guthrie 1971, Dodds 1973, Nisbet 1979). Timotheus frames his musical history of citharody in terms that recall these theories, sketching out a path from nature to culture, from birth to nurturing.

The description of Orpheus at the beginning of Timotheus’ sphragis associates him with birth and nature. Orpheus’ musical achievement of inventing the lyre is strikingly described as him “begetting” the lyre itself (ἐτέκνωσεν) (222). The mention of Orpheus’ mother, the Muse Calliope, also emphasizes this focus on birth imagery. No other poet in this sphragis is identified by their parents, and the identification of a poet by a metronymic is very rare in archaic and classical literature. Orpheus, the archetypical poet, is described in deliberately exotic and antiquated terms.

The next poet mentioned in the sphragis, Terpander, is also described in terms of birth imagery (Αέσβος δ’ Αἰολία ν<ιν> Άν- / τίσσαι γείναι μοῦσαν ἐν ἄθάντι)](227-8) but with an important difference: a place (Lesbos), not a person, is said to have given birth to him. In this regard, the peculiar collocation of “he yoked his Muse in ten harmonies” (δέκα / ζεῦξε μοῦσαν ἐν ψόφῳ) (225-6) is significant. In many sophistic discussions of progress, yoking livestock is a common, elementary step towards civilization (see e.g.
Soph. Ant. 350-2; Moschion frag. 6 Nauck). Terpander therefore operates as a transitional figure in this sphragis, situated between nature and culture.

By contrast, Timotheus describes himself as fully a product of “culture.” While Terpander’s relation to Lesbos is described in terms of birth, Timotheus describes his own relation to Miletus in terms of “nurture” (Μίλητος δὲ πόλις νυν ἄ / θρέψάς) (Ins. 234-5). Furthermore, by emphasizing Terpander’s δέκα songs (225) in contrast to his own ρυθμοῖς…ἐνδέκακρουμάτος (230), Timotheus literally “one-ups” Terpander both in the number of strings and in the degree of poetic adornment. The number of strings added to the cithara parallels the transition from birth to nurture and from nature to culture. Fittingly, this catalogue ends with a description of the consummation of culture and urbanity itself, the polis. Most descriptions of progress in the fifth century end with the appearance of the polis (e.g. Moschion frag. 6 Nauck). The polis has such a monopoly on culture that its twelve walls (δυωδεκατειχέος) (235) are allowed to even outnumber Timotheus’ innovation of eleven strings.

Timotheus, therefore, uses fifth-century notions of progress to describe his musical predecessors and to carve out his own place in citharodic history. As this analysis suggests, this is not a politically neutral enterprise, as Timotheus aligns himself with theories that emphasize the prevalence of “nurture” (nomos) over nature (physis). His musical history, therefore, becomes not just an exercise in aesthetics, but a politically-charged interpretation of his musical heritage.

Title: The Satyr Who Stirred up the Hornets’ Nest: Ovidian “Satyr Play” in the Fasti
Name: Sergios Paschalis

Despite the absence of concrete textual evidence for satyric drama in Rome there are several indirect testimonies of the cultivation of the satyric genre in the Republican period, which include references to satyric productions and titles of satyr plays, while in the Augustan period we find in Horace’s Ars Poetica (220-250) the most important theoretical treatment of satyr play in the ancient world (Wiseman 1988; Shaw 2014). Critics have advocated Ovid’s familiarity with and interest in the satyric tradition by suggesting connections between episodes of the Metamorphoses and satyr plays (Sutton 1980; Ambrose 2005). The most prominent examples of Ovidian “satyr play”, however, are the “sexual comedies” of the Fasti featuring Priapus and Faunus’ frustrated sexual assaults and Anna Perenna’s ruse to seduce Mars (Littlewood 1975; Fantham 1983). It has been argued that these comic interludes display conspicuous affinities with the Attic satyric drama in terms of themes, setting, and characters and that their parodic allusions to elevated texts reflect the satyr play’s parody of tragedy (Barchiesi 1997).

A Fasti narrative with significant satyric associations that has nevertheless received very little attention by scholars is the episode of Bacchus’ institution of apiculture and Silenus’ comical failure at mimicking the god’s discovery (3.735-762) (Fantham 1983; Wiseman 2002). This paper argues that the Silenus story can be read as a miniature elegiac version of a satyr play, on the grounds that it features central topoi of the satyric genre, including its stock characters (satyrs and Silenus), the rustic and exotic setting, the theme of wondrous invention (Bacchus’ discovery of honey), farcical humor, and happy ending (for the generic traits and typical themes of satyr play, see Sutton 1980; Seaforth 1984). In this context I will explore the relationship of the Ovidian story with Horace’s discussion of the ideal satyric style in the Ars. Conceiving satyric drama as a middle genre between tragedy and comedy Horace praises the Greek tragedians for producing humorous and yet decorous satyr plays, in which heroes and gods maintained their nobility by avoiding obscene diction and thereby obliquely criticizes contemporary satyric authors for representing characters that use shameless language typical of comedy (Wiseman 2002; Shaw 2014). Barchiesi (1997) argues that the stylistically elegant and non-vulgar “satyric” episodes of the Fasti adhere to a certain extent to Horace’s doctrine for writing proper satyric drama, but does not include the Silenus narrative in his discussion. I will attempt to demonstrate that this episode illustrates most clearly Ovid’s adherence to Horace’s artistic principles concerning satyr play, in that his story contains charming jesting
and mocking satyrs, but at the same time Bacchus preserves his nobility by avoiding base language and behavior.

Finally, I will contend that the Silenus narrative engages in a subtle intratextual dialogue with the Pentheus episode in the *Metamorphoses* (3.511-733), itself an epicized tragedy, by implicitly reworking in a humorous fashion its main themes, characters, and scenes. The interaction between the two Ovidian stories may thus be viewed as evocative of the interplay between tragedy and satyr play in the 5th-century Athenian tetralogy. Classical satyric drama bears close generic affinities to tragedy as evidenced both by its use of similar subject-matter, diction, structure, and meter as well as by its ironic and parodic relationship to tragedy (Arnott 1972; Taplin 1986; Shaw 2014). In an analogous fashion Pentheus’ hybris to Bacchus and his gruesome punishment at the hands of the maenads finds its farcical counterpart in Silenus’ “irreverent” endeavor to replicate Bacchus’ beekeeping and the old satyr’s amusing punishment in the form of an assault by a swarm of hornets. In fact, all the main characters of the *Metamorphoses* episode have their foil in the *Fasti* narrative: Silenus plays the role of Pentheus; the bees mesmerized by the Bacchic music recall the Theban people eager to participate in the Dionysiac rites; and the aggressive hornets are reminiscent of the frenzied Bacchants.

**Title: Lucretius and the Question of Epicurean Orthodoxy**

**Name: Zackary Rider**

This paper challenges two prominent trends in Lucretian scholarship: the use of the *De rerum natura* as a reliable source for Epicurean orthodoxy, and the related view of the *DRN* as a poem whose “meaning” is solely one of Epicurean persuasion and whose inconsistencies can be explained away in furtherance of this goal. The former position is articulated most forcefully by Sedley 1998, who argues that Lucretius is a “fundamentalist,” following Epicurus’ *On Nature* with little divergence. Advancing the latter position, scholars such as Gale, Hardie, and Farrell have demonstrated how the poem’s contradictions, far from negating Lucretius’ Epicurean message, reinforce its central points by putting the poet’s sensibilities to the task of expounding philosophic truth. This argumentative strategy is in need of examination, however, as it runs the risk of forestalling understanding of the poem by assuming the same answer (Epicurean persuasion) for any question concerning inconsistencies in the text. Here I offer counterpoints to both lines of thought discussed, offering examples wherein Lucretius explicitly diverges from Epicurean orthodoxy, and calling into question a solely “Epicurean” meaning for the text. In so doing, I hope to nuance our understanding of Lucretius’ text and expand the interpretative possibilities available to readers of the *DRN*.

To show how Lucretius’ program differs from orthodox Epicureanism, I turn to Lucretius’ depictions of religion. After briefly discussing Lucretius’ un-Epicurean portrayal of the value of sacrificial rite, I examine the poet’s deification of Epicurus. As has been recognized, particularly by Gale, Epicurus’ apotheosis in the *DRN* owes much to Euhemeristic discourse, as the philosopher is routinely praised on account of the great service he provided to humanity through his teachings. Scholars have preferred, however, to view this deification through the lens of Epicurean doctrine, according to which it is the wise man’s wisdom that allows him to reach a state of *ataraxia* akin to that of the gods. Even Gale sees the Euhemeristic rationale as secondary to this more doctrinally sound explanation: “it was above all [Epicurus’] own achievement of *ataraxia*, and only secondarily the fact that he enabled others to achieve it, which earned him the title of *deus*” (Gale 1994, 79). Yet I argue that such interpretation sticks too strictly to doctrine rather than following the poet’s actual words. Rather, passages of the *DRN* arguing for the deification of Epicurus invariably emphasize his benefits to humanity as the primary reason, as in the culmination to Lucretius’ praise of Epicurus in the opening to book 5, where the poet claims that Epicurus deserves to be counted in the number of the gods *especially* because he gave discourses (*dicta*) on the gods and on nature (*nonne decebit / hunc hominem numero divom dignarier esse? / cum bene praes e r t i m multa ac divinitus ipsis/ immortalibu’ de divis dare dic t a suerit / atque omnem rerum naturam*
pandere die t i s, 5.50- 54). Here Lucretius’ emphasis is not solely on Epicurus’ discovery of these facts, but on his communication of them; focus on what Lucretius “should” be saying instead of what he is saying obscures this.

From here, I move briefly to examples of self-contradiction within Lucretius’ work that resist easy explanation, to explore the interpretative potential of taking Lucretius “at his word.” I focus on the discussion of creation in book 5, where Lucretius denies that the earth could be an animate being, before repeatedly using metaphors likening the earth to an animate being to explain features of its development. Declining to offer “authoritative” interpretation of such self-contradiction, I instead show how a resistance to assume the orthodoxy of the DRN and a prioritization of the poet’s own words can deepen our understanding of Lucretius’ poem.

**Title: A Return to Ancient Poetics: Racine's Andromaque and Seneca’s Troades**

**Name: Mary Hamil Gilbert**

That Jean Racine was an avid reader of ancient literature is well known (Forestier, Knight, Phillippo), but underappreciated is the way he adapts the allusive techniques employed by Roman poets. Just as Ovid’s Ariadne self-consciously alludes to Catullus’ Ariadne, Racine's characters become 'readers' of ancient works and act and speak with reference to their predecessor-selves. In *Andromaque* (1667), the French poet employs this technique to great effect during the climactic confrontation between Andromaque and Pyrrhus. The Trojan captive supplicates the Greek king for the last time on behalf of her son, reminding him that she has never grasped another man’s knee: “Vous ne l'ignorez pas: Andromaque, sans vous, / N’aurait jamais d'un maître embrassé les genoux,” (*Andromaque* 3.6.915- 16). This statement alludes to her namesake’s agon with Ulysses in Seneca’s *Troades* during which she also boasts that she has never grasped the knees of another man (*Troades* 691-93). Racine’s allusion is particularly ironic, because in claiming that she never grasped another man’s knees, Andromaque alludes to another play in which, faced with a similar situation, she does exactly that. The language of recollection used by Andromaque (Vous ne l'ignorez pas) and Orestes (vous savez trop, below) when reminding another character of a scene from Seneca’s play is Racine’s adaption of the poetic technique that modern scholars have termed the Alexandrian footnote, used first by the Hellenistic Greek poets and then by their Roman successors.

Another way that Racine engages with ancient texts involves reinterpreting a scene from an ancient work so that it fits with his own version of events. In Seneca’s *Troades*, Astyanax is forced by the victorious Greeks to leap from the ramparts of Troy to his death, but in Racine’s play the boy is still alive years after the Trojan war has concluded. Racine claims the right to revive Astyanax since the French kings of old trace their lineage back to the boy. As a result, he goes out of his way in *Andromaque* to fit the possibility of Astyanax’ survival back into Seneca’s play. When Pyrrhus boasts that both Andromaque and her son were awarded to him by *le sort* as a prize for his valor during the fall of Troy, Orestes reminds him that the boy was saved from imminent death by a trick that Pyrrhus himself played on the unsuspecting Greeks (“vous savez trop avec quel artifice / Un faux Astyanax fut offert au supplice,” *Andromaque* 1.2.221-22). Here we have two Racinian characters offering different versions of the events that took place in Seneca’s play.

It is only by examining Seneca’s treatment of Pyrrhus and Andromache that we can unpack what lies behind Orestes’ cryptic accusation. In the final confrontation between Andromaque and Pyrrhus (discussed above), Andromaque insists that Pyrrhus is aware of her plea to Ulysses in *Troades*. In Seneca’s scene, although the only speaking characters are Andromache and Ulysses, Andromache hints at the possibility of Pyrrhus’ presence when she calls on him for help in the middle of the agon (*Troades* 666-67). This is usually understood as an apostrophe, but a few hundred lines later, Pyrrhus materializes in the women’s quarters (*Troades* 999-1000), suggesting to Racine that Seneca’s Pyrrhus heard Andromache’s plea. Pyrrhus’ unnecessary appearance among the women is markedly odd and sometimes
chalked up to Seneca’s poor understanding of dramatic staging (Fantham). But for Racine, it is here in the women’s quarters, far from the eyes of his fellow Greeks, that Pyrrhus silently returns Andromache’s child to her, having exchanged the boy with a surrogate. In these examples, Racine creatively interprets difficult details of Seneca’s play and masterfully carves out a space for his own story within the parameters delineated by Troades. In so doing, he follows in the footsteps of the Roman poets, who both grafted their stories onto frameworks established by their predecessors and adapted them to fit their own poetic program and cultural context.

Session 45: War and its Cultural Implications
Title: From Stick to Scepter: How the Centurion's Switch Became a Symbol of Roman Power
Name: Graeme Alexander Ward

My paper explores how the vitis, the vine-stock that a Roman legionary centurion wielded as a cane with which to punish his soldiers, developed during the Principate from a punitive tool to a positive symbol of military status and imperial authority. As Augustus and his successors transformed the legions into a permanent, standing army, centurions acquired responsibilities beyond combat, including the management of outposts, logistics and supply, policing, and local administration, and they received greater pay and social benefits to match. Despite this increasing professionalization and bureaucratization of centurions, however, the vitis remained their trademark. In fact, it became the most prominent object with which centurions depicted themselves in funerary relief. Ancient authors from Pliny to Eusebius, moreover, refer to it as a symbol of “supreme authority and command” (summam rerum imperiumque) and “honor of the Romans” (Ῥωμαίων ἀξίας). In effect, the vitis transcended its origins as a punitive tool to become a badge of the centurionate and a symbol of the emperor’s military authority that each centurion was to represent and protect.

Historians such as Saller (1994), Aubert (2002) and Phang (2008) have interpreted violence and punishment in ancient Rome as a kind of performance, a social ritual, expressed through a variety of language, ritual and imagery, that communicated and distinguished power between different individuals and groups. Several scholars have also examined some of the “props” of this performance– the weapons themselves – and what they reveal about broader practices and ideologies of Roman warfare and imperialism. James (2011), for example, demonstrated how the sword became not a just a weapon in the hands of Roman legionaries, but an artifact, a metaphor for the martial power of the Roman state. Marshall (1984), Schäfer (1989) and Drogula (2007), moreover, have shown the varied meanings attached to the fasces, from a representation of a magistrate’s power to inflict corporal and capital punishment, to a broader symbol of Roman imperium. The vitis, however, has received no such attention, despite its prominence in both textual and visual evidence. My paper, then, addresses this gap in studies on the symbols of Roman power.

I begin by examining textual evidence, particularly from Polybius, Varro, Livy, and Plutarch, of the vitis’ origins as a punitive tool in the Roman Republic. I next trace its development into the chief symbol of the centurionate during the Principate by surveying its appearance in funerary inscriptions to centurions and in the literature of the period, including Lucan, Pliny and Juvenal. I then argue two points. First, that a closer study of how the vitis was transformed over the course of the Principate illustrates the development of the centurionate itself; the transformation of the vitis from a brutish, punitive tool into a “scepter,” a positive symbol of imperium, reflected the simultaneous development of centurions from combat officers selected among the soldiers, to influential military and imperial administrators with greater pay and prestige, who were supportive of Rome’s ruling class. Second, I argue that a closer examination of the vitis contributes significantly to scholarship about how power in the Roman Empire was articulated through imagery of punishment and violence. Rather than exploring such imagery amid its aristocratic leadership, however, my paper shows the potential for investigating a symbol of power prominent at an
“intermediate” level of Roman military life and society, among officers who were prominent representatives of Roman authority at the periphery of the empire.

Title: Thucydides on Coercive Martial Manliness, Virtue, and Rape
Name: Kathy L. Gaca

Ancient ravaging warfare was morally problematic in its organized violence against targeted enemy peoples—many males slaughtered, many young females raped and enslaved, and many resistant and older females killed, often by lethal gang rape (Gaca 2015). Yet the forces ordered to carry out this aggression were trained by their superiors to regard their ravaging “ferocity” (saevitia) as a “virtue” (virtus), as exemplified in the First Mithridatic War on both the Pontic and Roman sides (Flor. Epit. 1.40). Ravaging forces believed justice was on their side in a manner distinct from, and at odds with, later ‘just war’ legal theorizing to restrict wars to enlisted men in battle. For example, the Greek warlord Agathocles renamed Segesta “Justiceville” (Dikaiopolis) to commemorate his forces slaughtering and tormenting many of the men and women in the city and enslaving their girls and boys (Diod. Sic. 20.71.1-4).

Modern scholarly studies in Greek and Roman popular morality do not address the martial principles that made ravaging seem virtuous. Adkins 1960, Dover 1974, and Morgan 2007 elucidate Athenian and Roman civil behavior and values not under war duress. Adkins 1972 and van Wees 1992 address only the aggressor in-group mores of Greek martial morality, not their town conquests, such as Homeric Achaeans competing for prestige as status warriors. To omit popular views on the use of force leaves out a major aspect of ancient popular morality, as Gould 1978: 287 observes. Hence, an important question remains unasked about ravaging targeted peoples and their habitations. How did ravaging forces make enslaving and lethal heterosexual rape seem virtuous?

Thucydides helps answer this question in his analysis of ravaging strife on Corcyra (3.81.1-83.4, 4.47.1-48.6). Here he makes an important contribution to gender and warfare by showing that an inversion of civil masculinity provokes men to ravage. He does not argue that the provocation derives from the reclassifying of generic civil human virtues as vices and generic human vices as virtues, despite the present consensus that this is his argument (Gomme 1956, Hornblower 1991, Woodruff 1993 ad loc.). Rather, Thucydides argues that the ravaging martial ethos makes civil masculinity seem unmanly and substitutes it with an antithetical manliness. “Irrational recklessness” becomes “comrade-loving manliness (andreia),” and its opposite, civil masculinity, is “the unmanly” (to anandron, 3.82.4). Civil masculinity values forethought and restraint for polis security and strong alliances; martial manliness disdains reason and moderation as unmanly and foments enmities, thereby imperiling alliances and security. Under martial influence, the men show a dazed harshness (to emplêktôs oxu) when they should show reflective intelligence. They are pumped up to ravage enemy peoples, be they an opposing faction, a different Greek city, or non-Greeks, a condition Aeschylus describes as “men breathing Ares more than is justified,” a hyperventilating on the war-god (Agam. 375-76). In addition, the men are quick to suspect their own fellows of being unmanly, that is, enemy sympathizers, if they show reluctance to join in the ravaging. As on Corcyra (4.48.3-5), men in this polarizing fury strive to slaughter male enemies and to subject their girls and women to enslaving or lethal rape, and they enslave primarily the young females as enemy seized assets. During and after the ravaging, the aggressors are under the dazed illusion that this behavior is manly virtue. Thucydides' argument about coercive martial manliness is further supported in later Balkan ravaging warfare (Carnegie 1913: 276-308). Thus, as Thucydides is the first to show, ravaging warfare poses as manly virtue because martial power makes its organized ferocity the new manly, with severe punishment or death for comrades declared unmanly.
While technical aspects of ancient fire-signaling have received extensive study (Riepl 1913, Diels 1920, Darmstaedter 1924, Reinecke 1935, and Forbes 1966), this paper examines how historians use this symbolic form of communication to reflect upon both the possibilities and the challenges of the transmission of human knowledge. This approach allows us to view fire signals as meta-historical representatives for the historiographical principles of each author.

Herodotus treats two examples of fire-signaling as types of θώματα, capable of conveying complex and momentous messages with little consideration for possibilities of failure or confusion. A signal sent from the island of Scithus to Artemesium (7.183.1) has led to speculation about how such a complicated message could possibly have been communicated through fire signals (Riepl 1913, 57-8; and Forbes 1966, 171-2). Herodotus does not, however, show any such concern for ambiguity or confusion in this message. By suggesting that the information contained his own preceding account was seamlessly communicated from the island by fire signals, Herodotus creates a narrative device to effect his transition to Artemesium and simultaneously imbues these fire signals with the power of historical narrative. In a second example (9.3.1), Herodotus describes Mardonius' attack on Athens as inspired by the image of announcing his success to Xerxes by a chain of fire signals across the Aegean. The possible influence here of the Aeschylus’ Agamemnon (Flower and Marincola 2002, 105) highlights the dramatic nature of this hypothetical beacon chain attributed by Herodotus only to the imagination of Mardonius (contra Diels 1920, 77-8; Forbes 1966, 171; and Tracy 1986). Again literary concerns override scientific skepticism. By focusing on the potential grandeur of such a signal, Herodotus represents fire-signaling as a type of θόμα with unquestioned potential.

Two examples from Thucydides, by contrast, demonstrate that even simple attempts at communication by fire signals are subject to confusion. In the first (2.94.1), a signal is sent from Salamis to Athens to warn the Athenians of an attack but results only in confusion at Athens, as the Athenians remained unsure of the enemy’s location. In the second example (3.22.7-8), the details of which are not well understood (Richmond 1998, 18n.80), the Thebans besieging Platea attempt to alert Thebes of a surprise attack, but the Plateans counter this by lighting additional fires to confuse the message. In both instances, attempts to communicate relatively straightforward messages become for Thucydides opportunities to reflect on the challenges inherent in such communications. While this approach contrasts with the optimistic view of Herodotus, it resonates with Thucydides’ concern throughout his work that words be not just convincing but accurate and unambiguous (cf. his distinction between πρόφασις and αἰτία, 1.23.5-6; and the confusion of language during stasis, 3.82.4).

Polybius recognizes these potential complications and seeks to correct them through a lengthy description of innovations in the art of fire-signaling, to which he himself contributed, enabling the composition of complex messages (10.43-7). This emphasis on his own contribution reflects Polybius' belief that it is necessary for a historian to have personal experience in practical affairs (12.28.2-5). By acknowledging that he is building upon the efforts of previous authors, Polybius demonstrates his faith in the potential for progress based on the corrective ability of πραγματική ἱστορία (1.1.1). But Polybius believes that theoretical knowledge alone is insufficient, arguing here that this advanced fire-signaling technique cannot be achieved simply through theoretical knowledge but requires practice (10.47.3). Similarly for Polybius history alone does not offer a complete education but must be supplemented with practical experience (9.14). Polybius’ representation of fire-signaling in historiographical terms carries particular significance with the conversion of fire signals into an alphabetical text.
Title: The Blood beneath the Laurels: *Aeneid* 2, *Metamorphoses* 1, and the Ethics of Augustan Victory  
Name: Nandini B. Pandey

In *Aeneid* 2.469-568, an ancient laurel (*veterrima laurus*) overhangs Pyrrhus’ murder of Polites and Priam, Ironically crowning his sacrilegious triumph over Troy. *Metamorphoses* 1.452-567 aetiologizes the tree as the product of Apollo’s attempted rape of Daphne, rewriting the laurel as a sign of violence and cooption from its mythological moment of origin up to modern times. Ovid’s text thus retroactively politicizes Vergil’s to comment on the laurel’s use within Roman visual culture to elide the violence that underpinned Augustan power.

In complement to studies of tree violence in the *Aeneid* by Thomas 1988, Dyson 2001, and Gowers 2011, this paper analyzes Vergil’s unprecedented inclusion of a laurel near Priam’s altar to Zeus Herkeios as a locus for semantic as well as physical disruption. In *Aeneid* 2, the laurel is already a sign that resists signification: it wrongfully crowns Pyrrhus’ criminal sacrifice of Polies and Priam and marks Apollo’s abandonment rather than protection of the Trojans. It also intertwines with imagery elsewhere in the epic to problematize Aeneas’ attempt to right Troy’s fall by refounding it in Italy. For instance, at *Aen.* 7.59-63, the ancient laurel that gives Laurentium its very name (O’Hara 1996) also aligns Latinus’ hall with Priam’s destroyed palace. The ominous swarm of bees at 7.64-70, however, turns this tree into a sign of Laurentium’s imminent conquest, with the Trojans now playing the part of foreign invaders (in keeping with Greek/Trojan role reversals noted, e.g., by Anderson 1957, Putnam 1965, and Quint 1993). This omen complicates judgments of Aeneas’ ascendance and heightens the laurel’s symbolic ambivalence: for every victory it commemorates, it marks another people’s defeat.

The laurel’s reappearance in Ovid’s story of Daphne and Apollo is, to borrow Stephen Hinds’ terms (1998: 100), a ‘local’ allusion that prompts ‘systemic’ reinterpretation of each epic. Ovid’s story positions itself as temporally prior to Vergil’s and prophesies the laurel’s future use as a *fidissima custos* to Augustus’ doors on the Palatine (562-64). Yet Ovid also writes symbolic violence into the tree’s very origin in ways that seem to prefigure Pyrrhus’ crimes at Troy. In Ovid’s telling, the laurel is not only a sign of victory, but also a relic of Daphne’s figurative death through metamorphosis (cf. Richlin 1991), one that recalls Pyrrhus’ pursuit of Polites and detruncation of Priam both lexically and symbolically. In his speech at 557-64, moreover, the god consummates his rape on a semantic plane when he transforms Daphne’s defeated body into a symbol of his own and Augustus’ future glory. Focalized as it is through Apollo, the tree’s apparent ‘nod’ (*adnuit utque caput vis a est agitasse cacumen*, 567) does not indicate Daphne’s consent, but rather, symbolizes victors’ imposition of their own meanings on events and symbols.

Via the shared image of the laurel, *Metamorphoses* 1 thus enters into a glancing but provocative relationship with its Vergilian predecessor, illustrating the value of a visual rather than strictly verbal approach to epic intertextuality. Ovid’s aetiology expands the temporal and political dimensions of the laurel’s appearance in the *Aeneid*, activating parallels between Pyrrhus’ crimes, Apollo’s brutality, and the young Octavian’s eradication of his own enemies (including M. Antonius Antyllus as he clung to a statue of Divus Iulius, according to Plutarch, *Antony* 81, 87). This comments on the laurel’s use within Roman material culture to honor Augustus (Alföldi 1973; Zanker 1990) but also to propagate an origin myth for the principate as rooted in universal consent (*RG* 34) rather than force and fear. Taken together, *Aeneid* 2.469-568 and *Metamorphoses* 1.452-567 shine a spotlight on the process by which victors seek to shape contemporaries’ and posterity’s perceptions of history through visual rhetoric like the laurels. Yet this intertext simultaneously metamorphoses Augustus’ arboreal sign of glory into a memorial to the vanquished, calling attention to the blood beneath the laurels of imperial victory.
Title: How the Iliad Narrates Military Command
Name: John Elias Esposito

It is widely recognized that Iliadic armies are neither democratic nor crudely autocratic (Albracht 1886; Latacz 1977; Finley 1978; van Wees 1986, 1992), and that treatments of the source of and limits on authority recur throughout the poem (Finsler 1906; Stanford 1955; Finley 1957; Donlan 1979; McGlew 1989; Hitch 2009). The neikos of Iliad 1 raises (and does not answer) such questions as: what makes warriors fight? and what makes some do what others tell them to do?

In this paper I argue that, although the poem never answers these questions explicitly (despite many discussions in direct speech, most notably in books 1, 2, and 9), the poet does paint a definite picture of command. Drawing on a tabulation of human leadership acts in the Iliad, I consider two words commonly used to signify two different types of military command – κέλομαι and ὀτρύνω – and two rare usages (ἀγείρω and λίσσομαι) that, respectively, indicate authoritarian and supplicatory extremes.

I present two major conclusions. First, when heroes lead groups of warriors, they so do by persuasion and encouragement, never appealing to any hierarchical system of command and control. Second, when control is abnormally lopsided, the asymmetry that locates control in the commanded leads to victory, while the asymmetry that locates control in the commander leads to disaster.

In the Iliad, κέλομαι means “exhort” or “encourage” without any coercive force (e.g. 11.91; 13.489; 15.501; 16.268, 524; 18.343). Two passages make this particularly clear. The first appears in book 12, where Ajax exhorts the nearby Achaeans to κέλομαι one another (269-274). Ajax divides the warriors into “outstanding, middling, and worse” (ὅς τ’ ἐξοχος ὃς τε μεσήεις / ὃς τε χερειότερος) and explains the tripartition by appeal to the inequality of humans with respect to war (ἐπεὶ οὐ παντες ὁμοῖοι / ἀνέρες ἐν πολέμῳ). Despite natural inequality, warriors must exhort one another (ἀλλήλοισι κέλεσθε). The stronger are not ipso facto granted any authority to command. The second illustrative use of κέλομαι comes in book 11, just before Agamemnon’s aristeia begins (91-92). As Agamemnon appears, the Achaeans “exhort the hetairoi by row” (κεκλόμενοι ἑτάροισι κατὰ στίχας). Again the exhorters are plural, and nobody is set apart to do the exhorting.

Compared with κέλομαι, ὀτρύνω indicates a more aggressive but less directive kind of exhortation. The specific meaning of Homeric ὀτρύνω is something like “excite” or “stir”; that is, it drives the listener to increased intensity without suggesting a new object or direction. The meaning of both κέλομαι and ὀτρύνω is clear in Glaukos’ prayer to Apollo, just after Sarpedon’s death (δὸς δὲ κράτος, ὥθος ἑταίροισι / κεκλόμενος Λυκίοισιν ἐποτρύνω πολεμίζειν: 16.524-525). Glaukos is seriously wounded, but he must protect Sarpedon’s corpse. In order to do this, he must call on and rouse (κεκλόμενοι ἑταίροισι) the Lykian hetairoi; and to do this, he needs additional strength (κράτος) from the god.

While κέλομαι and ὀτρύνω express the normal in-battle relationship between commander and commanded, ἄγείρω and λίσσομαι represent abnormal extremes. When ἄγείρω (gather, collect) takes warrior-companions (hetairoi) as object, the context is accusatory and the result is catastrophic. When λίσσομαι (beg, entreat, supplicate) takes hetairoi as object, the context is anticipatory and the supplication of the commanded is successful. Both uses of ἄγείρω encode serious accusations. In the first (3.46-51), Hector accuses Paris of ruining Troy. In the second, Paris accuses Hector of destroying his own men (13.775-780).

The two instances of λίσσομαι with hetairoi as object also form a pair. In the first passage (12.49-50), Hector entreats his companions to begin a particularly ambitious attack (“Ἐκτωρ ἂν ὅμιλον ἓν ἐλλίσσετθ ἐταίροις”) – and they do. In the second (19.305-307), Achilles entreats his companions not to make him eat before he avenges Patroclus – and they do not. A third in-battle supplication (15.660-663) appeals to
filial piety: Nestor entreats retreating Achaeans by their parents (λίσσεθ ὑπὲρ τοκέων), and the rout is (temporarily) stayed.

Title: Horace, Lollius, and the Consolation of Poetry (C.4.9)
Name: Steven L. Jones

Since Suetonius, Odes 4 has been the focus of much criticism and apology. Odes 4’s apparent disunity as well as its eclectic mixture of encomium and occasional pieces seems to call for some explanation. A microcosm of this phenomenon can be found in the various treatment of Horace’s ode to Lollius (C.4.9). From what we know of Lollius, he seems a less than obvious choice to stand alongside the other addressees of Odes 4: Augustus, his relatives, Maecenas, and Vergil. Lollius’ political life was moderately prominent but less than smooth. His early career was exceedingly successful: he oversaw the annexation of Galatia, was consul in 21 BC, and proconsul in Macedonia. The bump in the road came in 16 BC. While in Gaul, he was ambushed by marauding Sygambri and lost the legion’s eagle. Though Lollius immediately regrouped, defeated of the Sygambri and recovered the standard, many modern scholars consider his reputation tarnished by the defeat. In the light of what Tacitus called the clades Lolliana, how are we to understand the praise Horace offers in C.4.9?

Most scholars take one of four approaches. First, some understand the encomium as secondary. The previous ode, C.4.8, focuses on poetics to the virtual exclusion of all information about the addressee. Why should C.4.9 be any different? A second group sees Horace doing the best he could with the material at his disposal. Such a view considers the eulogy to be “labored” and executed with “tact.” Horace has “gathered ungrudgingly all that could possibly be said in favour of him.” The assumption is that Horace did not find praising Lollius a “congenial topic” and so dedicated to it “a decent minimum of space” in what is a rather lengthy poem. A slightly different approach is taken by those who perceive in this ode a microcosm of the same compulsion that they suppose was the genesis of the entire book. The command to do a “whitewashing job” had been “imposed” on him. Horace, therefore, makes his encomium “viciously two-edged” and fills it with “deliberate tactlessness” which “ensures that the reader does not miss the point.” Lastly, some read this ode as an attempt, with varying understandings of its success, to rehabilitate Lollius’ reputation.

I propose a new reading of this poem: it is indeed a rehabilitation, not of Lollius, but rather for Lollius. Horace presents him with the consolation of poetry. The ode's unified message begins with “the poet’s words will never die,” moves to “whatever lacks poetry will be forgotten,” and ends with “here is what you shall be remembered for.” Lollius’ supposedly inglorious defeat did not cause him to lose standing with Augustus nor prevent him from serving as advisor to Gaius Caesar when he assumed proconsular power. In this context, the poem should be read as a statement of poetry's power not only to immortalize but even to exclude from immortality. This notion becomes evident when the ode is considered alongside the poems immediately preceding it. C.4.9 forms a triptych with C.4.7 and 8 in the middle of Odes 4 in which Horace develops a sustained poetic meditation on the finality of death, the power of poetry, and the nature of what poetry confers. Lollius should not worry about his legacy. Horace will not sing of his defeat and so it will be forgotten.

Session 46: The Impact of Immigration on Classical Studies in North American (Organized by the Committee on the Status of Women and Minority Groups)
Title: Classics in the Age of the Undocumented
Name: Dan-el Padilla Peralta

In his 1992 study of the refugee classical scholars whom National Socialism drove to America’s shores, W.M. Calder III observed that “American classics is entirely dependent upon a Weltpolitik which most of its practitioners prefer to denigrate and ignore.” As Calder demonstrated to powerful effect, the history of
20th- and 21st-century classics in the Western Hemisphere cannot be properly grasped without attention to geopolitical forces. In the spirit of his study, this paper will take up another form of Weltpolitik exerting a gravitational pull on contemporary American and international classical studies: US immigration policy, and in particular policy towards the undocumented. By orienting myself with the aid of Calder, I do not mean to imply that National Socialism is on the same level as the American handling of the undocumented (yet: the panel of which this paper forms part has been organized with menacing clouds on the horizon). What I will argue with no pretense to impartiality is that classicists have real skin in the game when it comes to political debates over the treatment of the undocumented in part because the field is being constituted within and through these debates. Remaining on the sidelines of these debates is simply not an option: classics has already been drafted, whether classicists like it or not.

The paper will consist of two parts. The first part is cued by Charles Rowan Beye’s musings on the presence of foreigners in American classics programs: any objections on the part of native-born Americans to their presence are not, in his reckoning, “of the order of … an auto mechanic in Los Angeles who fears his job will be taken by a Mexican wet-back” (“A Response”). Beye’s (in)felicitous analogy reveals a truth almost in spite of itself, namely the figuration of classics as a discipline whose student and faculty movements are not to be likened to those of undocumented labor. While this rhetorical move is troubling on several levels, two are singled out for the sake of illustration. For the analogy to work, the “wet-back” has to be heuristically constituted as distinct from the classicist; the presumption that the movement of classicists ought to be cleanly differentiated from the plight of the undocumented masks the workings of (classist and racialized) ideologies conceived with a view to marginalizing those undocumented who might one day become classicists. But I am interested not so much in pulverizing Beye’s analogy as I am in the proposition that the immigrant qua professional academic should expect to operate within a sentimental ecology (of adversarial or antagonistic reception) different from that experienced by the undocumented. Some autobiographical experiences will be adduced to test this claim.

If—to rehearse a Foucauldian piety—the production of knowledge is implicated in systems of structural oppression, it is also time to reflect seriously on the possibility that the discipline of classics has been conscripted as a warrant for or legitimation of the oppression of the undocumented. Assessing the nature and extent of classics’ complicity is the motor for the second half of this paper. Here the case is pressed through an analysis of Victor Davis Hanson’s influential reconstruction of Greek warfare as quintessentially about the (triumph of) the hoplite citizen, a model subsequently refined for inclusion in the rhetoric of a civilizational antagonism between East and West (The Western Way of War; Carnage and Culture). Following Page duBois’ deconstruction of Hanson’s conservative vision in/for classics (Trojan Horses), I will explain why Hansonian effusions over hoplite warfare cannot and should not be decoupled from his strong aversion to undocumented immigrants (Mexifornia).

If classics is to progress towards greater inclusivity, it will need to identify and target other instances of this aversion. The continuing and public presence of such aversion obstructs efforts at diversifying the field; and without opening the doors to today’s undocumented, how are we to understand antiquity’s?

**Title: Bringing Immigration Home to Our Students**  
**Name: Ralph Hexter**

The issue of immigration is highly relevant to our Classics classrooms in ways that demand our attention, and if at first that attention would seem to take us away from the study of the ancient world *stricto sensu*, I will argue that in fact it offers opportunities for yet richer engagement with material long at the core of our discipline.

My position with the upper echelon of university administration has given me an opportunity to learn a good deal about the special challenges the undocumented among our university students face. California
is home to immigrant communities from every part of the world, which greatly enriches our learning community. We are not only the most populous US state; we have by far the highest number of immigrants – over 10 million. Most of these individuals are either US citizens or residents, but as many as a quarter are undocumented immigrants.

While our primary and secondary schools offer education to all, regardless of immigration status, high-school graduates without documentation of citizenship or legal residency face hurdles attending college. California has passed legislation that offers undocumented students who have graduated from California high schools equal access to our public higher education system, including lower in-state tuition. Denied access to federal grants and loan programs, many can qualify for state financial aid through the California Dream Act. My institution has a dedicated Undocumented Student Center to assist these students overcome, to the extent possible, the numerous hurdles in their way.

In my opinion it is extraordinarily valuable for all of our students to be aware of the reality that while all of us at the university enjoy the sheer privilege of being there, not all of us have followed comparable life trajectories. Imagine the learning that takes place when, as recently happened, a class volunteered to serve meals at a homeless shelter which two of the students then recognized, sharing with their classmates that they had at times eaten at that very location with their families during periods of homelessness!

Undocumented immigrants in the United States today, among whom are some of our own students; hundreds of thousands of refugees in Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia – we live in an age of mass migration, most of it forced. How can we not recall that one of the texts that is foundational for Western Classics is Vergil’s *Aeneid*, which describes the movement of one mass of people – survivors of the Greek sack of Troy – across the Mediterranean to central Italy, with stops in Africa and Sicily, to name but two? Like Exodus, it is a story shaped into a triumphalist narrative and told retrospectively.

One can look back and forth between such narratives and contemporary events and note some interesting features. Retrospective narratives highlight leaders, whether Aeneas or Moses; they have beginnings, middles, ends. None of the above are easy to discern in contemporary mass migrations. We know how the story of Dido ends, but at the moment in the first book, when the Carthaginian queen welcomes the Trojans into her country and palace, might we not think of Angela Merkel, who perhaps through her own experience of East Germany, and mindful of the full twentieth-century history of Germany, is welcoming Middle Eastern refugees? Did Dido’s generous hospitality not cause dissension among her Carthaginians? And in Italy did the Trojans not meet with resistance to their settlement? On the issue of immigrations, both from Latin America and more recently around the question of accepting Syrian and other Middle Eastern refugees, North America offers figures with uncanny precursors in the second half of the *Aeneid*: Justin Trudeau, the Prime Minister of Canada, our host country, opens his heart and arms like Evander, while US President Obama is a Latinus figure, striving to overcome the fierce, unwelcoming voices of many a contemporary Turnus.

Title: Confronting Globalization of Classics
Name: Jinyu Liu

Born and raised in China, I came to the States in 1998 to pursue a Ph.D. in Roman History. In my application, I stated that I aimed at being the first Roman historian from Mainland China with doctoral training in the West. That was not an exaggeration but a true reflection of the dearth of communication between the West and China in the area of Classics, as well as the asymmetrical state of Classics as an academic discipline in China and the West at that time. Over the years, I have found my scholarly experiences progress from being conditioned, or limited, by the asymmetry mentioned above, to being influenced by the self-reflections of the discipline of Classics in the West in the form of Reception Studies or “Postclassicisms”, to becoming actively engaged with and exploring ways of “globalizing”
Classics. From the Guangqi Classics Lecture and Seminar Series at Shanghai Normal University, to Dickinson Classics Online, to the Chinese National Social Sciences Foundation funded project on translating Ovid into Chinese with commentaries, I have collaborated with many Classicist colleagues from different parts of the world to promote Graeco-Roman Classical Studies in China and foster trans-lingual and trans-cultural conversations about Classics in a globalizing world. In the process, many questions have arisen, none of which can be easily answered. It is, however, precisely the engagement with these questions, which I broadly describe below, that have made the collaborative activities particularly rewarding. Rather than attempting to answer all of the questions below, the main goal of this presentation is to provide a contextualized discussion of the dynamics, challenges, negotiations, and tensions in the globalization of Classics, based on both experiences on the ground and conceptual frameworks.

First, I address the issue of authenticity. What defines the ‘authenticity’, if any, of Classics? Who gets to define that ‘authenticity’? If there is no such thing as authentic Classics, what is the foundation for dialogue? What defines Vergil’s importance or relevance? Would it be his fame in the Roman period, or the Western Classical tradition, or the Chinese context? Should the promotion of Leo Strauss’ approaches to Classics by a group of scholars in China be perceived as a problem?

Second, I address the issue of universal Classics. The term “Classics” does not automatically designate the study of ancient Greek and Roman languages, literatures, and civilization, since China has its own “Classics”. Graeco-Roman Classics is referred to as Western Classics in the Chinese context. Can Western Classics and Chinese both be “Classics” without the qualifiers? What is the danger and gain in having a universal “Classics”? This question is particularly relevant, especially since Western Classics and Chinese Classics have had a complex relationship in the past century, a relationship that sometimes can be characterized as remote yet subtle but, other times, as one of mutual reinforcement.

Third, I address the issue of agency. In globalizing Classics, where should the agency be located? “Postclassicisms” approaches the discipline of Classics itself as a product or products of many choices (with respect to the formation of canon, for example) made since antiquity, and calls for investigation into “the historical practices through which we as classicists have acquired, defined, and charted our knowledge of antiquity”. But who are “we”?

Finally, I address the issue of translation. Although many Greek and Latin texts have been translated into Chinese in the past hundred years, there has been a dearth of theoretical reflections on transforming Greek and Latin into poetic or prosaic Chinese. While some prefer a “foreignizing” approach, others advocate a “domesticating” approach. What rubrics should be proposed for translators of Greek and Latin into languages that are grammatically and syntactically distant from them?

Title: The Heroic Work of Academic Help Committees in the 1930s
Name: Hans Peter Obermayer

After Hitler’s seizure of power, scholars and intellectuals in Europe and the United States were appalled by the ruthless and rigid course of action against the academic freedom and against the sovereignty of German universities. Immediately after the Civil Service Restoration Act was passed on 7th April 1933, thousands of Jewish and politically undesirable professors were dismissed. Within a few weeks, in an impressive act of international solidarity, efficient help organisations were founded.

In late April 1933, a meeting between intellectuals and philanthropists took place in Paris at which the decision was made to found help comittees for the dismissed German colleagues in all European countries. Today, only few of those newly founded organisations and others that already existed before 1933 endure – like the Rockefeller Foundation (RF), Carnegie Corporation or CARA (Council for at-risk
academicians, the successor of the Academic Assistance Council [AAC]) based in London – but most of them have been long forgotten. The aim of the paper is to close this memory gap.

Research in recent years has focused primarily on individual trajectories of scholars. It is about time to also honor the significant efforts of the help committees and their employees for the rescue of the scholars. They worked with incredible creativity and tireless ambition under difficult conditions. This paper gives face and voice to some of the heroes in this story, the chairmen and secretaries of the help committees, among them Walter Adams (AAC), Stephen Duggan, Betty Drury (Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars [EC]), Fritz Demuth (Notgemeinschaft deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland) and Wilbur K. Thomas (Oberlaender Trust [OT]).

Due to the lack of scholarly publications, this is only possible through a meticulous analysis of the correspondence between the help-seeking applicants and the staff of the committees or across the committees. Luckily archive collections are available at least for the more significant committees such as the Academic Assistance Council, the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars and the Oberlaender Trust.

The focus of the paper will be on the set of rules, financing and working methods of the committees: the specific differences, characteristics and strengths of the specific organisations will become clear, based on an analysis of their support of prominent and less known Classical scholars.

Year-long scholars' dependencies on English or American help committees will be illustrated in exemplary case studies: Margarete Bieber was supported during a stay in England by AAC, as well as Kurt von Fritz and Ernst Kapp. Elisabeth Jastrow received a research scholarship in her Italian exile by the American Association of University Women and was in close contact with the Notgemeinschaft deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland in Zürich. Bieber's salary at Barnard College was financed for four years by RF, EC and by Columbia University’s Faculty Fellowship Fund (FFF) of Displaced German Scholars; also Kapp's appointment at the Classics Department was subsidized by Columbia colleagues via the FFF. Friedrich W. Lenz, who did not hold a habilitation, was granted a research scholarship by a Dutch Committee, Academisch Steunfonds, which enabled him to work in Italy: after his emigration to the United States he was dependent on committees (EC, OT) for five years as well as on private donations by Yale Alumni. Paul Oskar Kristeller, who applied unsuccessfully five times (!) at the EC, complained about nepotism in Jewish committees. (1) He was more successful with applications to the Oberlaender Trust, which offered a 50% subsidy for Kristeller's associate position at Columbia for two years. The trust was a foundation of German-born hosiery manufacturer and philanthropist Gustav Oberländer (1867-1936).


Title: Scholars at Risk
Name: Emily Mockler

Throughout the globe, outstanding scholars are the victims of sectarian, ideological or territorial repression and violence. Many are driven abroad or find that they are unable to return to their home countries. In the past, the University of Toronto has managed to find, from time to time, a place for such scholars on an ad hoc basis. In 1999, the Massey College/University of Toronto School of Graduate Studies Scholar-at-Risk Program was inaugurated. Working with the Scholars at Risk Network, an international network of institutions of higher learning and learned societies based in New York City, the program has seen 19 individuals come through either as Visiting Scholars who are given the opportunity to guest lecture in various departments at the University or to do graduate work. We are a natural haven for the Scholars in that the College is a residential college situated within the grounds the St. George
campus and houses 60 of the best and brightest students (Junior Fellows) who are carefully selected by multi-disciplinary academic committees at U of T. By including the Scholars with the students along with several Senior Residents and Fellows, at meals, various events, panel discussions and lecture series, the mandate of the College which is to “provide a unique, congenial and intellectual environment for graduate students of distinguished ability in all disciplines to share in a rich and stimulating community” is achieved.

I intend to speak about the things that work and the things that are less successful. From the Canadian perspective, once the Scholars have entered Canada as refugees (they may have got as far as obtaining Permanent Resident Status, Canada’s version of a Green Card), they are entitled to apply for a Fellowship. Many Scholars who come into the program have suffered trauma of one sort or another. They may have fled because of freedom of speech restraints. Some of the scholars have been physically tortured and show signs of it. The Scholars who are proactive (and encouraged to be so) are naturally the most successful. We make a point of letting them know that we are not a hiring agency so that there is no sense of being cast aside at the end of their Fellowship. Fellows are invited to continue their association at the College as Alumni so that there is not a complete break as they pursue placements, etc. This is very important. We have observed that their time with us can feel somewhat like being put on a pedestal (after years of little or no recognition) only to be politely taken down at the end of their Fellowship. We have seen this happen so guarding against it from early in the Fellowship is necessary.

Recommendations: If resources in various institutions are such that staff can assist in visa applications for entry to Canada or the United States, and dealing long distance with the Scholar-at-Risk candidate, this would be ideal. When resources are limited, we strongly recommend a close working relationship with the University departments interested in bringing in these Scholars. We have worked with the department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations coordinating several of our Scholars. With their close working relationship with the Middle East, they are willing to do the ground work in getting the Scholars out of dangerous situations. Our program can then take it from there. Our role is to provide some financial support and encourage integration into Massey College life. Depending on how long the Scholar has spent in North America, their needs may be quite basic. Finding out about this is advisable from the start. Notices can be put out asking for assistance with housing needs in general. Successful Scholars-at-Risk are often those who are encouraged to work for themselves, ask for what they think will be beneficial for them (other than just financial aid) and to open up to those around them.

Session 47: Imagining the Future through the Past: Classical and Early Modern Political Thought
(Organized by the Society for Early Modern Classical Reception)
Name: Plutarch in Budé, Erasmus and Seyssel
Title: Rebecca Kingston

In this paper (the basis for a chapter in a larger monograph) I trace and compare the reception of Plutarch through a number of political thinkers who were also translators of Plutarch in Renaissance Europe. Budé, Erasmus and Seyssel all engaged in translation of various aspects of Plutarch’s work and their work in translation also had an impact on the development of their own political theory. In particular, I focus on the competing understandings of the theme of the la chose publique that animates these various thinkers. In his Institution du Prince, Budé (who translated several moral essays of Plutarch into Latin) is drawn to a conception of the heroic virtues as important for a monarch, citing such exemplars as Alexander. This conception ties into his vision of public life in which the monarch remains unbounded by the laws of the regime.

In contrast, Erasmus (who also translated a number of Plutarch’s moral essays along with his Apophthegmata) develops a more sophisticated understanding of the public sphere as one where the ruler is often confronted with more tragic choices and where the demands of public life do not always coincide
with the requirements of conventional ethical frameworks. In his *Education of a Christian Prince* he shies explicitly away from suggesting that the young prince expose themselves to heroic tales, including those taken from Plutarch advocating instead the presumably the more wholesome lessons from Plutarch’s moral essays. Still, the recognition that the public realm is fraught with its own particular demands and challenges from the point of view of a leader also leads Erasmus, through his comments on Plutarch’s collection of sayings from the ancients, to acknowledge that this classical view of public life provides lessons concerning exceptional ethics in public life.

Seyssel, who included translations from Plutarch’s *Life of Antony* as well as *Demetrius* as additions to his translations of *Justin* and *Diodorus Siculus* provides us with a different use of Plutarch in highlighting some of the ambiguity in which virtues can become vices in public life. His most developed statement of political theory in his *Monarchie de France*, like Erasmus, shies away from a heroic vision of leadership, but seeks to ground the monarch more deeply in a broad framework of institutional and religious norms, as well as highlighting popular expectations of leadership.

These contemporaries draw from Plutarch to develop competing understandings of political life and leadership in the context of Renaissance monarchy, yet all three, in their own way, use Plutarch to demonstrate what they see as the unique attributes of the public realm and how someone in a position of power must navigate those challenges within a broader commitment to public ethics of one kind or another.

**Title: A New “Dialogue of the Dead”: Triangulating Erasmus, Luther, and Lucian**

**Name: Brandon D. Bark**

Lucian's entanglement in Reformation politics has remained somewhat understudied. But it is no coincidence that at the nadir of their tumultuous relationship, Martin Luther, in his *Tischreden*, uses no single term more frequently to vilify Erasmus than "Lucianist". The story is more complicated than that Luther and members of his circle always responded univocally against Lucian and, more specifically, Erasmus' translations of Lucian, or themselves did not incorporate Lucianic elements into their own writings. Rather, I propose to demonstrate that Luther's and Erasmus' reading of Lucian responded to particular developments in their relationship, and that, vice-versa, their relationship pivoted around these variant readings. Given Luther's earlier tolerance and even approval of Erasmus' writings--particularly his *Adagia*, which borrowed heavily from Lucian--it makes little sense to read Luther's much later disavowal of Lucian as a reaction against Lucian *qua* Lucian, but *qua* Erasmus, who, through his Latin translation of much of the corpus, had distilled his particular version of Lucian to early modern readership, so strongly, arguably, that one could scarcely conceive of Lucian apart from Erasmus' translation or Erasmus' ethical and political views. Conversely, it may also be possible to argue that Erasmus became almost dogmatically undogmatic and evasive, and looked to (his interpretation of) Lucian to validate this indirect approach, the more he met hardening Reformationist resistance.

A nuanced understanding of the role of their relationship in governing their reading, and vice-versa, is important not just for Luther and Erasmus studies, but extends into our understanding of the intellectual microcosms and movements that emerged around these men. Other humanists and Reformationists (not mutually exclusive), like Pirckheimer and Melanchthon, also hugely affected Lucian's reception, and their views were affected in turn by Luther and Erasmus. Erasmus became increasingly nervous that Luther implicated the cause--"my cause", according to Erasmus--of true learning, and sought to distinguish textual criticism and publication of Classical texts as a uniquely humanist goal separate from the opportunistic exploitation of these texts by Reformationists. Not only did communities of intellectuals and public figures spring up around the conflict between Luther and Erasmus, but the communities that emerged were divided by their very understanding of community, with Lucian caught in the middle.
Erasmus favored satirically backbiting against the status quo, while Luther regarded Lucianic satire as too weak, cowardly, and "Erasmian".

**Title: Allusion and Rhetorical Strategy in Justus Lipsius' *Politica* (1589)**

**Name: Caroline Stark**

In his *Politica* (1589), Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) presents his political philosophy as a carefully constructed cento, ostensibly addressed to emperors, kings, and princes but, in reality, to other learned humanists who could activate the associations and deliberate on the alluded context. This essay focuses on Lipsius' allusions to Lucretius in his controversial fourth book. Approaching the *Politica* from this rhetorical strategy reveals Lipsius' engagement with controversial ideas that argue for a justification of power and law from utility and contract rather than from reason or nature.

Scholars have struggled to find a 'systematic strategy of interpretation' (Waszink 1997: 255, Moss 1998) behind the density of allusions in Lipsius' *Politica*; they have attempted to untangle Lipsius' voice from his 'patchwork' of classical authors, to attribute new meaning to the recontextualized quotations in Lipsius' political theory, or to read the many quotations as a mere compilation of extracts that showcase his learnedness and give authority to his assertions. While ambiguity of meaning lay Lipsius open to criticism from his contemporaries, like Dirck Coornhert, who did not understand the medical context of Lipsius' use of *ure, seca*, "burn and cut off" (*Politica* 4.4, Cicero *Philippics* 8.5.15) and instead accused Lipsius of endorsing the ideology and methods of the Spanish regime, nevertheless, his true audience, those 'learned in Latin' (*sermonis Latini bene peritus*) would recognize his allusions and contemplate their implications. For some of his more radical ideas, Lipsius could disavow its association and implied meaning if necessary.

Lipsius makes four allusions to Lucretius' *De rerum natura* (*DRN*) in *Politica* 4 (4.1, 4.12, twice in 4.13). Book Four contains the most radical ideas of Lipsius' philosophy, as it breaks from the theory of virtue and prudence set out in the previous books to discuss 'proper prudence,' which is not tied to precepts or certain rules but to the experience and practice of government, and it is in book four where Lipsius defends Machiavelli against his detractors (4.13). Two of Lipsius' allusions to Lucretius are from the anthropology in *DRN* 5 (1136-37, 1233-35). Both quotations are in contexts that reaffirm Lipsius' belief in the hidden nature of causes and the flawed nature of humanity (4.1, 4.12). Interestingly, Lipsius' last two allusions are to Lucretius' rhetorical strategy of using the honey-rimmed cup to administer his bitter philosophy (*DRN* 1.939, 941), which Lipsius employs in the context of justifying deceit to accomplish a good end (4.13). All of the allusions to Lucretius can be read without knowledge of their contexts in the flow of Lipsius' exposition, but knowledge of their contexts throws his political philosophy in a more subversive light (Wilson 2016: 259-61, cf. Waszink 1997).

**Title: Travel, the *Vita Activa*, and the *Vita Contemplativa* in Seneca’s *De Otio* and Thomas More’s *Utopia***

**Name: Harriet Fertik**

The main interlocutor in Thomas More’s *Utopia* is Raphael Hythloday, an explorer who prefers Greek to Latin “because his main interest is philosophy, and in that field he found that the Romans have left us nothing very valuable except certain works of Seneca and Cicero” (More 11). Critics of Utopia have long debated the conflict in this text between Roman commitments to politics, or the vita activa, and the vita contemplativa associated primarily with Greek philosophical traditions. By focusing on the motif of travel in Utopia and Seneca’s *De Otio*, an essay on retirement from public affairs, I take a new approach to the problem of choosing between the political life and the philosophical life in these texts. While the vita contemplativa seems to require withdrawal from politics, the connection between travel and learning in
both works suggests that the vita contemplativa in fact depends on engagement with the broader community.

Both Seneca and the Utopians struggle with the ways that seclusion interferes with learning, even as it allows the leisure necessary for contemplation: Seneca seems to have left the city of Rome, and while the Utopians receive visitors, their island is difficult for outsiders to approach (More 39). Both also seek ways to counteract their seclusion. In the surviving fragment of De Otio, human beings travel great distances and seek out wonders in order to learn about the world, and this inquisitiveness and thirst for learning is essential to living in accordance with nature (Ot. 5.1-6). Just as Hythloday travels to learn about the best way of life and the best kind of polity, the Utopians prioritize intellectual pursuits in their daily lives and seek knowledge by studying with visitors and through travel and trade (More 53, 67-70). In both texts, the act of travel destabilizes the dichotomy between philosophy and politics, as the vita contemplativa requires the ability to meet and consult with others.

My exploration of More and Seneca contributes to two broader issues in early modern Classical reception. First, political theorists have established the significance of the Roman republican tradition for early modern thinkers, but they have not given similar attention to the influence of imperial political thought. I will show how Seneca’s assessment of the vita activa and the vita contemplativa in De Otio, precisely because he responds to limitations on civic life in the imperial period, is essential to understanding the conception of political engagement in Utopia. Second, in accordance with key trends in Classical reception studies, I consider how De Otio and Utopia illuminate each another: I examine not only More’s reception of Seneca but also how Utopia compels us to re-think Seneca’s account of the vita activa and the vita contemplativa.

Title: Cicero’s Republic of Letters
Name: Olivia J. R. Thompson

The origin of the idea of ‘Republic’ has until recently been taken for granted among classicists. New works are beginning to address the fact that debate cannot continue without a reassessment of the ‘problem of definition’ of the derivation respublica. However, this has not yet taken place from a classical perspective. Recent and impressive attempts to reinsert the ancient sources into the debate (Millar 2002; Wilkinson 2010; Connolly 2015), along with works analysing the reception of the Republic in later antiquity (Gowing 2005; Flower 2010; Kaldellis 2015), have not questioned the idea of the ‘Roman Republic’ even if they noted that it was not synonymous with respublica. In most scholarship, exemplified by Rosenstein and Morstein-Marx in their essay ‘The Transformation of the Republic’ (2010), the cognitive shifts between ‘Republic’, which can designate a geopolitical entity, and respublica, which cannot, are not explored.

Starting from the principle that this dissonance is of great significance for our understanding of Roman society and later evocations of it, this paper will explore the question through a type of source which exemplifies the mental challenge faced: correspondence. James Hankins in 2010 demonstrated that the meaning ‘non-monarchical government’ was attached to respublica only in the fifteenth century, within the epistolary culture of the Republic of Letters. However, returns to ancient sources have tended to focus on texts that might be considered ‘analytical’ in nature, such as the philosophy of Cicero and Seneca, and the histories of Sallust, Livy and Tacitus, and on such equations as ‘respublica’ and πολιτεία. This panel rightly notes the need to incorporate poetry. However, correspondence, public and private, offers another, unique perspective in that it is a source not inherently designed for publication and that creates geographical networks in itself, hence the respublica litteraria.

As part of an ongoing project to reconceptualise the correspondence of Cicero – which, though very well-known as a source, is not usually analysed by historians as a corpus in the same way as the speeches or
philosophy – as a literary archive using digital technologies and to establish its historical influence on the Republic of Letters, this paper will take his letters, alongside later correspondents such as Petrarch and Grotius, as a starting point for an examination of how the form of the letter shaped the Republic of Letters and indeed the definition of respublica.

Session 48: Culture and Society in Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Egypt (Organized by the American Society of Papyrologists)
Title: Ill-Gotten Grains: The Bad Administrator in Ptolemaic and Roman Temples
Name: Andrew Connor

The recent proliferation of published documents (in both Greek and Demotic) concerning the temples of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt has now made it possible to study the administration and oversight of these institutions in a meaningful and theoretically informed fashion (as Chauffray or Monson). The key administrative role in these periods was that of the lesonis, a position that was held by one priest at a time in the Ptolemaic period, but which was held jointly under the Romans. That control of the temples, their holdings, and interaction with the state devolved into the hands of a single individual or small cadre of ruling priests presented a situation ripe for administrative malfeasance or outright deception. In this paper, I will examine two cases of administrative breakdown from the Ptolemaic period—the activities of the praktor Milon concerning the temple of Edfu in the 3rd c. BCE and those of the lesonis of the temple of Soknopaiou Nesos a century later—and will discuss how these failures impacted the evolution of the bureaucratic organization of temples under the Romans. I argue that fear of crippling priestly debt caused by external circumstances can explain the rise of collegial administration of the temples.

While a priest’s primary duty was the correct execution of daily and periodic ritual, a temple administrator would be forced to consider other, more terrestrial issues. In the Ptolemaic period, an administrator had to negotiate the perilous waters of rebellion and state response (Dietze, 80-84) in addition to the day-to-day running of an economic apparatus that could take in huge amounts of land and goods. This could involve problems with the harvests (P.Tebt. 1.5; Bürgsch 13 and 14), with overseeing gifts (P.Amh. 2.40), with book-keeping (P.Tebt. 2.315, from the Roman period), or with one’s desire to steal part of the harvest (P.Amh. 2.35), as well as more cataclysmic economic threats (P.Tebt. 1.93 and Connor). An administrator could also be forced to navigate internal politics (P.Tebt. 2.302 and Glare 92-93, both concerning the Roman period) and relations with other temples (P.Lond. 7.2188 and Monson 133-135). Many of these decisions would have been divisive and the reputation of a particular administrator might vary widely among different interested parties, whether members of a priestly faction, tenants on temple land, or state officials.

I will consider in particular two examples, the praktor Milon (Clarysse 21-23) and the lesonis of Soknopaiou Nesos (P.Amh. 2.35), which stand out as starkly different ways in which an administrator might negatively come to the attention of the state. While the latter provides a better example of actual maladministration, it is likely that the former was of more immediate interest to the state, in that the financial ruin of an entire priestly family represented something more systemic rather than simple fraud. It is this risk of crippling, priesthood-related personal debt (and the resulting difficulties for the government in collecting taxes owed) that would have weighed most heavily on the minds of temple administrators and Ptolemaic bureaucrats and led in turn to changes in administrative policy by the Roman period.

Title: A First-Century Receipt from the Receivers of Public Clothing in Tebtunis (P.Tebt. UC 1607c)
Name: C. Michael Sampson

Amongst the many liturgies of Roman Egypt catalogued by Naphtali Lewis, various ‘receivers’ (παραλημπται) were tasked with the collection of goods and services from the communities. The
requisition of these goods and services most frequently took the form of compulsory purchase between
the customer (the Roman administration or military) and the manufacturers, a practice perhaps based on
Republican or Ptolemaic precedents. As regards the procurement of *vestis militaris*, documentary evidence
derives from the second century (Sheridan, esp. pp. 81-86), with the earliest known receipt (P.CtYBR inv.
1590) dating to 116 CE.

In this paper we present a preliminary edition of P.Tebt. UC 1607c, a receipt for *vestis militaris* from the
receivers of public clothing in Tebtunis to a group of weavers. It is a fascinating text for a number of
reasons. Palaeographical analysis places it firmly in the first century (cf. *P.Oxy*. 8.1124, from 26 CE;
*P.Mich*. 5.232, from 36 CE), making it the earliest such receipt—potentially by half a century (or more).
A number of details within the text, moreover, are curious: a pair of assistants (χιριστῶν, l. 5) are named,
and we also restore mention of a garrison (πραισίδιων, l. 6) though the relationship of each to the
receivers (παραλήμπται, l. 2) and the weavers (γερδίοις, l. 3), as well as to the compulsory purchase
remains unclear.

Because of its curiosities, the papyrus raises a number of questions about the system of compulsory
purchases, particularly on the relationship between the Ptolemaic/Republican and the Imperial
mechanisms for requisitioning supplies. Even when making allowance for the imprecision of
palaeographical analysis, the text’s comparatively early date suggests that the process differed little from
that which appears a century or so later, at least as far as this particular receipt reveals (cf. *P.Oxy*. 19.2230,
from 119 CE; *BGU* 7.1564, from 138 CE). Thus, in the second part of our paper, we analyze it
vis-à-vis our understanding of the liturgical system and the requisition process in Egypt during the first
two centuries of Roman rule. In light of this, we will consider the changes in the administration of these
institutions over the possible century or more that are reflected in the extant documentary evidence, and
the nature of the relationship between the state administration and the craftspeople engaged to fulfill these
requisition orders.

**Title**: Fragments of a Second-Century Documentary Scroll: Multispectral Imaging of a Carbonized
Papyrus from Thmouis

**Name**: Roger Mcfarlane

Fragments from a carbonized papyrus scroll are kept in a non-descript confectioner’s box at the Museum
of Egyptian Antiquities in Cairo. No inventory number is assigned to this papyrus. The scroll is believed
to be one of those found by Naville at Tell Timai (ancient Thmouis) in the Nile Delta during 1892/1893
excavations. He described papyri discovered in large numbers there as “quite carbonized, like those from
Herculaneum.” A project was begun in 2015 and is underway to conserve and read this scroll through the
application of the same multispectral digital photography used on the Herculaneum papyri. The first
imaging session at the Museum, in December 2015, has shown that the scroll’s otherwise illegible text
can be rendered legible, and the study of this scroll has begun.

The scroll is documentary. Some had conjectured that the scroll might contain a literary text. Kambitsis
(1985) had conjectured that the scroll might have fiscal records on it. However, given the technology of
the time, it was impossible to read the texts with any precision. Although in 2015 only a sampling of
fragments could be extracted from the scroll without causing undue damage, what was taken reveals
through the MSI a clear second-century documentary hand, its content pertaining to loans and purchases
(χρήματα, πράγματα, ἀγοράζειν, contractual dating etc.). Names of individuals (e.g., Dioskour[ ]
Isidoros, Zois in frg. 2499) will contribute to the internexus of names already known from Roman
Thmouis. For comparanda, see *P.Thmouis* 1 and other potentially related papyrological texts.

Fifty-four fragments of the Thmouis scroll are available from the 2015 session. A visit to the Museum
planned for October 2016 is expected to yield further opportunities for piecemeal imaging from the same
scroll. However, the scroll’s extraordinary fragility will limit further imaging until considerable conservation can be done on the scroll. After I have demonstrated in my paper the nature and scope of this Thmouis scroll, we may pose questions about the search for the funding that will afford full conservation of this carbonized artifact. To that end I propose in my paper and handout to present a full reading of the fragments imaged in December 2015; further materials drawn from an eventual second visit in October may also be brought to bear.

**Title:** Wooden Stamps from Tebtunis: Evidence for Local Distribution of Commodities  
**Name:** Caroline Cheung

Sealing and labeling containers constituted important steps in the distribution of commodities in the ancient world. This paper presents implements for these activities that have been exceptionally preserved in the archaeological record: wooden stamps. In addition to the corpus of c. 26,000 papyri, Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt’s 1899/1900 excavations of Tebtunis yielded nearly two thousand artifacts, all of which are currently housed in the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley. The lack of systematic recording during the excavation and absence of provenience for the finds resulted in the limited study and publication of only some of the major discoveries. Among the great number of unpublished artifacts are thirteen wooden stamps, recovered from the Roman town, that feature engraved Greek letters and/or pictorial symbols. The stamps are rectangular and all but one have a knob-like handle with a hole drilled through, probably to enable attachment of a string for hanging. Remains of cordage, in fact, are present in one of the stamps. Although the stamps potentially illuminate an important aspect of ancient economic activities and commerce, their abstract texts and symbols and lack of archaeological context have precluded scholarly attention and study.

This paper presents these wooden stamps from Tebtunis (as well as comparanda) to discuss their role in marking commodities. The few examples of wooden stamps from other sites in Roman Egypt often bear detailed and official information for the wine that was contained in amphorae that the stamps labeled (Nachtergael 2000; Nachtergael 2001; Nachtergael 2003; Denecker and Vandorpe 2007). The engravings on the Tebtunis stamps, on the other hand, are difficult to understand and interpret since they do not seem to provide any explicit information. Although there are Greek letters, the combinations of letters do not spell out any words (e.g., ‘ΑΧ,’ ‘ΠΑΥ,’ and ‘ΕΥΔΑΙ’). Furthermore, some stamps feature letters that are not oriented the same way (e.g., ‘ΠϹ,’ with the sigma facing the opposite direction). The three stamps from the Berkeley Tebtunis corpus that bear both Greek letters and pictorial symbols suggest that stamp engravers did not necessarily privilege either the pictorial symbols or Greek letters; they were concerned with fitting the entire ensemble of letters and symbols onto the face of the stamp. In addition to other published wooden stamps, this paper discusses amphora plaster and mud stoppers, which preserve impressions made by such stamps; these objects are garnering more scholarly interest and feature detailed (and more official) texts as well as abstract texts and/or figural representations (Thomas 2011; Davoli 2005; Thomas and Tomber 2006; Minutoli 2014).

To explore the possible references the stamps are making, this paper also investigates the papyrological record of Tebtunis, and suggests that some of the texts may have been abbreviations for names. For example, ‘ΑΧ’ was probably an abbreviation for Ἀχιλλεύς, a common name in Tebtunis. The paper ultimately argues that the context in which these stamps were likely found (shops in Roman Tebtunis), the abbreviated nature of the texts, and the manner in which the carvings were executed on the stamps suggest that these were ‘branding’ mechanisms for locally, rather than extra-regionally, distributed commodities. Thus, rather than displaying detailed information or fully fleshed-out text, the stamps feature symbols that were readily recognizable to local customers; they shed light on the local (re)distribution of commodities, most likely wine, in Tebtunis during the Roman period.
**Title: New Texts from the Theognostos Archive**
**Name: Peter Van Minnen**

The Theognostos Archive (see P. J. Sijpesteijn, “Theognostos alias Moros and His Family,” ZPE 76, 1989, 213–218, and the introduction to P. Bagnall 56) is a set of documents from Hermopolis in Middle Egypt from the late second and early third century. The “membership card” of the imperial organization of athletes once belonging to Hermeinos, an older brother of Theognostos, is the best known (Pap. Agon. 6). The rest is concerned with the “gymnasial” status of the members of his family (including substantial unpublished epikrisis documents) or with their property (declarations, sales, and leases).

The unpublished P. Lond. 947 includes six tax receipts, all for laographia paid by Theognostos, that will be presented in this paper along with an unpublished declaration of birth, which is also included among the unpublished P. Lond. 947. The receipts are for each successive year from 231 to 236. The one published receipt from the Theognostos Archive (P. Lond. III 944) is from the same period but for another tax. Its reading (and interpretation) will be improved upon as well. The receipts for laographia are among the latest such receipts we have, the latest on papyrus.

The years 231-236 are among the most intriguing in the life of Theognostos, the protagonist of the archive. The recently published receipt (contract) for wet nursing a son of Theognostos and his sister Dioskorous (both getting on in years) dates from 234/5 (P. Pintaudi 42), as does the unpublished declaration of birth for a son mentioned above. As recently as 231, Theognostos had reported only himself and his wife Dioskorous as belonging to his household (P. Lond. III 946).

**Title: New Scientific Evidence for the Date and Composition of Ancient Carbon Inks from Greco-Roman Egypt**
**Name: David M. Ratzan**
**Name: Sarah Goler**

In this report we will discuss the results and interpretation of three related and recently completed studies: (1) a Raman study of 17 papyri from Egypt, spanning the 4th cent. BCE to the 10 cent. CE; (2) a Raman study of the so-called “Gospel of Jesus’ Wife” and the Gospel of John, both the subjects of heated debate with respect to provenance, date, and authenticity; and (3) a scanning electron microscope study of the morphology of ink particles on papyri and ink pots or wells from Karanis in the Kelsey Museum at the University of Michigan. Given the deeply collaborative and integrated nature of this work, we will present two papers, one on the scientific method and results and one on the papyrological and historical dimensions, in one 40-minute joint presentation, reserving discussion of both until the end. The Raman spectra that we gathered from our sample set reveal specific variations in those spectra that correlate closely with the date of writing. This discovery thus enables us to determine the average Raman spectroscopic parameters as a function of manuscript date. In other words, the observed systematic variation in Raman spectral parameters with manuscript age establishes, in principle, the basis for a non-destructive scientific means for estimating the date of ancient Egyptian manuscripts written in carbon ink from the period defined by this study. We hypothesize that the observed changes in Raman spectra reflect changes on the nanometer scale in the chemical structure of the carbonaceous material of the ink from oxidation under ambient conditions. We are developing an increasingly sophisticated statistical method for interpreting our complex spectrographic data, with the aim of deriving the most precise and robust explicit date range possible for the manuscripts we test. We have also applied this methodology to two recently reported Coptic papyrus fragments: the “Gospel of Jesus’ Wife” and a fragment with text from the Gospel of John. We will present our data on these two particular fragments in the context of our wider study and the current debate. Besides reporting on our methodology and results, our chief aim in our remarks is to highlight two important points: (1) the significant parameters of interpretation, i.e., what our data mean and do not mean in light of the nature of these studies and our current scientific knowledge;
and (2) the new and unanticipated avenues of inquiry that have emerged from these studies, beyond the present lines of debate. One example is our interest in the production of the inks we have tested. The existence of the Raman correlation strongly suggests that these pigments were manufactured using identical or very similar processes. We have independently supported this hypothesis by examining several papyri and modern inks with a scanning electron microscope. By the time we deliver this presentation we hope also to have studied ink from several ink pots or wells from Karanis, now in the Kelsey Museum. The morphology of the pigment particles we have examined to date strongly suggests that they are derived from soots with similar morphologies to “lamp black,” rather than chars, such as traditional “vine black.” This finding in turn raises some interesting questions about the industrial production of ink in antiquity.

SEVENTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS
Session 49: The Philosophical Life
Title: From Philosopher to Miracle-worker: Seeking the Roots of Apuleius's Post-mortem Transformation
Name: Gil H. Renberg

Despite unprecedented booms in both the field of magic and studies of Apuleius over the past few decades, one of the most intriguing questions about his life and career has been all but ignored: How is it that this philosophus Platonicus, sophist and novelist gained a reputation as a great miracle-worker a century after his death, a reputation so grand that he would be compared with Jesus, the Apostles, and Apollonius of Tyana? The earliest sign of this phenomenon is to be found in the polemics of Porphyry and Lactantius (PL 26, 1056D; Lact., Div. Inst. 5.3.7-21), and a century later he appeared in the letters of Augustine in a similar context (Eps. 102.32, 136.1, 137.13, 138.18-19) – passages revealing that Apuleius had become a figure for pagan intellectuals to rally around in their verbal conflict with the Church Fathers. Several other sources attest to this reputation, including an amulet quoted by the physician Priscianus (Addit. 15.21-22) that ordered bleeding to stop in the name of Apuleius – a practice reminiscent of the phylacteries invoking Apollonius.

Most scholars who treat Apuleius’s Nachleben do not explore this phenomenon in any depth, or do so without investigating its root cause (Carver 2007, Gaisser 2007). Ever since the publication of Paul Monceaux’s Apulée: Roman et Magie in 1888, the few scholars (e.g., Moreschini 1973) who have made an effort to reconcile the Late Antique figure of Apuleius the magician with the historical individual have focused on the Apologia and, to a lesser extent, Metamorphoses for explanation: after all, the latter seemingly indicates a preoccupation with magic, while the former records multiple charges that could have blackened Apuleius’s name in the public mind. None of the explanations put forth, however, is satisfactory, since they fail to recognize that both the acts performed by the witches of the Metamorphoses and the charges brought against Apuleius only concerned aggressive, anti-social forms of magic – and in the mind of posterity Apuleius kept company with great miracle-workers. Therefore, another explanation must be sought.

This explanation appears more likely to lie in the persona that Apuleius seems to have consciously crafted for himself and his demonstrations of scientific learnedness that were intended to impress his fellow, mostly uneducated, North Africans. In his speeches, most notably the Apologia, Apuleius clearly comes across as one who made a point of emphasizing his unusual lifestyle and activities: he dresses and wears his hair as a philosopher, devotes himself to areas of learning beyond the grasp of the masses, and takes pride in his worship of a “basileus” whose nature can only be comprehended by an elite few. Moreover, he enjoys publicly lecturing on science and shows an interest in both optical effects and the marvelous mechanical devices known as automata (Apol. 16, 61). Whereas the sophists of Asia Minor would expound on the Greeks’ glorious past or Rome’s greatness, Apuleius emphasized theology and science,
and perhaps in some of his public demonstrations acted as an ancient Mr. Wizard. It is also possible that Apuleius gave readings from the *Golden Ass* that, in view of his eccentric, exotic persona, were readily accepted by some as a firsthand account of his miraculous conversion into a donkey – even Augustine appears to have been uncertain about whether this did in fact occur (Aug., *CD* 18.18), and parallels can be found in the reputation of magician gained by another sophist because of his declamations on magic (Phil., *VS*, p. 590) and even Boccaccio’s report that some actually believed Dante to have visited Hell. Overall, then, it would not have been feats of magic that earned Apuleius his thaumaturgical reputation, but rather a combination of words and deeds that left such an indelible impression among his contemporaries that over the course of a century he became a figure of legend – not only a North African Socrates, but also a North African Apollonius of Tyana.

**Title**: Heloise on ancient philosophy as a way of life  
**Name**: Donka D. Markus

The 12th century scholar, philosopher and refined stylist Heloise whose prose shows influences from Ovid, Vergil, Lucan, Persius, Seneca Cicero, Augustine and Jerome, is only recently beginning to emerge from the shadow of Peter Abelard through the efforts of modern scholars (Newman 1992; McNamer 1991 et al.) who focus on her unique intelligence to which even Abelard may have been indebted (Marenbon 1997, Clanchy 1998). This paper contributes to this effort to reassess Heloise, a remarkable erudite with knowledge of Greek and Hebrew (McLeod 1971.90), well versed in the trivium, quadrivium, theology and philosophy (McNamer 1991. 49-72).

Heloise’s perspective on philosophy as a way of life and her sense, rare for her time, ‘of the ancient philosophers as imitable paradigms of virtue’ so far got only a passing mention (Levitan 2007. xxii). My paper will examine Heloise’s thoroughness and use of even obscure examples in making her case, which was in conflict with the argumentative version of philosophy practiced by Abelard. Her view remarkably anticipates all aspects of Pierre Hadot’s now influential thesis in his *Philosophy as a Way of Life* (1995; 2011) and in his *What is Ancient Philosophy?* (2002).

Heloise’s representation of the philosopher as a moral exemplar and embodiment of the ideal of self-control to be followed even by the Christian monk, grows out of the arguments she presents to Abelard against marriage a) at the end of Abelard’s *Historia Calamitatum* where he quotes her arguments and b) in the second letter of Heloise which is a response to Ablelard’s *Historia*. Despite the doubts surrounding the authenticity of the couple’s correspondence (Marenbon 1997.82ff, 2000.19ff), most scholars accept Heloise as a final editor who could modify in Abelard’s letters misrepresentations of her arguments. Thus, the views on philosophy as a way of life must belong to her, especially since her aim in presenting them is to shame Abelard into aspiring to follow the example of the ancient philosophers since he did not live up to his monastic vows.

In the letters, she underscores Augustine’s reference to the Pythagoreans who stood out with a certain praiseworthy way of life (*modo... vitae, De Civitate Dei* 8.2) and excelled with ‘the quality of their life rather than with their knowledge’ (Abelard’s referencing Heloise’s arguments in *Historia Calamitatum*). Heloise’ independent view on philosophy as a way of life and as a blend of reason and heart (Nye 1996.40) is consistent with her intellectual independence. At the opening of her *Problemata*, study questions posed to Abelard that arose from discussions of scripture with her student-nuns, she highlights Jerome’s praise for Marcella (Smith 2002.179). Marcella’s ardor for wisdom and broad, wise mind which did not value prejudged authority without reason, but subjected Jerome’s answers to questioning in the Pythagorean manner, was a model for Heloise.

Most church writers were deeply conflicted in their relationship to the Classics. Their reliance on them was paired with distrust (cf. Jerome’ *Epistula ad Eustochium*) and they labeled the pagans as unworthy
custodians of divine wisdom (Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana* II.60-61). By contrast, Heloise seamlessly mixes Classical with ecclesiastical models, presenting herself as an emulator not just of Marcella, but also of Aspasia, Pericles’ *amica* of 5th BCE whom she also calls *philosopha*.

Because of her expert and seamless use of Classical models and freedom of thought, Heloise fits perfectly into the intellectual climate of the 12th century Renaissance with its keen sense of its own *modernitas* (Curtius 1953.254-5). I show in this paper that Heloise went even further and looked ahead towards the Italian Renaissance, specifically in her understanding of philosophy as a way of life, in her unflinching use of ancient philosophical examples and in her sincere effort to follow both Classical and post-Classical models of philosophical virtue, to which she exhorts Abelard to aspire as well.

Title: ‘They are ignorant that they are wise’: Confidence and Virtue in Seneca  
Name: Sam D. McVane

The Stoics notoriously argued that it was possible for someone progressing (a *proficiens*) towards wisdom and virtue to achieve these utterly distinct states without being aware of it (SVF 3.539-541). Seneca clearly alludes to this position when he writes in the *Epistulae Morales* that the most advanced *proficientes* lack only this awareness, for “they are ignorant that they are wise” (*scire se nesciunt*; Ep. 75.9). Yet Seneca justifies this paradox with something not found in earlier Stoic texts: such ignorance results from the *proficien*’s “untested confidence” (*inexperta fiducia*) in his own wisdom. While scholars have shown great interest both in Seneca’s sage (e.g. Inwood (2005), Williams (2015), Setaioli (2007)) and Seneca’s focus on philosophical progress (e.g. Hachmann (1995), Allegri (2004)), the notion of *fiducia* and its importance for wisdom and virtue have gone largely unnoticed (cf. Hengelbrock (2000) 45-46). This paper will argue that Seneca’s claim that wisdom requires ‘confidence’ (*fiducia*) introduces a Stoic innovation concerning both the nature of the sage’s wisdom and virtue and also the Stoic practitioner’s transition from foolishness to wisdom.

This argument begins with a survey of the notion of ‘confidence’ in Seneca’s prose works. Only the sage has true confidence (*Ira* 1.20, *Ep.* 87.35), and the sage’s confidence consists in her awareness and knowledge of her ability to live well and remain virtuously unperturbed despite whatever happens to her (*Ep.* 24.12, 44.7, 95.71). Of particular importance, Seneca denies that someone can have true confidence if his imperturbability has never been tested by misfortune (*Tranq.* 6.2, *Ep.* 13.1), at the same time as he makes confidence the final stabilizing support for wisdom (*Ep.* 44.7, 94.46).

Thus, conscious awareness of one’s good state of mind, i.e. confidence, is required for true, full-blooded wisdom, and confidence only arises from seeing the stability of one’s state of mind successfully tested (*Ep.* 75.9, 71.34, *Const.* 10.3). But in this, Seneca breaks from earlier Stoics, who do not require awareness of one’s wisdom for its actuality. He thus avoids in fact the resulting paradox, even as he exploits it at *Ep.* 75.9 to emphasize the unique, ‘in-between’ state of this maximally progressed fool. And Seneca’s notion of confidence as an *awareness* of one’s own state of mind represents an underexplored strand of Seneca’s innovative attention to the self (cf. Bartsch and Wray (2009), Edwards (1997), and Traina (1974)).

While this account of Senecan confidence, then, helps explain Seneca’s enigmatic description of the highest ‘grade’ of philosophical progress, it also justifies his oft-noted, idiosyncratic arguments for the value of a life of struggle over a life of ease (cf. Inwood (2007) 178-180, Asmis (2009)). So, for example, Seneca’s arguments in the *De Providentia* that god does right by both us fools and the sage precisely in testing all of us with the challenges of an adversarial *fortuna* (e.g. §4) take on greater validity and persuasive force if such trials form an essential component of the sage’s virtue and its inculcation in us fools. Equally, while Seneca recognizes in *Ep.* 66.49-53 that, strictly speaking, the sage’s actions in comfort and travail are equally good, we can make sense of his preference to praise those good actions.
tested by hardship on account of the fact that such hardship better inspires confidence in the sage’s virtue both for himself and those who witness him. As he often does, Seneca thus combines substantive philosophy with his Roman ethos of admirable virtus and exemplarity.

Title: The Novelist and Philosopher as Biographer: Traces of the Biographical in Apuleius
Name: Thomas D. McCreight

In his recent illuminating study of Apuleius’ Platonism, Richard Fletcher (see esp. 46-52 with notes) points out that no one discusses Apuleius as a writer of biographically-oriented prose (no mention, e.g., in the old or new Pauly nor in Sonnabend’s 2002 survey of the genre). This is despite the presence of a rich, if brief, life of Plato as the introduction to (and, cum Fletcher, interpretative key to,) Apuleius’ De Platone et eius dogmate. We also have the vivid sketches of intellectuals and rulers that sparkle in his Florida (e.g., Crates the Cynic 14 & 22; Protagoras and Thales in 18; Pythagoras in 15; Alexander the Great 7). Apuleius’ characterization of his enemies in his De Magia is masterful, as is his skill in delineating the personalities of his judges, family members, and self (cf. also Flor. 20).

These accomplishments in the realm of “the biographical” writ large (see Swain, 1 for the term) extend of course to the Metamorphoses, where brilliant vignettes portray the personalities and accomplishments of major and, especially, minor characters (cf. the scathing portraits of Psyche’s sisters from birth to death in Cupid and Psyche; the daring and admirable acts of Plotina the virtuous and committed wife in 7.6-7; the sketches of Barbarus, Myrmex and Philesitherus in the adultery tale in 9.14-22). These and other episodes clearly owe much to genres other than biography (mime, encomium, comedy, to name a few). But it is precisely this capacity of the “open” genre of the novel to encompass various genres (e.g., history, epic, elegy) that argues for the inclusion of biography as a genre from which Apuleius borrows, and which was itself expressed in various and flexible forms and styles (for example, Satyrus’ life of Euripides includes dialogue).

Comparison of Apuleius’ biographical vignettes to material in Imperial biographical writers is illuminating. There is, for example, a clear focus on names and family history in Suet. Nero 1-2 and De Platone 180. See also the lengthy treatment of portents presaging future greatness in Suet. Augustus 94 and De Platone 181; see also Plut. Alexander 2.2-3 and De Platone 180. Longer examples include the scathing mini-“life” of one of Apuleius’ accusers, Herennius Rufinus in Apology 74.4-75.10, juxtaposed with Suetonius’ damning sketch of Nero in Nero 26.1. The marked tendency toward asyndeton in the service of moral condemnation that one sees in Suetonius’s list of attributes in Nero 26 is also on display in Apuleius’ portrait of the baker’s wife, especially in Metamorphoses 9.14.2-4.

Apuleius was arguably “the greatest writer and man of letters of the second century” (Moreschini, 511), a period during which biography also flourished. This epoch saw the flowering of the morally based lives of Plutarch and the documentary and research-oriented (in the Peripatetic tradition) biographies of Suetonius. A versatile stylist and writer in many genres, Apuleius was certainly exposed to and interested in the fashion for biographical writing characteristic of his age (see Swain 24-25). Keulen, among others, has demonstrated the taste of the period for “self-fashioning” (see e.g. 2014, 130-131) and Apuleius’ participation in it. The scrutiny of self and other that we see in, e.g., Gellius as well as in Apuleius is not unlike the critical analysis that biographers exercise upon their subjects. My paper shows that this connection merits more in-depth study than it has so far received.
One of the most famous Ancient Stoic doctrines is that the ideal life requires the elimination of all emotions or passions (*pathē*) that could impede the attainment of a perfectly rational state of mind. So famous is this doctrine that in modern usage, the term “stoic” refers to a state of complete freedom from the passions. However, it is now generally recognized that the Stoic philosophy of emotions is more robust than this caricature represents. The Stoics in fact deployed a wide range of “affective” notions in their philosophy. For example, we now accept that the Stoics advocated that the perfectly rational individual experiences not only preliminaries to passions (*propatheiai* or pre-passions), but also so-called *eupatheiai*, or dispassions. The related (and mysterious) notions of selection (*eklogē*) and disselection (*apeklogē*) have also received scholarly attention.

The Stoics seemed to have conceived of a number of differences between these affective notions. Their approach trades heavily on their philosophy of mind and action, which places the individual as an epistemic agent at the fore. Inwood (1985) and Brennan (2003, 2005)—advocates of what I call the Standard Model—reconstruct the Stoic model of the passions as a taxonomy of impulse (*hormē*). Impulses are roughly actions that arise from the agent assenting, or taking as true, the proposition (or the complete *lekton*) presented by states of affairs or impressions (i.e. sense data). On the Standard Model, each impulse corresponds to an epistemic state. Accordingly, advocates of the Standard Model take passions to be impulses that arise from false beliefs, dispassions to be impulses that arise from knowledge, and selections to be impulses that arise from kataleptic (or reliably true) beliefs.

In this paper, I resist the Standard Model by carving out what I take to be the true Stoic distinctions between the following five affective notions: passions, dispassions, pre-passions, selections, and disselections. I argue that there are three problems with the Standard Model and that while selections are not affective impulses, pre-passions are.

First, the Standard Model fails to take into account that selections are semantically and structurally distinct from passions and dispassions. The term *eklogē* lacks the “*path-*” root that is common to both *pathē* and *eupathieiai*. Additionally, where the species of passions [appetite (*epithumia*), fear (*phobos*), pleasure (*hēdonē*), and pain (*lupē*)] have corresponding, corrected dispassions [wish (*boulēsis*), caution (*eulabeia*), and joy (*charā*)], the same is not true of selections. Passions and dispassions have one another as their foil. Selections have as their foil *apeklogē*—disselections. Second, on the Standard Model does not account for pre-passions.

Finally, I argue that the distinction between knowledge and true belief invoked by proponents of the Standard Model to describe the epistemic difference between dispassions and selections is founded on a misguided construal of what part of the Stoic psychology of action is kataleptic. Based on a testimony from Sextus Empiricus (*Against the professors* 7.141-3) proponents of the Standard Model argue that the belief is kataleptic. However, I propose that the kataleptic part of the psychology of action is not the belief, but the impression. This is to say that all of our impressions are kataleptic, but the beliefs we have about those impressions are not themselves always kataleptic. I read Sextus as attributing to the Stoics the position that if our beliefs about kataleptic impressions are true, we have knowledge. If they are false, we have opinions. Returning to the Stoic theory of emotions, then, we have a picture where dispassions are impulses that result from kataleptic beliefs, passions are impulses that result from false beliefs, and pre-passions are impulses that result from beliefs that are pre-cognitive. Based on this, against the Standard Model, I argue that selections and disselections are not separate classes of affective impulses, but impulses that figure into the mode of “picking” what objects are to be preferred or dispreferred by the agent who has knowledge.
Plato’s critique of Homer in the *Republic* is by and large one of emotion: poetry causes its audience to neglect *sophrosyne* (self-control by the rational principle) and to absorb—and later reenact through behavioral mimesis—the anger, lust, and excessive self-pity they see on literary display. Aristotle’s defense of poetry in the *Poetics* largely ignores this challenge, offering but one possible solution through the famously unexplained and unexamplified assertion that poetry achieves *catharsis* of emotion. In this paper I demonstrate that the Homeric scholia fill this Aristotelian vacuum by systematically applying a type of intellectual *catharsis* to the very passages Plato attacked in order to prove that Homer is a teacher of self-control, not its opposite.

Work on *sophrosyne* in Homer has focused on Homer’s own use of the term (e.g., North 1966, Rademaker 2005) or on the internal application of mythical exempla by Homeric characters to encourage it (see, e.g., Willcock 2001), but to date I find no investigation of how ancient commentators responded to the problem of self-restraint raised by Plato. My paper offers an introduction to this aspect of the tradition of Homeric reading. As for *catharsis*, Janko (1992) suggested a possible connection in a scholion to *Iliad* 1.1 without commenting on the place of this note in its broader context. My paper shows that Janko’s claim is correct, but that it is only part of a larger program of Homeric exoneration. Whatever the “true” nature of Aristotelian *catharsis* (see Ford 2004, Vöhler and Seidensticker 2007), the scholia advance an intellectual type of “cleansing” as the key to accessing Homer’s value as a teacher of *sophrosyne*, discovered through contemplating epic poetry as a repository of cautionary tales.

That ancient commentators saw Homer as achieving a *catharsis* of emotion is suggested by the opening entry in Erbse’s edition of the *Iliad* scholia, in which a commentator (possibly Zenodotus) alleges that Homer began his poem with *menis* to cleanse our soul from that particular emotion and to teach us to bear our emotions nobly (ἵν’ ἐκ τοῦ πάθους ἁπαθαθαρασθή τὸ τοιοῦτο μόριον τῆς ψυχῆς … καὶ προσθήσῃ φέρειν γενναίως ἡμᾶς τὰ πάθη). This suggestion of moral purification via presentation of its opposite is evident elsewhere when it comes to wrath, as when Achilles sacrifices live dogs and Trojans to the dead Patroclus; as the commentator points out, Homer cautions against such rage-driven actions by pointedly calling them “evil counsels” (sch. II. 23.174).

Similar treatment is given to other vices, including lust. The infamous adultery of Ares and Aphrodite drew Plato’s ire as a model of licentiousness, but the scholia to *Odyssey* 8.267 exhibit a different approach: περὶ κοινωνίας Ἀρεός καὶ Ἀφροδίτης μακρόθεν παιδεύει αὐτοὺς μὴ ἄσελγαίνειν, ὡς καὶ θεῶν διὰ ταῦτα ἁσχημονοῦντων (“By telling about the sexual union of Ares and Aphrodite from long ago, [Homer] instructs his audience not to behave licentiously, since even the gods are disgraced by such actions”). The commentator turns a lascivious affair into a negative exemplum, and the fact that gods are involved—a major problem for Plato—only demonstrates the point more forcefully. Under this same umbrella belongs the famed *Dios Apate* (sch. II. 14.216), where Zeus’ failure serves as yet another warning: if even the gods suffer when they lose control over their desires, how much more should Homer’s human audience be on guard!

This program of Homeric exoneration should be recognized as part of the larger ancient attempt to harmonize Homer and Plato. At the same time, it is distinct in practice from typical neo-Platonist strategies that etherealize Homeric problems via philosophical *allegoresis*. The scholiasts follow a line that, whether or not it captures an “authentic” form of Aristotelian *catharsis*, nonetheless appeals to a theory of intellectual cleansing to defend epic poetry. If only we know how to read Homer, they say, we will find him to be an eminent moral guide.
Among the paratexts that precede seventeenth-century English translations, one finds encomiastic poems dedicated to the translators. Whereas the translators’ own prefaces apologize for their work’s inferiority, these encomia often do the opposite, boldly claiming that the translations equal—or even surpass—their models (Hermans 1985: 106). The translators’ studied diffidence and the encomiasts’ hyperbolic protestations underline—in different ways—two interrelated status anxieties: English had less cultural prestige than Greek and Latin, and translation had less than original composition (Steiner 1975, Davis 2008, Rhodes 2011). In this paper, I consider one strategy employed by the encomiasts of Latin translations to ease these anxieties. They found a model in the Romans’ own reception of Greek literature, an attitude itself marked by a combination of zeal, anxiety, and boastfulness. Specifically, I show that in the front matter of translations of Horace and Virgil, encomiasts allude—sometimes in subtle ways—to ancient passages identifying these Roman poets as cultural intermediaries. Bearers of Greek forms to Rome, Horace and Virgil gave early-modern Englishmen a high-status model of cultural importation that they applied to English translation.

Consider a line from John Chapperline’s poem to the Horatian translator Thomas Hawkins (1625): Romanumque melos Anglica plectra movent (“And English plectra strike up a Roman song”). This line echoes Horace’s request to his lyre at C. 1.32.4-6: dic Latinum, / barbite, carmen, / Lesbio primum modulate civi (“Sing, lyre, first tuned by a Lesbian citizen, a Latin song”). Horace’s use of a Greek word for the lyre (barbitos) and his reference to Alcaeus sit alongside his identification of his song as Latin. Chapperline likewise distinguishes, mutatis mutandis, between the nationality of the instrument and that of the song. For Horace, writing original compositions in Greek meters, the song is native but the instrument is foreign. For Hawkins, translating Horace into English heroic couplets, the song is foreign but the instrument is native. The allusion nevertheless claims an affinity between Horace’s project and Hawkins’s, indicating the two poets’ similar roles as mediators between different national literary cultures. Another of Hawkins’s encomiasts, Francis Lovel, develops the strategy further, weaving together a series of allusions to Horatian passages on the importation of Greek culture: A.P. 131-35, on proper translation; the famous maxim that Greece, when conquered, conquered Rome (Ep. 2.1.156-57); and Horace’s triumphant boast at C. 3.30.13-14 that he was princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos / deduxisse modos.

We see a similar strategy in the front matter of Dryden’s 1697 translation of Virgil. James Wright’s encomium alludes to Propertius’ (2.34.65-66) praise of the Aeneid: “His old encomium never did appear / so true as now; Romans and Greeks submit, / Something of late is in our language writ / More nobly great than the famed Iliads were.” Another encomiast, Henry Grahme, compares Dryden to Aeneas: Dryden has re-entered the literary fray, riñe with critics, in order to rescue his “father,” Virgil, from perishing. While the primary references in Grahme’s poem are to the Aeneid, a secondary reference to Horace highlights Virgil’s role as a cultural intermediary: in Horace’s propempticon to Virgil (C. 1.3), also ten four-line stanzas, Virgil’s dangerous voyage on the Adriatic tropes his daring new poetic project in terms that bear playful resemblances to the journey of its central hero. Virgil differs from Aeneas, though, in crossing the Adriatic in the opposite direction: he heads to Attic shores (finibus Atticis), a fitting destination for one taking on the Greek classic par excellence. In different ways, Horace and Grahme use a playful parallelism between epic poet and epic character to highlight the poet’s heroism in navigating between literary cultures.
Title: Minimal Muscle, Maximal Charm: The Middle Style in Roman Oratory
Name: Joanna Kenty

The controversy between Asianist and Atticist orators, or between advocates of grand and plain styles of oratory, is well-worn territory in the study of ancient rhetoric. The third, middle style is often neglected in favor of the two extremes, or misunderstood as merely a halfway point between the two. In this paper, I argue that Cicero defines the middle style as a set of aesthetic and ethical criteria quite distinct from the plain and grand styles. I then apply those criteria to the orators of the Brutus and trace a distinct genealogy or tradition of orators who were exemplary particularly by the heuristic of the middle style. I argue that this tradition has been overlooked, its exemplars often wrongly assigned to an Atticist camp. By taking a new look at this style, I aim to contribute to a more complete view of Cicero’s discussion of developments in oratorical style at Rome.

The neglect of this style is partially a consequence of Cicero’s own focus on the opposition between advocates of the plain and grand styles, sometimes to the exclusion of the middle style. This bipartite scheme, however, as Gotoff and Fantham pointed out decades ago, is strategic, allowing Cicero to associate himself firmly with the grand style and to avoid criticisms associated with the middle style. The middle style, when executed badly, strayed into rococo over-ornamentation and an emasculating failure to arm oneself adequately for contests in the forum. When done well, however, it was a useful and indeed admirable mode of speech for Roman orators. In Cicero’s Orator (91-6), he writes that the middle style gives an orator unlimited license to use metaphors, figures, and prose rhythms to demonstrate artistic virtuosity, unlike the plain style, which demands that art be concealed. And compared with the intense exertions and vehement appeals to emotion characteristic of the grand style, the orator in the middle style is relaxed, congenial, and easygoing. The middle style thus both borrows and avoids qualities from each of its two counterparts (20-1). Its labor is aesthetic or artistic, rather than emotional (grand style) or intellectual (plain). Its effect is therefore impressive as well as likeable, but not as overwhelming as inescapable logic (plain) or as thundering pathos (grand). Cicero also uses evocative metaphors of light, water, elasticity, and other corporeal phenomena to distinguish the middle style from its counterparts.

We can apply this set of criteria to Cicero’s Brutus in order to detect orators who were known especially for this kind of style, and renowned for “bright,” “sweet,” “liquid,” or “mild” ways of speaking. I trace a series of such orators, including Laelius, Catulus, and most notably Calidius. In the Brutus, Cicero pairs Calidius and Calvus as two of the most promising and accomplished orators of the younger generation. His description of Calidius is remarkably elaborate, idiosyncratic, and positive, although not without reservations. Despite Douglas’ demonstration that Calidius does not fit Cicero’s descriptions of Attic or plain style orators, scholars have continued to mischaracterize or ignore him. I show that not only Calidius but these other, earlier orators cultivated qualities matching Cicero’s description of the middle style. These orators constitute an appreciable and distinct diachronic group who sidestepped the controversy between the other two styles, while achieving considerable reputations for eloquence in their own right. Their styles influenced philosophy, declamation, and historiography – the natural territory of the middle style, in Cicero’s scheme (Orat. 62-6) – as well as oratory itself. By shining a light on this style’s defining characteristics, and by setting against its stylistic siblings instead of letting it fade into the background, we gain a fuller comprehension of ancient aesthetic theory and literary criticism.
A vital feature of democratic politics in ancient and modern societies alike, rhetoric has been subjected to powerful attacks, with the most effective targeting its efficacy for promoting political judgment. Plato’s *Gorgias* illustrates the dangers of the orator pandering to or manipulating the people in order to maintain power. Thomas Hobbes argued that rhetoric, insofar as it stirs up the mind’s passions, perverts the judgments of the people, thereby undermining popular government and requiring regulation by a single sovereign authority. Finally, there is the perspective of “deliberative democracy,” most forcefully expounded by Jürgen Habermas and used by Morstein-Marx (2004: 15-33) in his classic account of the *contio* to critique the rhetoric of the Roman Forum. Deliberative democrats hold that, absent an “ideal speech situation” in which all participants of equal standing are able to engage in and consider rational argumentation, rhetoric is unable to meet the standards of rationality and equality necessary for legitimate democratic deliberation and judgment about the public good. In this paper, I argue that Cicero’s *De oratore* (supplemented occasionally with Cicero’s other works on rhetoric) furnishes an account of the relationship of rhetoric to political judgment that meets the challenges of Plato, Hobbes, and deliberative democrats. Cicero construes rhetoric as a type of dramatic performance in which judgment is made possible by the character roles assumed by speaker and audience.

The paper begins by reviewing the criticisms of rhetoric by Plato, Hobbes, and Habermas, and showing how the characters in *De oratore* raise Plato’s criticisms (cf., e.g., 1.36, 1.38, 1.225).

The second section of the paper discusses Cicero’s account of political judgment. In *De oratore* Cicero suggests that political judgment depends on *ethos* and *pathos* along with *logos*. Viewed from Cicero’s perspective, contemporary deliberative democratic accounts of rhetoric would be unrealistically utopian and, ironically, insufficiently democratic. Most people judge according to the emotions (2.178), which makes traditional rhetoric widely accessible (*vulgus*; 3.223). However, unlike Plato and Hobbes, Cicero does not suggest that emotional appeals pervert popular judgment. Even the inexperienced crowd possesses by nature the ability to make judgments, so that there is little difference between the expert and commoner (3.195-97; cf. Brutus 195).

The third section relates Cicero’s confidence in popular judgment to the indispensable role that *ethos* or character plays in matters of judgment for both the speaker and audience. The former judges what arguments will be persuasive given the character of his audience; the latter judges whether the speaker is trustworthy. One of the terms that Cicero uses for character—*persona*—evokes the idea of an actor playing a role in a theater (see esp. *Orator* 70-74). Oratory is conceived as a type of drama in which both speaker and audience play parts informed by what I refer to as a script. The script has two main sources. The first is nature, which provides all human beings by virtue of their humanity with the capacity to perceive when words, thoughts, and actions are discordant with human society (*De inventione* 2.161; *De oratore* 3.195; cf. *De oratore* 2.115, 2.159; *De officiis* 1.107-115). The second consists of the Republican constitution, institutions, and customs that maintain and uphold Roman political culture (*De oratore* 1.35, 1.44, 1.193-96; cf. *De inventione* 2.162). This script provides a common basis for judgment for the speaker and audience, and prevents the inevitability of pandering (the absolute rule of audience over orator) or manipulation (the absolute rule of orator over audience). In the resulting political drama, the audience is moved by the speaker, and the speaker is bound to the audience, but according to a loose script that promotes judgment rather than in the arbitrary or inflexible ways that according to cotemporary philosophers make judgment impossible (see Beiner 1983). Finally, Cicero’s performative and theatrical account of rhetoric utilizes auditory and visual stimuli to aid judgment in ways not open to the ideal of rational argumentation championed by deliberative democrats.
Conventional wisdom has it that the genre of Greek declamation was full of nostalgic recreation of the old glories of the Persian wars, a symptom of the alleged escapism of much of the literature of the Greek imperial period (thus, canonically, Bowie 1970; Russell 1983; et al.). This paper argues that this assumption is unsafe, based as it is on partial (in both senses of the word) surveys of the quantitative and qualitative evidence for declamation. In truth, declamations on the Persian wars look to have formed only a small proportion of the total: this conclusion should lead to a wider rethinking of traditional characterizations of and approaches to this important but still understudied genre, and indeed Greek imperial literature more broadly.

While previous accounts of declamation have been almost without exception impressionistic, my paper begins with a quantitative survey of all known Greek imperial declamation titles. This survey reveals that in truth declamation scenarios concerned with the Persian wars were much less common than is usually implied. Furthermore, if we are looking for ‘nostalgic’ Persian scenarios, the number falls still further, for an examination of the surviving titles and fragments of declamations concerned with the Persian Wars suggests that many of these texts were far from jingoistic: some, indeed, recall the Persian Wars as a time of infighting and indeed outright treachery among the Greek cities. Recent work on the use of the Persian wars in Greek Imperial Literature has stressed the sophistication and diversity of approach shown by authors in handling this material (Oudot, 2010; Gasco 1990).

But the communis opinio did not come out of nowhere: rather, it rests on well-known statements in ancient sources, particularly Plutarch and Lucian. Yet these statements have been unfairly privileged in modern characterizations of the genre, and indeed to some degree misread, partially perhaps because they seem to accord so readily with traditional low estimations of the Greek imperial period, and partially also because the other sources for declamation are less accessible. Other, lesser-known testimonia offer very different characterizations of the typical themes of the genre, and Lucian himself actually characterizes the genre rather differently elsewhere in his oeuvre. And if we examine the famous passages of Lucian and Plutarch carefully, we find that they too state rather less than has sometimes been assumed, and are of still less value when we take into account their authors’ satirical and anti-rhetorical stances. Furthermore, their pictures of the genre may have been distorted by what cognitive psychologists would call the ‘Von Restorff effect’, the well-established ‘cognitive bias’ in favour of remembering unusual and perceptually salient items in a given category: it may be that declamations on the Persian wars get mentioned frequently by ancient critics (and their modern successors) not because they were very common but rather—on account of the rich opportunities they offered for particularly showy language and acting—because they were so memorable, and indeed unusual. In short, declamations on the Persian wars may be not so much a cliché of declamation as a cliché of the criticism of declamation.

This is an important conclusion, for simplistic clichés about declamation of this sort have surely hampered serious work on the genre for some time: once we move past them, we can begin to appreciate the extraordinary diversity of Greek declamation’s subject matter, and the surprising range of ends for which such material is deployed.

Devoted to the human species, book 7 of Pliny the Elder’s Naturalis Historia is concluded by a catalog of inventions and inventors. In keeping with Pliny’s encyclopedic ambition (cf. Naas 2002; Doody 2009), the list aims at completeness and reliability, constituting a repository of the ‘extreme’ achievements performed by humanity in any given field. No wonder that Italo Calvino (1982:xii) compared Pliny’s
seventh book to the Guinness Book of World Records. Yet the literary and intellectual-historical importance of Pliny’s heurematography has, to date, rarely been appreciated for its own merits. Although Plinian specialists have subjected NH7 to careful scrutiny of the sources or taken it as a springboard for studying Pliny’s relationship with ancient science and material culture (cf. Citroni Marchetti 1991; Healy 1999; Fögen 2013), the heurematographic finale of the book still awaits full scholarly treatment. I argue that, despite the seemingly disorganic character of the list of inventions, structure and order can be detected in Pliny’s heurematography, and that such an order allows Pliny’s enumeration to become a teleological narrative.

Bracketing the issue of Pliny’s sources and the question of whether he ‘believed in his own myths’ (Naas 2008), this paper is the first English-language analysis of NH7.191-215 qua heurematographic literature. At a macrostructural level, Pliny’s catalog is divided into four uneven parts: a) divine inventions (191); b) writing (192-193); c) artisanal crafts and other cornerstones of human civilization (194-209); d) inventions universally adopted throughout the Greco-Roman world (210- 215). At a closer look, the lengthy c) section can be further subdivided into fairly well-delimited subgroups of crafts and crafted objects: for example, metallurgy (197-198), ballistic devices (201), and divination (203). The transitions between different subsections are often significant in their own right: at 199-200, for instance, the juxtaposition of agriculture with the art of government suggests that the invention of the latter was triggered by the emergence of sedentary, farming communities. Thus, Pliny’s heurematography appears to be governed by an inner structural logic. In examining this inner logic, I highlight the main tensions with which it grapples. As I argue, the list of inventions carefully alternates between polar opposites, such as inventions contributing to war vs. inventions fostering peace, or typically employed in a conflict-free context (cf. the section on trading vessels and warships at 206-209). Quite strikingly, Pliny also alternates between Greek and non-Greek inventors (cf. 199-200), and does not mention any Roman primi inventores, attributing most discoveries to Greek and Near-Eastern culture-bringers. His catalog, however, ends with a parade of the first Roman users of universally available technologies. Such technologies, particularly writing and time-keeping devices, are crucial to the empire’s administration. Romans are ‘latecomers’ (212): yet, precisely in its ‘Roman’ section, the catalog seems to overcome ethnic oppositions in favor of a totalizing, ‘anthropological’ approach. While inventiveness is shown to be part of human nature, Rome’s empire comes to coincide with humankind itself.

Pliny’s practice of ‘domesticating’ foreign inventions certainly mirrors the Greek heurematographic tradition of appropriating Oriental discoveries, which played a major role in the power struggles between cities and kingdoms from the Hellenistic age onwards (Thraede 1962; Kleingünther 19762; Vasunia 2001). Yet I show that, far from being merely a tralatician legacy of his sources, Pliny’s ‘domesticating’ strategy is functional to a teleological narrative construing the catalog of inventions as a monument to Rome’s imperial ambition. By adopting and appropriating an all-encompassing range of Greek and Near-Eastern discoveries —Pliny suggests—, the Romans have surpassed their predecessors in the arts of both war and peace, finally globalization the known world through a shared technological and cultural platform. Rather than a “postscript” or “afterthought” (Beagon 2005:416), I argue, Pliny’s heurematography is entirely functional to the political framework informing the encyclopedic project of the Natural History. In conclusion, by exploring the spatial and temporal boundaries of human inventiveness, Pliny grounds the authority of Roman imperial civilization and that of his own totalizing endeavor at once.

Session 51: Nostoi/Odyssey/Telegony: New Perspectives on the Ends of the Epic Cycle
Title: The End(s) of the Odyssey
Name: Egbert Bakker

The existence of cyclical poems next to the Iliad and Odyssey can lead to gemination: the cyclical poem can be seen either as a (lost) source on which the Homeric tradition draws or as a form of “fan fiction,” providing the sequel or prequel to the plot of the Homeric poem, filling in its gaps, or detailing events outside of the plot that are referred to in the poem.
The events at Ithaca after Odysseus’ killing of the Suitors and his reunion with Penelope are caught precisely in this tension. The later mythographical tradition provides various versions of “what happened” based at least in part on a post-Odyssean *Telegony*, but the *Odyssey* itself as well offers intriguing clues as to the biography of its hero after the completion of his *nostos*.

This paper argues that the pull between pre-Odyssean and post-Odyssean material affects the very interpretation of the poem itself. The end of the *Odyssey* has been disputed since antiquity and has in the modern era become fuel for analytic scholarship. But to cut off the poem at 23.296, as Aristarchus did, is to impose a reductive Aristotelian conception of plot unity on the poem. But it is an interpretative choice that the poem encourages in a sense. The “early” ending of the poem fits well with a conception of Zeus-sanctioned justice as well-deserved fate for the Suitors (articulated by Odysseus himself at 22.413–16, where he casts himself as instrument of divine punishment). The poem places an emphasis on justice, while downplaying the element of personal revenge. But it cannot completely ignore revenge as a separate strand that pervades the poem.

The paper considers Odysseus’ post-Odyssean biography against the backdrop of an unresolved conflict in the poem between Zeus and Poseidon, the former being the god of justice, the latter of revenge. A significant detail appears in the final conversation between Zeus and his brother (long before the ending of the poem), when the former assures the latter that “there will always be revenge (†ισις) for you even later on (καὶ ἐξοπίσω),” 13.144. This is an allusion to a role for Poseidon beyond the poem’s plot, possibly related to the ἀμέτρητος πόνος (23.249) that Odysseus tells Penelope is in store for them, a reference to the inland journey Odysseus had been foretold by Teiresias.

The death of the Suitors as just punishment is in line with the poem’s attempts at presenting its hero in a favorable light. But such attempts cannot completely obscure the alternative, in which Odysseus is driven by a desire for revenge and incurs the hatred of the local population. The hero’s ambiguous status as a man who both sustains and inflicts suffering (23.306–7) is translated into the poem’s uncertain ending. But neither the Aristotelian telos at 23.296 nor the un-Aristotelian deus ex machina solution at the end of 24 addresses the hero’s post-*nostos* travels, of which stories may have been in existence at the time of the *Odyssey*’s composition and early transmission and distribution.

This paper, then, argues that the *Odyssey*’s references to the hero’s post-Odyssean biography reflect (and play down) a tradition in which the wrath of Poseidon is more pronounced and extended than in our extant *Odyssey*. Since Poseidon’s importance seems to be limited in the *Telegony*, from what we can tell from Proclus’ paraphrase and Apollodorus, it is likely that the cyclical poem missed or undervalued the way in which the *Odyssey* positioned itself against preexisting tradition.

**Title: Odysseus and the Suitors’ Relatives**  
**Name:** Jonathan L. Ready

Debate persists over the value and significance of the final episode in *Odyssey* 24 in which Odysseus and the male members of his household dominate the suitors’ male relatives in combat (Taplin, 33; Slatkin, 327). This two-part paper offers a new analysis of the poem’s ending. Part I uses two sources of comparanda to denaturalize the battle’s presence in the poem: from both mythographic and folkloristic perspectives the battle appears exceptional. Part II explains the thematic impact of this break with precedent.

Our first source of comparanda comprises other tales about Odysseus’s return. Many of these accounts apparently lacked a battle with the suitors’ relatives. Proclus’ summary of the *Telegony*, for instance, suggests that poem did not include such a battle (arg. 3-6 Bernabé): “The suitors are buried by their family members. And after Odysseus sacrifices to the Nymphs, he sails to Elis to inspect his herds and he
is entertained by Polyxenos.” The *Odyssey* points to a version without a battle with the suitors’ relatives when Teiresias declares what awaits Odysseus after he kills the suitors (11.118-23). Accounts of Odysseus’s return that did include a battle with the suitors’ relatives unfold differently. For instance, Aristotle’s *Constitution of the Ithakans* (fr. 507 Rose) reports a battle, but not like that in the *Odyssey* wherein Odysseus’s force dominates the suitors’ relatives before Athena mediates between the two sides. Aristotle’s rationalized (presumably Athena-less) version sees both sides call for an arbitrator, a rational move only for those facing an equally strong foe. In short, in contrast to many other tellers of Odysseus’s story, the Homeric poets opted both to have a battle between Odysseus’s household and the suitors’ relatives and to make Odysseus’s household demonstrate its physical superiority in that confrontation.

A folkloristic approach provides a second source of comparanda. The *Odyssey* belongs to an internationally attested tale type, *The Homecoming Husband* (ATU 974) (Edmunds 2016, 39), a tale type which would have provided the basis for other stories told to the same audiences who listened to performances about Odysseus’s return (Tolstoi 274; Edmunds 1993, 18). Audiences would have compared the *Odyssey*’s handling of this storyline with other instances of the type. We lack any such instances from archaic Greece, but, by collating versions of the type from other times and places, we can speculate with some confidence about what they would have looked like. I have yet to find a version in which the husband fights the relatives of his wife’s suitor(s) after he dispatches the suitor(s) (either by reconciling with him or driving him away or killing him). In particular, the *Odyssey*’s rendition of this tale type has been thought to share affinities with South Slavic versions of the type (Hansen, 206): no known version from the Balkans depicts further combat after the returning hero deals with the suitor (Beissinger, 406-7). The *Odyssey*’s finale, then, differs markedly from the way other stories about Odysseus’s return unfolded and from the way other stories about the homecoming husband unfolded. This departure from precedent requires explanation. I argue that the final battle contributes to Odysseus’s successful homecoming (cf. Ready, 147-48). To reclaim his position as paramount *basileus*, he must show that his *oikos* remains physically superior to other Ithakan *oikoi*. Appropriately, Zeus proposes a “forgetting” (*eklēsin*) of the murder of the suitors but not of the final battle (24.484-85), a fact scholars routinely overlook (e.g., Malkin, 123-24; Marks, 76).

**Title:** Odysseus’ Success and Demise: Recognition in the *Odyssey* and *Telegony*  
**Name:** Justin Arft

This paper reevaluates the *Odyssey*’s pervasive theme of recognition *vis-à-vis* the *Telegony* and its portrayal of the death of Odysseus. The impetus for this inquiry is a simple contrast in the skeletal plots of the *Odyssey* and *Telegony*: the former is driven by recognition scenes resulting in the hero’s success, while the latter predicates the hero’s doom on failed recognition. Rather than accounting for this contrast by assuming one epic’s dependence on the other, I consider the possibility of an inter-traditional relationship between the *Telegony* and *Odyssey*. Methodologically, I apply Bakker’s new view of Homeric formularity (Bakker; Tsagalis 2014a) to the *Odyssey*’s recognition scenes and build on recent scholarship treating Homer’s nuanced, referential relationship to the traditions of the Epic Cycle (Montanari et al.; Fantuzzi and Tsagalis; Burgess 2014; Tsagalis 2014b). I ultimately suggest that the *Odyssey* offers an innovative construction of its traditional hero by reacting to a shared mythic tradition concerning the consequences of heroic recognition.

Scholars have shown how the *Odyssey*’s recognition scenes are both traditional in source and executed with sophistication (Murnaghan; Foley), and formal analysis of these scenes confirms the poet is doing something novel with their arrangement as well (Gainsford). The *Odyssey*’s special presentation of recognition is further confirmed by application of Bakker’s recent notion of “interformularity”—an “attempt to account for the significance of repetition in Homer” that considers how traditional units take
idiomatic shape within the bounds of a single performance. In particular, I examine a formulaic interrogation, τίς πόθεν εἰς ἄνδρων … (“who, and from where, are you among men …”) that recurs seven times in the Odyssey at key junctures in the formation of Odysseus’ heroic identity. While this formula is conventionally used to interrogate a stranger (Reece), the Odyssey deploys it as a consistent trigger for recognition scenes, and it becomes an encoded signal for the poet’s construction of Odysseus’ identity (Arft). This formula’s patterning and “scale of interformularity,” in Bakker’s terms, is a telling indicator that the Odyssey is making recognition its special business. While Odysseus remains a traditional hero, the Odyssey is carefully constructing his heroic identity.

If the Odyssey emphasizes recognition as a special mode for expressing the traditional Odysseus tale, the Cyclic Telegony may offer an intertraditional explanation as to why. Proclus’ summary of the Telegony indicates that after Odysseus’ return to Ithaca, he is later killed by his son Telegonus “out of ignorance” (κατ’ἀγνοιαν). This particular plot point is underplayed in recent Telegony scholarship (Tsagalis 2015; Burgess 2014), and few note the prominence of the missed recognition in multiple accounts of the Telegony’s plot (West Tel. Arg. 4, Τηλέγονος δ’ ἐπιγνοάτην τὴν ἁμαρτίαν [“Telegonus recognized his mistake”]; Ps.-Apollod. Epit. 7.37, ἀναγνωρισάμενος δὲ αὐτόν [“After recognizing him”]; Hyg. fab. 127, quem postquam cognovit qui esset [“after he recognized who he was”]). While this failed recognition could be explained partly by traditional parricidal motifs, it takes on new significance alongside the Odyssey’s prominent reliance on recognition. Although Telegonus and Telemachus bear a functionally similar ignorance of their father, the Odyssey goes to great length to reconcile father and son while the Telegony does not. The failed and late recognition that is characteristic of the Telegony, then, seems to represent a traditional sine qua non for the hero’s post-Odyssey demise, the tragic elements of which might even anticipate failed recognition in later Greek tragedy. Moreover, if audiences traditionally associated Odysseus’s death with failed recognition, the Odyssey’s recognition sequences take on a new, meta-cyclic, even optimistic dimension that lend a great deal of authority to Telemachus’ recognition of his father. The Odyssey’s resonance results in great part from shared traditions (Danek), and the evidence here reinforces that traditions utilized in the Telegony were known by the Homeric audience as well.

Title: The World’s Last Son: Telegonus and the Space of the Epigone
Name: Benjamin Sammons

I seek to re-evaluate the Telegony in light of a tendency of early Greek epics to set heroic generations, especially fathers and sons, into a paradigmatic relation with one another. I argue specifically that the Telegony controverted this tendency and thereby projected a different historical vision of the heroic age and its demise.

In the Theban Cycle the relation between generations was expressed in the very division of poems, with one devoted to the famous Seven (the Thebais) and another devoted to their more successful sons (the Epigoni). The Iliad addresses this macrostructure by repeatedly confronting the epigone Diomedes with the example of his father Tydeus (Sammons 2014). Within the Trojan Cycle, Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, played a role in both the Little Iliad and the Nostoi, where the space of the epigone was defined through doublets and parallels (Sammons 2013: 548-53). The Little Iliad restored Achilles’ arms to Neoptolemus and narrated his duel with Eurypylus, son of Achilles’ own erstwhile adversary Telephus, in an episode that paralleled the story of Philoctetes’ arrival and defeat of Paris. The Nostoi told at length how Neoptolemus returned home by an overland route in an episode that contrasted favorably with the problematic sea voyage of the older Achaeans. Neoptolemus’s nostos was followed immediately by the story of how Orestes, another epigone, avenged his murdered father. It is significant that Neoptolemus and Orestes never actually meet their fathers, aside perhaps from visions of their ghosts. Such “distancing” makes the paradigmatic relation possible (Grethlein 2006: 55-58).
The *Odyssey* co-optes and improves upon these traditions. Its first half sets Telemachus and Odysseus on separate journeys whose parallel arrangement implies the same paradigmatic relation between generations as in the *Cycle*. Yet the second half of the poem joins these narrative strands and unites father and son, who then work together to eliminate the suitors. The poem ends by showing three generations (Telemachus, Odysseus, Laertes) standing against the suitors’ families in an idealistic portrait of their “agonistic paternal tradition” (Goldhill 2010: 124-27). *Cycle* and *Odyssey* alike project an optimistic and open-ended vision of the heroic age: We are in no “twilight of the heroes;” rather the role of epigones shows that the heroic race will remain alive and well, or is at least continuous with our own age (cf. Danek 2015: 378-39).

I argue that the *Telegony* contested these themes. It had the large-scale structure of a doublet (Sammons 2013: 549-51): The first part recounted Odysseus’s adventures in Thesprotia and return to Ithaca. The second part brought Telegonus on a journey to find his father, leading him to land upon and ravage the island of Ithaca without realizing where he was. As in the *Odyssey*, these two narrative strands were joined so as to bring the father and son together, but with disastrous results: A newly arrived Odysseus rushes to defend the land, and son unwittingly kills father. The fact that they have never met is literally turned against them. Here, the structural parallelism is paradigmatically askew: Odysseus is engaged in a *nostos*, Telegonus in an expedition to unknown lands. The homecoming Odysseus meets a youthful foe laying waste to his property, just as in the second half of the *Odyssey*. The swashbuckling Telegonus recalls the imprudent Odysseus from the first half of the *Odyssey*. He acts as his father had in the lands of the Kikones and the Cyclopes, with similar results. The resulting catastrophe signifies a riposte to the optimistic “generalization” of the *Odyssey* and of early epics in general, while depicting a heroic age fully in its twilight and about to disappear forever. The poem’s conceit of immortalizing the surviving characters and marrying them off to one another (i.e., Telegonus to Penelope and Telemachus to Circe) reflects this view, for it obscures the generational divide (each son marries a stepmother of sorts), freezes the characters in time, and inserts them into a genealogical dead-end.

**Title: Revisiting Athena’s Rage: Kassandra and the Homeric Appropriation of Nostos Narrative**

**Name: Joel P. Christensen**

This paper approaches the relationship between the *Odyssey’s nostos* and other ‘Nostoi’ from two perspectives. First, rather than privileging either the ‘lost’ poems or our extant epic as primary in a ‘vertical’ relationship (with one influencing the other(s) exclusively), I assume a horizontal dynamic wherein the reconstructed poems and the *Odyssey* influenced the character, structure and composition of each other while developing in an oral tradition (cf. Nagy 1999 [1979]; Burgess 2003; Graziosi and Haubold 2005). Second, this paper assumes that since little can be said with certainty about the poetic traditions referred to as the Nostoi and their influence on the Homeric *Odyssey*, evidence of this horizontal relationship—i.e. moments where our epic seems to deal with material from these other traditions—communicates more about the compositional methods and the poetics of our extant poem (cf. Barker and Christensen 2015).

As a test case in exploring this approach, this paper looks at the rage of Athena (revisiting Clay 1983; Allan 2006) and the Homeric avoidance of the rape of Kassandra, a significant topic in the reconstructions of the Cyclic *Ilias Parva, Iliou Persis* and the Nostoi. The use of Kassandra well illustrates the extent to which the *Odyssey* selects and modifies other mythical traditions to fit its concerns. First, I will draw on mythographic traditions (e.g. Apollodorus *Epit.* 5.22–23; Proclus 261–265) to provide a basic *fabula* (cf. Burgess 2009) for Kassandra in early Greek myth and ritual (especially in Lakonia). In Homer Kassandra is a potential bride (*Il.* 13.361–369; cf. Pausanias 10.27.1–2; Benarbé *Il. Parvae* 15; Alcimadas, fr. 16.72–77) and Clytemnestra’s victim (*Od.* 11.421–422). She is known for her beauty; her prophetic power and its origins are suppressed. After outlining Kassandra’s contrasting portrayal in our extant epics and our evidence from the Nostoi, I will explore multiple explanations for her
treatment in Homer, including cultural perspectives on sexual violence, gendered authors and audiences (cf. Felson-Rubin 1994; Doherty 1995) and the compositional concerns of the *Odyssey*.

It is not the case that Homer does not know about the rape of Kassandra as implied by Strabo (13.140); instead, the suppression of the rape and Kassandra’s limited characterization are features of the *Odyssey*’s selective depiction of female characters. Kassandra’s external associations as a victim of sacrilege, a serial resister of marriage (cf. the Byzantine etymology of her Spartan name *Alexandra* as “one who avoids men”), and a captive bride of a returning hero make her a poor fit for the positive and negative patterning of females in the *Odyssey*. The epic’s focus on Ajax’s hubris in angering Poseidon with a boast (*Od*. 4.499–511) aligns his narrative to its characterization of Odysseus (especially in book 9), and the suppression of Ajax’s sacrilege and its generalization to the other Achaeans similarly establishes a parallel between Athena’s rage at the homecoming Achaeans and the punishment of Odysseus’ companions and the suitors for their *atasthalia* (Cf. Eusth. *ad Od* 1.117.19; Cook 1995; Bakker 2013).

**Title: Nostos and Metanostos : The Itineraries of Paris, Menelaus, and Cretan Odysseus**

**Name: Kevin Solez**

A similar geographic pattern, or itinerary, is shared by some early epic *n ostoi* involving ports of call in Egypt, Phoenicia, and a Greek state. The term metanostos suggests that some *n ostoi* may have had an analogical structuring influence on others, and that a fairly specific itinerary was expected of many *n ostoi*. The examples under consideration are the *n ostos* of Menelaus in the *Odyssey* and *Nostoi*, the lying tales of Cretan Odysseus, and the Trojan *n ostos* of Paris returning from Sparta in the *Iliad* and *Cypria*. This paper adds detail to current interpretations of the parallels between the early epic *n ostoi*, and introduces the idea of a Trojan *n ostos* of Paris, which, while belonging to the first stages of the Trojan cycle, is very likely structured by the *n ostos* of Menelaus.

The observation of shared itineraries is relevant to historicizing and neoanalytical readings of Homer. From a historicizing perspective, the itineraries of these three *n ostoi* follow the general pattern of counterclockwise Mediterranean seafaring known from geological estimates of sea currents and shipwrecks (Barako, 155-6). This geographic orientation also relates to certain terms of elite competition that would have been familiar to some Greek audiences in the eighth and seventh centuries, i.e., familiarity through *xenia* with the prestigious civilizations of Egypt and Phoenicia, and possession of their luxury goods.

Metanostos relationships add to our understanding of early epic *n ostoi* from a neoanalytic perspective. Certain folkloristic and narrative details characterize the *n ostoi* both of Menelaus and Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, as has been recognized for some time (Danek, 357). Most would agree that it is not possible to determine whether the *n ostos* of Menelaus had an analogical influence structuring the *n ostos* of Odysseus, or vice versa. This argument can be extended to the lying tales. The journeys of Cretan Odysseus have been recognized as potential references to versions of Odysseus’ *n ostos* in preHomeric epic that the Homeric poems revise (Burgess, 29; Danek, 360; West, 248-9). They bear witness to a centrifugal Odysseus, always setting out again but never reaching unknown lands, while the Odysseus of the *Apologos* continuously seeks home and regularly encounters the undiscovered. Menelaus’ *n ostos* in the *Odyssey* combines these elements; the itinerary of Cretan Odysseus, involving Egypt and Phoenicia (*Od*. 14.235-359), is closely matched by part of Menelaus’ journey (*Od*. 4.454-6; 4.615-9). Another part, mentioned at *Od*. 4.81-91, combines this known geography with a more fantastical one involving the Aethiopians and Eremboi. We can now recognize in Menelaus’ *n ostos* elements that match the *n ostoi* both of the centripetal Odysseus of the *Odyssey* and the centrifugal Odysseus of preHomeric tradition.

Every version of Menelaus’ *n ostos*, Cyclic and Homeric, contains a visit to Egypt (West, 253). The same is not true for Paris’ Trojan *n ostos*, which is preserved in the *Iliad* and in Proclus’ summary of the *Cypria* as involving an itinerary from Sparta to Sidon to Troy (*Il*. 6.289-92, with Currie, 287; Burgess, 16-17).
Stesichorus (Palinode) and Herodotus (2.113) record a version of the story where the storm sent by Hera against Paris forces them to land in Egypt, and a phantom of Helen went to Troy with Paris, while Helen remained in Egypt. An Egyptian port of call in Paris’ nostos brings it very closely into line with the nostoi of Menelaus and Cretan Odysseus, but unlike the case of those nostoi, a clear precedent can be established for the metanostos itinerary of Paris and Menelaus. The parallel position of the men as husbands of Helen and sons-in-law to Zeus exerted a pressure on the tradition to harmonize their journeys in Helen’s company. I argue that it is the persistent detail of Menelaus’ adventure in Egypt that caused this part of the itinerary to be added to Paris’ nostos in some versions, providing an opportunity for the elaboration of the alternative journey of Helen, no further than Egypt, to be retrieved by Menelaus on his return home.

Session 52: Power and Politics: Approaching Roman Imperialism in the Republic
Title: The Political Economy of Empire: Land, Law and the Census
Name: Lisa P. Eberle

This paper examines the conditions on which Romans could acquire land in Italy and in the provinces during the Middle and Late Republic, arguing that while several Roman institutions and practices persistently made new land available to Romans, their legal construction also made sure that these economic benefits could not be translated into political capital in Rome. After all, imperial expansion not only spelt changes for the conquered, but also those conquering - changes that, as my argument shows, were heavily mediated and contested. This paper thus moves beyond existing paradigms concerning such changes, which has focused on consumption habits in the imperial center (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 315-440; Morley 2010: 70-101). More particularly, the paper argues that Roman conquest potentially threatened the position of the very elites that orchestrated this conquest as it made ever more resources available to Roman citizens, who might thus hope to join their ranks. This insight provides the basis for reinterpreting a wide range of Roman institutions as various means by which the social group that made up Rome’s political elite tried to defend its position within the Roman polity against this threat - a defence that came increasingly under pressure in the Late Republic.

Starting in the fourth century BC, the senators devising Roman colonies (Bradley 2014: 65-6) confronted potential Roman colonists with a tough choice: to retain the citizenship and receive a two-iugera lot in a citizen colony, or to accept Latin rights in return for larger plots of land (Salmon 1969: 72). Similarly, the creation of ager publicus, which accompanied Roman conquest throughout Italy, did not give Romans land that impacted their political rights (Roselaar 2010: 31-64; RS 2, ll. 8-10). White viri tane assignments could give Roman citizens between two and ten iugera of land that they could declare in the census, such assignments repeatedly produced senatorial opposition, as was the case most notoriously in relation to Flamininus’ proposal concerning ager Gallicus in 232 BC (Roselaar 2010: 56-57). This opposition only confirms what the aforementioned practices have suggested - that Rome’s political elite, just as it was being reconstituted through the Struggle of the Orders, also made sure that Rome’s military success did not result in a situation where ever more people could aspire to join them. The doctrine that the substantial estates that Romans owned in the provinces (Tran 2014: 112) could not be declared in the census, which fits so well within this pattern, is only attested in the first century BC (Cic. Flac. 80; Bleicken 1974: 374), but there is no reason to suppose that it did not originate in the second or even the third century BC. In the Middle Republic, then, many Romans undoubtedly acquired more land, but their political power remained unchanged.

Various aspects of this system gave way under different pressures in the second and first centuries BC: in the 180s BC bigger citizen colonies with larger allotments were founded. The agrarian law of 111 BC privatized much of the remaining ager publicus in Italy, while after the Social War the Italians were admitted to the citizenship. An underappreciated Augustan reform allowed Romans to declare their provincial estates in the Roman census, thus creating the basis for the world that Pliny inhabited - a world
in which an ever-increasing number of provincial senators were seeking to buy property in Italy so as to comply with the law that at least some of their holdings should be located there (Plin. Ep. 6.19). The anxiety of Rome’s political elite as a social group to retain their position within the Roman polity was a crucial factor in shaping Roman imperial behavior and institutions. As such, it not only connects Roman behavior in Italy and in the provinces, but also uncovers an important element in the political economy of Roman imperialism.

**Title: Resisting Empire: Slave Wars and Free Constituencies**

**Name: Peter Morton**

This paper presents an examination of Rome’s impact on its provinces via an analysis of local disaffection with Roman rule across the Mediterranean, focusing on the period from c. 150-70 BC. In this period Rome extended its empire across the Mediterranean, exposing diverse regions to Roman practices and attitudes. The affects of this expansion on the provinces has in the past been studied in relation to Rome and the elite (Santangelo 2007) or in relation to individual provinces or areas (eg Richardson 1986; Meloni 1987; Kallet-Marx 1995; Prag and Quinn (eds) 2013). What is missing from our current analyses of Roman imperialism is a connected understanding of how Rome’s expansion affected those further down the social order – both slave and free – and how these groups responded to Rome’s power. How did the expansion of Roman power and the integration of local provincial elites into the imperial system affect those outside the elite group? Was this resisted, and if so, in what ways?

This paper explores these questions via a study of the three major ‘slave revolts’ of antiquity – the first and second Sicilian ‘Slave Wars’ and the Spartacus War – as well as other minor ‘slave revolts’ documented in Italy during the second century BC. These events have traditionally been studied in terms of the history of slavery (eg Dumont 1987; Bradley 1989; Hermann-Otto 2009). By placing these events into their immediate contexts – second century BC Sicily on the one hand, and second-to-first century BC Italy on the other – this paper will show that the events arose in each case out of the contemporary and preceding actions of the burgeoning Roman empire. The Sicilian ‘Slave Wars’ and the Spartacus revolt have been seen as the result of rampant increases in slave ownership in Sicily and Italy. However, in each revolt there is evidence of attempts by the rebels to connect their movements to contemporary free concerns and draw strength from them. I will argue that these attempts can only be understood when analysed in the context of Rome’s reshaping of public land in both Sicily and Italy, and how this reshaping altered the relationships and statuses of groups of free peoples in each area. These revolts, therefore, can be best understood not only as revolts against servility or the imposition of servile status, but as assertions of the intrinsically free nature of the rebels that is presented in dialogue with other free inhabitants of the areas in which these revolts occur. Understood in this way, the ‘slave revolts’ of antiquity become less reactions to slavery than attempts to redefine identity and space from the ground up, in competition with the Roman and non-Roman elite view.

In sum, this paper points towards the need to study revolts and low level resistance within their immediate context and in connection between regions. So doing will allow us to better understand responses to imperial power beyond the elite and how these responses demonstrate similarities and interconnections when studied alongside one another. In the process we will also be able to narrow the gap between slave and free as political actors in those areas that were aggressively redefined by Rome spatially and in terms of status. Most of all, this paper will show that Rome’s imperialist drive had to contend with attempts to resist and challenge Roman rule from the ‘lowest’ status individuals, and that these attempts helped in part to drive Rome’s integration of local provincial elites.
This paper examines how associations of Roman citizens acquired influence in the political systems of non-Roman cities in the Late Republic. The product of waves of migration from Italy and the spread of Roman citizenship in the periphery, these groups of Roman and/or Italian businessmen formed minority populations in non-Roman cities and went by names like Rhomaioi hoi katoikountes and conventus civium Romanorum. Attested from the second century BCE to the fourth century CE, epigraphic and literary sources indicate that they convened to practice religion, socialize, and facilitate business, and that members ranged from individuals of servile origin to those of equestrian rank. Their influence in the political spheres of their local communities was not just one of the many epiphenomena of the Roman empire, but an illustration of how Roman power spread in the absence of state actors (Ramgopal 2017).

The earliest example of the influence these associations wielded or tried to wield comes from Sallust, who reports that a group of Italians at Cirta advised Adherbal in to surrender to his brother in exchange for his life. Though brief, Sallust’s anecdote foreshadows a pattern apparent in the evidence for these associations. Regardless of time and place, such groups consistently strove to acquire influence in their host cities (Ramgopal 2017). They were, fundamentally, driven by the need to accommodate imperial realities that were in constant flux, particularly in the century leading up to and following Actium. Further, the strategies they employed in these efforts were contingent on the particularities of local political systems, economic conditions, and cultural practices.

The chronological focus of this paper requires a reliance on piecemeal Caesarian evidence for associations of Roman citizens (by contrast, evidence for associations of Roman citizens in later periods is primarily epigraphic). Yet such a study can form a basis for developing a long term historical view of their activities and impacts on local communities. In the Late Republic, associations of Roman citizens seem powerful enough to have compelled locals to support a general they preferred to oppose. They may have also played pivotal roles in the outcomes of certain theaters of war. This has led some to observe that the associations acquired “parallel status” with the governments of their host cities (Purcell 2005) and perhaps motivated either Caesar or Octavian to elevate their host cities to colonies or municipalities (Wilson 1997; Purcell 2005). Indeed, Caesar’s accounts of their activity reflects these exertions in multiple contexts with vivid portraits of their ability to drive local governments toward supporting one or another of the generals vying for primacy in the Roman world in the decades leading up to Actium.

Relying on these literary portraits, I examine evidence from Late Republican Corduba, Utica, Lissus, Salona, and Utica to examine the possible means by which these associations acquired local political influence. I suggest that their ability to intervene in the political world of non-Roman cities partly depended on their organization as tightly knit trust networks. By integrating into governmental systems, such networks can become political actors with often high levels of influence (Tilly, 2005). Association at Salona, for example, proved influential during the Late Republican civil wars through its support of Julius Caesar, and by 27 B.C.E., the city had received colonial status (Caes. B Civ. 3.9.2; Wilson 1997; Purcell 2005). The paper also suggests that the link between the presence of associations of Roman citizens and the statuses of their host cities is more tenuous than previously believed.
the notorious statue from Aphrodisias representing the emperor Claudius as a heroic nude raping the female personification of Britannia (Whittaker 2004: 115-143). In this mature imperial ideology, conquest is rape and empire is eroticized, fundamentally equating sex with power (see also Vout 2007).

Yet the Romans of the Middle Republic, busy creating Rome’s Mediterranean empire, discourses of sexual restraint were the order of the day. Restraint in fact was seen as the appropriate model for imperial rule: the exemplar here was Scipio Africanus, who famously declined to rape an Iberian captive after the capture of New Carthage, a decision that ultimately had important diplomatic and military implications, given that she was the daughter of an important Iberian chieftain. While commentators from the early empire to the 18th century appropriated “the continence Scipio” as an exemplar of primitive Roman virtue, it better reflects a specific moment in Roman elite discourse about male sexuality and empire, concerned less with chastity than with pragmatic moderation.

Similar discourses about male restraint turn up repeatedly for the third and second century BC. We see attempts to regulate the sex lives of senators, for example Cato’s censure of a senator for kissing his wife in public in front of his daughter, as well as commons, most notably severe penalties for sexual misconduct in the Roman army. We also have a flurry of anecdotes about sexual misconduct with slaves, involving not only the philogunes Scipio, but even the morally upright Cato the Elder. In the case of both men, the stories suggest that wives, children and in-law were expected to police the sexual behavior even of a consular paterfamilias.

This culture of sexual restraint was a traditional one, undergirding the civic politics of a republican state. The political class of the Middle Republic depended upon a delicate lattice of marriage alliances, which might be upended by a culture of male libertinism. Common citizens, worried least they might be victims of elite predation, also had a stake in enforcing a culture of elite restraint.

The advent of empire provided its agents new outlets for sexuality that were difficult to regulate, and these outlets overlapped with other horizons for abuse and aggrandizement facilitated by imperial resources. This in turn led to redoubled efforts to enforce traditional civic mores. Ultimately, sex was power for the Romans of the Middle Republic, just as it would be for later propagandists of the Imperial period. But as Rome’s imperial activities placed elite Romans in unprecedented positions of poorly supervised authority, discourses advocating sexual restraint contained blatant subtexts about political rectitude.

In some ways the political outcomes of the Late Republic suggest that the sexual anxieties of the Middle Republic were not simply the product of traditionalist prudery or conservative paranoia. The rampant adultery that makes late-Republican poetry so much fun (fecundum semen adulterio)–and which provoked the Julian laws--was the byproduct of the collapse of a stable aristocratic system. Nothing represented the implosion of Republican civic and sexual cultures as a result of imperial pressures than the Shakespearean drama of iterative Roman dynasts making love to the same Ptolemaic queen.

Session 53: Epigraphic Economies (Organized by the American Society of Greek and Latin Epigraphy)

Title: “They gave for the war”: The Spartan War Fund as a Public Contract
Name: David DeVore

The famous Spartan War Fund inscription (IG V 1 1) provides a list of poleis and individuals who “gave to the Lacedaimonians for the war” a series of specified contributions. Where most scholarship has focused on the dating of the text, which has now been anchored in the Declean War (Bleckmann 1993 and 2002, Piéart 1995), the inscription has barely begun to inform our understanding of the Spartan economy (cf. Loomis 1993: 77-80, Smarczyk 1999: 63-64, Hodkinson 2000: 167-170; Thommen 2014, 94-99, 127-129). It seems unlikely that the Spartans would have inscribed such contributions as a display
of financial heft, since the values of the gifts specified on the inscription are sometimes strikingly modest and even nonmonetary, including grain and raisins. We frame the inscription not as a show of financial strength but as a public display of the Spartans’ contract with friendly investors in the Spartans’ war effort who participated in a nonmonetary economy of inter-polis gift exchange (cf. Mitchell 1997). In stark contrast with the forced contributions listed on the obvious precedent for the War Fund, the Tribute Lists of Sparta’s enemy Athens, the War Fund repeatedly points out that poleis and individuals ἔδον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ποττὸν πόλεμον, even when space on the stone was scarce. These notices of willing sponsorship reminded the Spartans that they were involved in an array of ϕιλίαι centered around exchanges of favors: in exchange for these monetary gifts the Spartans were obligated to fight the Decelean War so as maximally to repay their benefactors. Since all of the donors named on the surviving parts of the inscription are Greek actors outside the Peloponnesian League (whose members were obligated to support Sparta), the inscription set into stone the Spartans’ image as Panhellenic champion of cities oppressed by Athenian imperialism, an image bolstered by the appearance of Aeginetans, Ephesians, Melians, and possibly Thasians and Teians as Spartan benefactors on the inscription. The display of Spartan obligations to these populations was crucial. For in the Decelean War, the Spartans were engaging in negotiations for much greater contributions from Persia. These negotiations endangered the sovereignty of the Greek poleis in Asia, which naturally could severely harm Sparta’s image as a patron of Greek cities and against which the inscription served as a propagandistic counterweight.

Title: Merchant associations and domestic cults as economic agents in late Hellenistic Delos
Name: Mantha Zarmakoupi

This paper examines the epigraphic and material evidence of private associations and domestic cults of Italian merchants in late Hellenistic Delos to address the ways in which merchants employed religious practices as economic agents in the dynamic urban economy of the island in this period. Delos has yielded rich epigraphic evidence of different associations and groups that issued inscriptions from the third century BCE to the second century CE, while most inscriptions date from the heyday of the free port from 167/166 to 88 BCE (Bruneau 1970, 585-638). These inscriptions attest the geographic diversity of the mercantile influx into Delos in this period: Greeks, Italians and Phoenicians merchants came together in corporate groups that carried out cultic observances and built religious structures on the island.

While research has focused on the epigraphic evidence from public squares (Hasenohr 2000 and 2001), sanctuaries (Roussel 1916, 253-255; Bruneau 1970, 464-465, 471-472; Baslez 1977, 197-203, 249-268; Will 1985) and private clubhouses (Trümper 2002, 2006, 2008, 2011 and forthcoming), the role that domestic cults played in the emporion of Delos has not been addressed. The evidence for cult practices, in particular of the cult of Lares Compitales (Hasenohr 2003, 194-211, 219-23; Hasenohr 2007), shows that merchants employed the cult as a means to assert their corporate identity (Zarmakoupi 2015). In addition, recent research has indicated that the cult of Lares Compitales was intertwined with economic activities in the domestic sphere (Zarmakoupi 2015 and forthcoming).

By examining the epigraphic and material evidence of the cult of Lares Compitales and Italian merchant associations, this paper will address the ways in which domestic cults alongside merchant associations operated as economic agents in late Hellenistic Delos. The altars of the Lares Compitales that stood next to the entrance of houses of Italian merchants rendered omnipresent this group in the commercial cityscape of Delos, and strengthened the bonds of its urban economy with the Agora of the Competalistas—where the public monument of the Lares Compitales stood. Both private and public manifestations of the Lares Compitales were a means of fashioning the corporate identity of the Italian merchant community and promoting its economic interests.
Title: Agriculture and husbandry in Sicily and Lucania in the 2nd century BC: the evidence of the lapis Pollae
Name: Mario Adamo

This paper investigates how the Latin inscription known as lapis Pollae (CIL X 6950 = CIL I² 638 = ILS 23 = ILLRP 454 = Inscr. It. III.1 272) can be used to address the shifting balance between agriculture and husbandry in Sicily and Lucania as a consequence of the growth of demand for grain in the 2nd century BC.

The inscription, standing along the road Capua-Regium, mentions (among other things) the decision by a Roman magistrate to privilege the claims of ploughmen on public land, at the expenses of shepherds (ll. 12-13: primus fecei, ut de agro poplico aratoribus cederent pastores). So far, the sentence has been unanimously understood as a reference to a land distribution in Lucania, either in connection to the Gracchan settlements (Wiseman 1964; Verbrugghe 1973), or to the settlement of viasei vicanei (Carlsen 2009; Bernard et al. 2014). According to this interpretation, shepherds were relocated to settle farmers.

I argue, instead, that in the sentence cedere does not mean "withdraw", but "give priority". I suggest that the sentence refers to a judgement given by a praetor of Sicily, to settle a dispute concerning the use of ager publicus: according to my interpretation, the magistrate gave priority to people who grew grain (arationes) for the Roman market, in case of competing claims with the owners of flocks. Through the analysis of the involvement of Roman citizens in the Sicilian economy after the conquest, I suggest that the dispute involved not only Sicilians, but also Roman entrepreneurs.

In the second part of the paper, I discuss the date of the episode. First, I point out that the indication of mileage on the lapis Pollae has been reduced at a later stage, and argue that this has to do with alterations to the road, such as the construction of a bridge to avoid a detour. Then I present the inscribed milestone from Ponte Maodino, pertaining to the via Annia Roma-Aquileia (Uggeri 2012), and explain that the document proves that milestones were amended to keep record of changes to itineraries. Finally, I present the only extant milestone from the road Capua-Regium (AE 1955, 191 = AE 1956, 148 = ILLRP 454a = CIL I².4 2936), and suggest that, since it has no amendments, it was set up later than the lapis Pollae. Since the milestone bears the name of T. Annius pr(aetor), and the most recent Annius to have held the praetorship is T. Annius Rufus (praetor in 131 BC at the latest), then the lapis Pollae is earlier than 131 BC.

At this point, I analyze Plutarch's account of an attempted land reform by C. Laelius in the late 150's or early 140's. I reject Astin's (1967: 307-308) view that Laelius was attempting to put through a land distribution; instead, I connect the episode to the lapis Pollae, arguing that growing demand for arable land was creating contrasts with the owners of flocks, the activity then prevailing on public land. I substantiate this claim by reflecting on the location of the lapis Pollae. I explain that, although the economy of Lucania was heavily reliant on husbandry, archaeology (Di Giuseppe 2007; 2011; Gualtieri 2008; 2009; Fracchia and Gualtieri 2011) and literary evidence show that around the turn of the 1st century BC arable farming had acquired considerable importance. I suggest that the lapis Pollae gives us a glimpse of the initial stages of the expansion of arable farming in Lucania: I suggest that this was promoted by the local elites of Roman colonies in Lucania and Campania, whereas it was opposed by the senators and equites who owned the flocks roaming on public land.

Title: The ATHENIANS Project and Epigraphic Economies
Name: John Traill

The ATHENIANS Project, soon to be made available in electronic format, offers researchers studying the ancient Athenian economy a vast body of epigraphical, topographical, and prosopographical information.
from a wide range of sources, including decrees, building accounts, confiscation records, manumissions, leases, grave stones, coins, and vases. These subjects have been combed by numerous scholars over many years, then verified, analysed, classified, entered, and stored in relational databases.

This initiative, an 85-year-old research venture, which began with the commencement of the modern phase of the Agora Excavation in 1931 as a simple catalogue of inscriptive data pertaining to persons of ancient Athens, was transformed and expanded four decades later into a computer-based project located at Victoria College and the Computer Systems Research Group (later "Institute"), and finally in the Department of Classics of the University of Toronto. ATHENIANS is now experiencing a renaissance with the support of its long-term software supplier, EMPRESS Embedded Database, and the Lassonde School of Engineering at York University. The purpose of the project is to disseminate via a sophisticated electronic relational database management system (RDBMS) the masses of accumulated information concerning more than 100,000 known residents of ancient Attica. Over the past four decades most of the prosopographical information has been entered into two EMPRESS databases and then formatted and published in 21 volumes of the series "Persons of Ancient Athens." A good deal of this material, now being linked to new topographical and epigraphical databases, will be useful to scholars of the ancient Athenian economy.

The study of economics was an important part of the original conception of our project. Complete references to Davies' "Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.," for instance, were included in the main relation of the database and provision was made via a series of more than 100 different kinds of joins to other persons for the construction of stemmata or family trees. All references to Athenian financial officials, e.g. treasurers of Athena, trierarchs, members of the cavalry, mint magistrates, persons cited in building accounts, lessees, lessors, etc., i.e. the sort of people who are cited in Davies, are included. Our material, however, covers a larger span, namely all of antiquity down to the Late-Roman and Early-Byzantine periods, and our register embraces not just the wealthy but all classes of Athenian society.

The documentation provides full citations of searchable texts including a complete set of monetary notations in inventories, horoi, manumissions, etc. There are also increasing numbers of links via an interactive map to a new topographical database, and some material has been joined to our collection of recently digitized squeezes.

One of the 16 attributes in the main relation, "stat" provides several dozen levels for classifying the citizenship and social status of an individual. Of the seven attributes in the references relation one, "class", allows a scholar to select material from a 100 different categories of documents. Our system of organizing grave monuments according to 8 levels of ascending economic status may also be exploited for economic purposes. In addition, data may be treated with tools of statistical research, some already within the EMPRESS system, for example the five aggregate functions of COUNT, MAX, MIN, SUM, and AVG, or with other tools from external statistical software. Dates have been provided as presented in standard publications such as the Corpus, but we have added two additional formatted interpretative attributes, viz "datefrom" and "dateto" in order to form windows to facilitate computer searching.

Economic and related information may readily be retrieved and formatted via a simple user-friendly search form, while more advanced users may exploit the full resources of the highly reputed EMPRESS RDBMS through both traditional methods and also through new techniques of data mining with the goal of making this electronic tool more useful for all scholars, including those interested in ancient economies.
Title: “Non stamped” instrumentum domesticum as source for the economic history of Rome
Name: Silvia Orlandi

The importance of inscribed instrumentum domesticum for our knowledge of ancient economy has been
recognized since the time of Heinrich Dressel. However, most modern studies about the process of
production and distribution of goods in the Roman world are based on stamps (amphoras, lamps, bricks
and so on) and other kinds of “standard”, repeated information (like graffiti and tituli picti inscribed on
different part of amphoras). In this kind of documentation, the information potential above all depends on
the massive quantity of material at our disposal, in different part of the Roman Empire, attesting the
routes of commerce and the different roles of people involved in it. But an unexpected amount and variety
of information about the economic history of Rome can also be drawn from “non stamped” and “non
massive” instrumentum, including different kinds of small inscribed objects, like, for example, signacula,
tesserae, tabellae immunitatis, slave collars, weights and other measures. Short texts, frequently using
abbreviations, often inscribed on objects whose archaeological origin is unknown, can become useful and
informative for historical research only if we are able to make them “speak”, putting them in relationship
with other texts and information, thus restoring their historical and geographical context. Only in this
way, small inscribed objects can throw light not only on the every day life of the ancient Romans but also
on their economic activities. This aspect must be taken into account also in the process of digitization of
this kind of inscriptions that is currently on the way in the framework of different international projects: a
digital archive including “non stamped” instrumentum should not only consider the particular nature of
both texts and artefacts, but also make evident their contacts with other materials and sources through
prosopographic and topographic links. The purpose of this paper is to describe the current state and the
future prospects of such an undertaking within the context of the project EDR (Epigraphic Database
Roma).

Session 54: [Tr]an[s]tiquity: Theorizing Gender Diversity in Ancient Contexts (Organized by the
Lambda Classical Caucus)

Title: Life After Transition: Spontaneous sex change and its aftermath in ancient literature
Name: Kelly E. Shannon

This paper examines ancient literary descriptions of women who spontaneously transform into men, with
a view to understanding what these stories can tell us about ancient conceptions of the gender binary.
These individuals, whose transition from female to male is imposed upon them by external circumstance
rather than originating from their internal gender identity, must renegotiate their place in society after they
transform, with mixed results. Previous scholarly studies touching on these passages have focused on
their medical (e.g. Laqueur 1990; Flemming 2000; Graumann 2013) or literary (e.g. Hansen 1996;
Langlands 2002; Doroszewska 2013) significance. I build on these observations to offer a holistic view of
ancient conceptions of sex change and to show that, despite the alternative to the gender binary that these
stories appear to offer, they actually confirm a distinction between male and female.

Some details in our texts suggest these individuals live as men with relatively little difficulty, adopting
male dress (Diodorus 32.10.7, AP 9.602.8) and names (Diodorus 32.10.8, 11.4; Pliny HN 7.36;
Phlegon Mir. 8-9), marrying women (Pliny HN7.36; AP 9.602.5), and adopting masculine occupations
(Diodorus 32.10.8, 11.4; Phlegon Mir. 8). Living as a man, however, is not always straightforward.
Transformation usually occurs at puberty, meaning the woman becomes a man around the time of
marriage (Pliny HN 7.36; AP 9.602.3-4; Diodorus 32.10.3,11.1; Phlegon Mir. 6-7, 9). For Diodorus’
character Heraïs, the transition from female to male causes conflict and tragedy. Heraïs’ husband
Samiades sues Heraïs’ father in an attempt to get his wife back (Diodorus 32.10.6); ultimately he cannot
cope with losing Heraïs, and commits suicide (32.10.9). Spontaneous sex change, therefore, has
consequences for familial and legal relationships: when a married woman becomes a man, the societal
fabric can be torn in ways too immense to overcome, reinforcing the fundamentality of the gender binary.
The texts also display a fascination with the genitalia and sexual expression of the transformed. Descriptions of medical symptoms (Diodorus 32.10.3, 11.1; AP 9.602.4; Phlegon Mir. 6) or surgical intervention (Diodorus 32.11.2-3) show that details of anatomy are considered key to gender identity. Ancient anatomical theories emphasize similarities between female and male genitalia (Diodorus 32.12.3; cf. Aristotle GA 1.728a 17-20), with the female being decidedly the inferior version (Aristotle GA 4.767b.5-9), reflected in the claim of Diodorus’ surgeon that he deserved a double fee because “he had taken a sick woman and made her into a healthy man” (32.11.3). Furthermore, because these wives do not possess vaginas, their sexual relations with their husbands are described as “unnatural” (32.11.1 παρὰ φύσιν), or as male-male intercourse (32.10.4 ἀρρενικαῖς συμπεριφοραῖς) which the wife decries as demeaning (32.10.6). Being the penetrated partner during sex, an inherently womanly act, devalues one’s masculinity, and rejecting penetration becomes crucial to casting off female identity. Thus these stories strongly reinforce the gender binary, and the ideal of female inferiority, both anatomical and social.

Negative perceptions of transformers further confirm the gender binary: those outside it are viewed with fear or prurient curiosity. Gender-nonconforming individuals arouse discomfort as harbingers of doom who must be expiated or destroyed (Pliny HN 3.36; Diodorus 32.11.4, 12.2; Phlegon Mir. 6). Even Pliny, who argues against such an interpretation, sees them as deliciae (HN 7.34), a word used to describe a pet animal (e.g. Catullus 2.1), art object (e.g. Cicero Verr. 2.4.52), or object of sexual desire (e.g. Vergil Eclogues 2.2), suggesting that these individuals were valued only for the exotic pleasure their bodies bring to the viewer. Prurient interest in the appearance of transformed bodies is confirmed by Pliny’s (HN 7.36) and Phlegon’s (Mir. 9) assertions that they have seen such individuals for themselves. Autopsy, a well-known ancient literary strategy for corroborating the occurrence of something otherwise unbelievable, here subjects the bodies of the transformed to the prying gaze of the writer. This objectification suggests that those who fall outside the gender binary are oddities not fully deserving of humanity.

Title: An intersex manifesto: Naming the non-binary constructions of the ancient world
Name: Chris Mowat

In the modern Anglophone world, the term ‘hermaphrodite’ has long since been laid to rest in favour of more appropriate words (and phrases) to define those whose bodies do not conform biologically to our traditional notions of male and female. Yet it is still almost unanimously used within Classics and Ancient History to talk about these individuals in the ancient world.

Since the 1990’s, ‘intersexuality’ has been used to encapsulate the identity, as well as the medical condition, gaining traction both within the LGBT community and beyond. Alternatively, ‘Disorder (or Divergence) of Sex Development’ is sometimes utilised (for an analysis of terminology within queer and intersex activism, see Reis 2007). In this paper, I argue that contemporary terminology can and should be applied, in this instance at least, to studies of the ancient world, from the discussions of Greek statues (such as the ‘sleeping hermaphrodite’ model, as outlined in Ajootian 1997) to those of Roman prodigy expiations (as outlined, for example, in Corbeill 2015).

One of the main reasons for using the term ‘hermaphrodite’ lies closely with one of the questions posed by the panel abstract, namely whether contemporary concepts can be usefully transposed into ancient constructions, or whether classicists should stick to the object language of the ancient terminology. Indeed, ἐρμαφρόδιτος/hermaphroditus and ἀνδρόγυνος/androgynus are terms found in the Greek and Latin texts respectively, but, as I argue in this paper, ‘hermaphrodite’ (or its counterpart ‘androgyne’) are not – and, importantly, should not be treated as – direct transpositions into Anglophone discourse of the ancient words. Through a closer look at both the ancient and modern etymologies and terminologies, in this paper I look at what we are really saying when we speak of ‘hermaphrodites’.
This paper also makes comparative use of feminist and queer theory, in particular drawing a parallel to Donna Haraway’s “Cyborg Manifesto” (originally published 1985), from which this paper’s own title is derived. Although this theory is grounded in socialist feminism of the 1980’s, there is mileage in a comparative look at the construction of Haraway’s cyborg and the construction of the classical hermaphrodite. Namely, this theoretical standpoint underscores the linguistic construction and the way the dual reality of the intersexed body, in both the Greco-Roman and the contemporary worlds, is caught between fact and fiction. This is also not unlike other approaches to gender and the body in both classical and sociological discussions (for example, Butler 1990 and 1993; Holmes 2012; Foxhall 2013).

A close look at ancient sources that discuss (and construct) intersexuality also reveals the cultural construction of the intersexed body, as we see a strong disparity between the ideas across the period. Diodorus Siculus (32.10-12), for example, constructs intersexuality as a medical condition – a view not unlike early modern European definitions of hermaphroditism (see Dreger 1998 and Long 2006), but very different from that of the Roman Republic, which saw them as dangerous portents to be expunged (Schultz 2010, Corbeill 2015). Particular attention is also paid to the Elder Pliny’s enigmatic mention that the intersex, once considered prodigia, are now considered deliciae (NH 7.34). This range of views across the ancient world serves to show that the “hermaphrodite” was not a singular construction, a “monster” in the ancient world. More nuanced terminology – if it is possible to call “intersexuality” such – is then necessary in order to create a cleaner linguistic lens through which we can understand and contest the overlap of ancient views and modern constructions.

The conclusion of this paper is not to argue that “intersexuality” and its derivatives are perfect terminology – and their own shortcomings will be analysed – but to posit the idea that they can and do create a more nuanced understanding of non-binary bodies in the ancient world and thus, perhaps, go some way to strengthen, and perhaps even challenge our own ideas, constructions and assumptions of intersexuality, hermaphroditism and non-binary identities.

**Title: Gender Ambiguity and Cult Practice in the Roman Novel**

**Name: Barbara A. Blythe**

I argue that ambiguous gender expression on the part of the protagonists of the Roman novel can be explained partly by their involvement in religious cults. Konstan (1994) argues that the hero and heroine of the Greek novel are equal romantic partners. This erotic mutuality is a product of the equalizing combination of traditional gender expectations, the heroine’s unusual boldness, and the hero’s curious tendency toward passivity. I would suggest that a significant portion of the heroine’s confidence and agency results from her special relationship with the divine, while the hero generally engages in acts of religious devotion only at the urging of others. Yet the hero’s gender expression cannot be classed as anything other than fully male.

Something different occurs in the Roman novels, Petronius’ *Satyricon* and Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*, which, as Konstan suggests, reveal unequal erotic relationships consisting of dominant and subordinate partners as opposed to the balanced romantic equality of the Greek novels. In particular, Petronius’ Encolpius and Apuleius’ Lucius play almost exclusively submissive roles in their various erotic encounters. Unlike the heroes of the Greek novels, their performance of gender is also problematized. Petronius depicts Encolpius as decidedly effeminate. He often takes a passive role in sexual encounters (many of which involve beatings and bondage), including one with a cinaedus during a ritual for Priapus (21.2, 23.2-24.4). At various points in the narrative we hear that he wears makeup (126.2), ornate hairstyles and wigs (110.5, 126.2), and effeminate Greek slippers (82.3). Twice he is mistaken for a male prostitute (7.1-8.4, 126.1-4). Encolpius’ submissive roles in his sexual encounters are reinforced by his impotence (probably resulting from the anger of Priapus), which leaves him feeling emasculated (129.1). At one point he contemplates severing his penis while reciting a poem in Sotadeans (132.8), a meter
associated with *cinaedi*. Apuleius’ Lucius is likewise dominated, sexually or otherwise, by almost every female character he meets. Even as a proverbially hypersexual ass, he is not in control of his sexual encounters. When he accepts Isis as his savior goddess, he submits yet again to a powerful female figure. His vow of sexual abstinence and shaved head do not feminize him per se, yet they signal his willingness to compromise his youthful virility in order to please his new mistress. Apuleius seems to imply that the reader should view Lucius alongside the effeminate *galli* (8.24-9.10), priests who (like Lucius’ Isiac mystagogues in certain interpretations of the novel), engage in charlatanry. Something similar seems to be happening in the *Iolaos*, a Greek prosimetric fragment that seems more aligned in tone with the lowlife adventures of the Roman novel than the idealistic Greek novel. The fragment includes instruction in mimicking the cult practices of the *galloi* (including their adoption of feminine clothing), a mention of a *kinaidos*, and a poem in Sotadeans.

I argue that a partial explanation for this difference in erotic power dynamics and gender expression may reside in the need for the male protagonist of the Roman novel to take on the role of religious votary himself, without a female partner to take the lead. Lucius becomes an initiate of Isis at the end of the *Metamorphoses* and though it is unclear what happens to Encolpius at the conclusion of the fragmentary *Satyricon*, a god likely restores his virility. A healing miracle (perhaps temporary) occurs at 140.12-13. It is possible that Encolpius, like Apuleius’ Lucius, accepts initiation into the cult of the deity who saves him. Schmeling theorizes that Encolpius becomes a priest of Priapus (1994, 210, 223; 2011, xxii-xxv). A mystic marriage is Apuleius’ clever solution to the problem of how to end a novel that concludes without a traditional conjugal marriage, and perhaps it was Petronius’ solution as well. Ultimately religious devotion is empowering for women in the ancient novel, yet ambiguous in its effects on male gender expression, particularly for the protagonists of the Roman novels.

**Title: (N)either Men (n)or Women? The Failure of Western Binary Systems**

**Name: Rachel M. Hart**

In his extensive account of the Scythians, Herodotus twice mentions the Enareës, male diviners who were afflicted by Aphrodite with a “female disease” (θηλεά νοσος, 1.105) and later described as “androgy nous” (οι άνδρόγυνοι, 4.67). The nature of this disease has most often been explained as impotence (e.g., Asheri 1977, Jouanna 1999), due mainly to a comparable passage in the Hippocratic treatise *Airs, Waters, Places*. The Hippocratic author mentions the similarly-named Anarieis, an elite class of Scythians whose predisposition to impotence and infertility is caused by excessive riding and the wearing of trousers (22). When the Anarieis realize their lack of virility, they assume it is a punishment from Aphrodite, and thereafter they take up the appearance and social roles of women. The two accounts are thus considered to be describing the same collective, who Meuli (1935) and others (e.g., Ballabriga 1986, Asheri 1977) have concluded are analogous to transcultural traditions of transvestite shaman figures.

It is true that gender transgression is often linked to the liminality of a diviner’s role between mortals and gods, but explaining the Enareës as transvestites ignores the emphasis Herodotus places on physicality in his account. The affliction is not simply something experienced, but it is an actual disease (η νοσος). Additionally, the related verb νοσέω (“be sick”) describes the seers’ condition as physical bodily suffering. While this could lead us to infer that the disease is impotence or sterility, I argue that the emphasis on gender in Herodotus’ account should be given greater attention. Elsewhere in his *Histories*, Herodotus describes in detail several physical maladies, including those affecting the genitals, but he does not do so when describing the Enareës. For this reason and others I have discussed above, I argue that their situation is anomalous within Herodotus’ corpus, and thus I propose another option for interpreting the “female disease” of the Enareës. I show that the Enareës are not simply impotent men; rather, they cannot be categorized using a modern western binary system of gender.

212
It is more likely that the Enareës would self-identify as intersex or perhaps even transgender individuals. Though this terminology is anachronistic, the concept of a less rigid gender system is not at all a new concept. Rabbinic tradition identifies six potential genders, one of which is androgynos, an individual who has both “male” and “female” characteristics, but does not wholly belong to either. Though the source texts attempt to operate within a binary system, the inclusion of multiple options within that scheme points to an acceptance that more than two genders actually exist, despite how they are often incorporated – or not – into Jewish societies (Kukla 2009). The androgynos is not presented as a commonly-encountered individual, but rather the rabbinic authors use this gender variant – and others – to describe individuals on the periphery of their normative culture. Herodotus does the same when describing the Enareës as a small subsection of Scythians; his Scythians are already Other, and the Enareës are further distanced by fact of their gender variance. The fact that androgynoi is the word Herodotus uses for the Enareës supports a gender-variant interpretation for their identity.

I do not apply the rabbinic analogue arbitrarily: Herodotus notes that the Enareës were originally a group of Scythian men who defiled a temple at Askalon, located in Palestine. Though Herodotus’ 5th century BCE text predates the rabbinic authors by about 600 years, the latter still correspond to the Enareës in terms of gender variance in an ancient Mediterranean context. In addition, the term androgynos maintains its Greek linguistic roots, despite being applied within a very different cultural context. Because the term originated from a Hellenic context, I show that the rabbinic descriptions of androgynoi continue the connotations from the Greek term as used by Herodotus.

**Title:** Dio’s First Tarsian Oration and the Rhetoric of Gender-Indeterminacy

**Name:** Anna Peterson

In his First Tarsian Oration (Or. 33), Dio of Prusa offers up a colorful harangue against a mysterious fault that he refuses to name, despite the threat he says it poses to the reputation of the city. Instead, Dio speaks in analogies, likening it specifically to an inelegant snore (ῥέγκουσιν, 33). Scholarly debate persists about the exact object of Dio’s opprobrium, with proposed solutions ranging from reading ῥέγκουσιν as a reflection of the Tarsians’ sexual habits (Houser 1998), as a way of describing their preference for an ‘Asianist’ style of speaking (Bost-Pouderon 2011), or as a euphemism for farting (Kokkinia 2007). Yet, another unmistakable rhetorical cue comes at the speech’s conclusion, where Dio turns his attention to the Tarsians’ treatment of their bodies. Assuming the role of doctor, Dio diagnoses his audience’s decline into effeminate behavior as the result of excessive depilation, sarcastically quipping in the final line of the speech: “if it were possible to borrow from women other attributes, then we should be supremely happy, not defective beings (ἐνδεεῖς), but whole and natural ἀνδρόγυνοι” (64).

In this paper, I will use the interplay between the ambiguity of Dio’s rhetoric and the final image of the ἀνδρόγυνος as an entry point for reconsidering the treatment of ambiguously sexed bodies in the imperial Greek world. Although often conflated with κίναιδος and male passivity (cf. Pollux 6.126-7), ἀνδρόγυνος denotes in its most literal sense “an appearance of gender-indeterminacy” (Gleason 1995: 64). In the first part of my paper, I explore how this meaning is on display in a variety of texts from the first and second centuries CE. Examples from Polemon’s Physiognomy point to its close association with the figure of the κίναιδος and emphasize its use as a negative paradigm against which the masculine norm is reaffirmed (Swain 2007: 188-189). Yet, it could also be applied to women. In Lucian’s Erotes (28), the term appears in relation to women who take on an active role in sexual relationships, —a meaning that is further reflected by Artimedorus in his discussion of the significance of dreams involving hyenas (2.12). In recent discussions of ἀνδρόγυνος and the different ways in which masculinity is performed in this period, these latter uses have been generally ignored or summarily dismissed. Nevertheless, they offer important information on the range of meanings and implications that ἀνδρόγυνος could have, particularly as a term reflective of questions about a person’s gender.
Dio capitalizes on these connotations in his use of ἀνδρόγυνος as the final reflection of the problem plaguing the Tarsians. As Lawrence Kim (2013) has suggested, Dio intentionally leaves his audience in the dark as to the exact nature of their condition. This is achieved both by delaying discussion of it through a thirty-paragraph exordium and by employing deliberately ambiguous language to describe it, such as ‘some condition’ (τι πάθος, 33) and as an ‘action’ (ἔργον, 34). In the second part of my paper, I explore how the uncertainty caused by Dio’s refusal to speak in specifics brings into relief, reflects on, and ultimately stages the gender-indeterminancy inherent to the term ἀνδρόγυνος. Dio’s speech, as I suggest, reaffirms through its vitriol the idealized masculine identity of the time, even as the confusion it inspires in its audience mimics the indeterminate nature of its concluding image.

The final joke of the speech then is not simply, as Kim suggests, that Dio has denied his audience both a clear diagnosis and treatment for their condition. For those in the audience who recognize Dio’s strategy, the confusion evoked by the speech renders them in a position rhetorically analogous to the ἀνδρόγυνος, thus complementing Dio’s invective with their own experience.

Title: Textual and Sexual Hybridity: Gender in Catullus 63
Name: Jennifer L. Weintritt

This paper focuses on the transgender identity of Attis in Catullus’ 63rd poem and, in particular, how the instability of the text compounds the ambiguity of Attis’ gender. Following Attis’ self-castration in line 5 of the poem, the narrator imposes a grammatical sex change on the youth, recently arrived from Greece to celebrate the rites of Cybele. In the manuscripts, at least, Attis’ gender continues to fluctuate grammatically, provoking questions about gender identity that each editor must confront. Lachmann, for example, emended all of the questionable masculine gender markers to feminine, except two found in Cybele’s speech. Some student editions take Lachmann’s emendations further, producing a univocal perspective that equates Attis’ sex change with her gender identity (Goodwin). Other editors and interpreters, however, have retained the MSS readings selectively, yielding an Attis who regains masculinity at different points in the narration based on his mental state: when rebelling from Cybele (Elder) or when briefly recovering his sanity (Thomson). Such readings endorse concepts of gender fluidity in antiquity, but also imply a sexist polarity to gender identity in Catullus’ narrative (servility is feminine, madness is feminine) (Skinner).

Rather than seeing the poem’s inconsistencies in grammatical gender as representative of a unified spectrum-based perspective, I use a narratological approach to argue that the poem contains multiple perspectives, varying in subtlety, on Attis’ gender: the text, the narrator, and the actors do not tell the same story. Distinguishing between instances of direct speech and narrative reporting, my argument relies on the assessment of textual variants through close readings and careful attention to how different variants and narratological situations change our understanding of Attis’ gender identity and experience.

Attis’ seaside lament, the cornerstone of any discussion of gender in the poem, provides several examples: near the beginning of the lament (ll.50-73), Attis regrets that he miserably (miser) left behind his homeland in order to be among all the lairs of the [beasts] (ut ... earum omnia adirem furibunda latibula; 1.54). Along with the line’s other problems (unmetrical, prosaic, repetitive), scholars also debate whether furibunda agrees with neuter plural latibula or an implied feminine ego (Lewis). Surprisingly, earlier discussions, for all their well-researched arguments, have underappreciated that the phrase occurs in a purpose clause: if furibunda is determined to agree with ego, then Attis may have come to Phrygia with transgender intentions. Furthermore, narratological close readings open up new interpretations even for textually secure moments in the lament, such as lines 68-69: “Am I to be called a servant (fem.) of the gods and a handmaiden of Cybele? Will I be a Maenad, a part of myself, a sterile man?” (ego nunc deum ministra et Cybeles famula ferar? | ego Maenas, ego mei pars, ego vir sterilis ero?). Far from directly self-identifying as a female, Attis asks whether he is to be called (ferar) a female attendant of the gods.
Moreover, the feminine nouns Attis chooses reflect *roles* more than *identities*. Close readings along similar lines of Cybele’s short speech and key narrative moments reveal other distinct perspectives coexisting within the poem.

Through the exploration of perceptions of gender identity within a closed narratological structure, this paper seeks to contribute to discussions of gender fluidity and essentialism in antiquity. It will also suggest how the poem’s transmission reflects different readers’ understanding of gender roles and continues to impact not only its reception but also its very content.

**Session 55: Latin Epic (Organized by the American Classical League)**
**Title:** Ego Sum Pastor: Pastoral Transformations in the Tale of Mercury and Battus (Ov. Met. 2.676-707)
**Name:** Sarah McCallum

Stephen Hinds, in the aptly titled “Ovid’s Aeneid (and Virgil’s Metamorphoses),” suggests that Ovid’s recognition of a “Metamorphoses latent in the Aeneid” fuels his self-conscious attempt to gather, perfect, and systematize the myths presented by Vergil (Hinds 1998). This paper argues that, whereas the *Aeneid* inspires the *Metamorphoses* with its “fragmented, scattered, and unresolved” myths (Hinds 1998), the *Eclogues* provide Ovid with a crucial model for sustained poetic reformation; throughout his pastoral collection, Vergil morphs Theocritean sounds, landscapes, and personalities into a new, Roman incarnation of the *Idylls*. An analysis of the tale of Mercury and Battus in *Metamorphoses* 2 (Met. 2.676–707) illustrates the importance of Vergil’s *Eclogues* as a crucial model for Ovid’s exploration of metamorphosis.

The unifying theme of Ovid’s epic is transformation, as indicated by the phrase *mutatas dicere formas* in the first line (Met. 1.1). More implicitly, Ovid’s entire epic project is an act of poetic transfiguration, the systematic reshaping of sources that exemplify the concept of “changed forms.” Ovid’s reception of the *Eclogues* in the *Metamorphoses*, I suggest, reflects his interest in the poetics of change. Existing scholarship has recognized Ovid’s debt to Vergil’s pastoral collection in episodes that feature wild landscapes, herdsmen, and archetypal rustic personalities like Pan and Polyphemus (Parry 1964; Farrell 1992; Keith 1992; McCallum 2016), and a more recent study by Sarah McCallum has demonstrated “the revolutionary programmatic importance of pastoral to Ovid’s entire epic project” (McCallum 2016). My analysis of the tale of Mercury and Battus not only provides additional evidence for Ovid’s programmatic commitment to pastoral but also reads his engagement with the *Eclogues* as a nuanced response to the collection’s inherently transformative nature.

In *Metamorphoses* 2, Ovid reshapes the poem’s first pastoral episode, the encounter between Mercury and Argus (Met. 1.673–721), to create a second encounter between Mercury and Battus. The new episode is a complex transmutation of elements from Ovid’s earlier pastoral experimentation and the *Eclogues*, particularly the dialogue of Corydon and Battus (Ecl. 3), Vergil’s Roman revision of Theocritus’ fourth *Idyll*. Mercury, acting as βουκόλος over his herd of stolen cattle, accosts the herdsmen Battus, who guards noble horses rather than the usual cattle or sheep: *nobiliumque greges custos seruabat equarum* (Met. 2.690). The term *custos* connects Battus not only to Argus, another unconventional herdsman (*custos Iunonius*, Met. 1.678), but also to Vergil’s Daphnis (*pecoris custos*, Ecl. 5.44), the Roman incarnation of the hero of Hellenistic bucolic verse (ἐπίουρος βοῶν, [Theoc.] Id. 8.6). Ovid’s description of the pastoral landscape also bears the traces of the Vergilian world from which it was formed (*saltus herbosaque pascua*, Met. 2.689; *nemorum ... saltus, Ecl. 6.56; nemora aut ... saltus, Ecl. 10.9). The tale of Mercury and Battus exemplifies Ovid’s response to the “latent *Metamorphoses* in the *Eclogues*,” which are themselves the product of Vergil’s transmogrification of Theocritean verse.
For the final section of the paper, I suggest that Ovid’s pastoral transformation of Apollo in Metamorphoses 2 may be read as a response to the inherent theme of change that characterizes Vergil’s depiction of Gallus in the tenth Eclogue. In Metamorphoses 1, Apollo’s “first love” for Daphne emblematizes the genre of elegy (primus amor, Met. 1.452) in contrast to Pan’s pastoral infatuation with Syrinx (McCullum 2016); the elegiac god vehemently identifies himself as “not pastoral” (non ego sum pastor, Met. 1.513). Thus, the sudden metamorphosis of Apollo into an archetypal herdsman preceding the encounter of Mercury and Battus is an unexpected twist. But Apollo’s elegiac tendencies contradict his pastoral appearance and make him an unsuccessful custos. I argue that the figure of Apollo, an elegiac god temporarily transformed into a pastoral figure, rehearses the elegiac poet Gallus’ envisioned transformation into a pastoral singer in Eclogue 10. Apollo and Gallus, two uneasy elegiac interlopers in the pastoral context, emblematize Ovid’s own poetic trajectory from elegist to pastoral epicist.

Title: The Auditory Sublime from Vergil to Lucan
Name: Laura Zientek

The Massilian grove in book three of Lucan’s Bellum Civile contains many preternatural elements that present a haunting place, a true locus horridus (Schiesaro 2006). Among these elements are serpents twining around the trunks of trees and hollow, echoing subterranean caverns. The grove is a sublime object: dark, terrifying, and obscure (Day 2013, Leigh 2010). Its gloom and mysterious nature are reminiscent of the ambiguous perception of caves (Ustinova 2009), themselves dark and obscure places. I argue that Lucan’s grove – and in particular its poetic geology – is in dialogue with two elements of Vergil’s Aeneid that maximize the auditory component of its ominous, sublime nature and move the aesthetic experience of the sublime beyond the visual.

My work engages with the ongoing discussion about the sublime in Latin epic poetry (Conte 2007, Day 2013, Hardie 2009, Lowe 2015) and with the connection between landscape ecphrasis and aesthetic experience. When Vergil writes about caverns, he describes the auditory sublime, a sound quality that is itself mysterious, deep, and potentially terrifying (Burke 1757), yet based on a word with an unremarkable primary definition. Throughout the Aeneid, Vergil uses variations on the verb mugire (to moo, low, or bellow) for much more than the utterances of cattle. In particular, the earth ‘bellows’ during earthquakes (Aen. 4.490, 6.256) or in the context of volcanic activity (Aen. 3.674). It seems that hollow places in the earth – subterranean caverns, the caverns of Mt. Aetna, or the area associated with the underworld – consistently make this sound; likewise, the hollow adyta of Apollonian shrines follow the same pattern (Aen. 3.92, 6.99). Vergil transfers the combined sense of awe and terror that defines the sublime to an auditory event rather than primarily visual object. Later epic poets of the first century CE adopt and follow the same pattern. Lucan is an interesting case study. He does not use mugire frequently; it occurs only once in the Bellum Civile. Through analysis of Lucan’s sole use of mugire, however, I argue that the sublimity associated with this sound is an example of Vergilian reception that goes beyond the scope of intertextuality. The echoing caverns of the Massilian grove recall Vergil’s description of the Trojan horse and Laocoön’s warning and death.

In this paper, I explore how Lucan’s grove is part of a complex dialogue with the Vergilian auditory sublime as it is represented in hollow spaces, both natural and constructed, and how this dialogue in turn grants deeper complexity to the Vergilian auditory sublime. Parallels emerge in the cavae cavernae of the Trojan horse (Aen. 2.53) and the cavas cavernas of the Massilian grove (BC 3.418), between the bellow of Laocoön (mugitus, Aen. 2.223) and the grove’s caverns (mugire, BC 3.418), and the serpents (dracones) that attack Laocoön and his sons (Aen. 2.225) and those that guard the trees of the grove (BC 3.421). Vergil’s other uses of mugire to describe subterranean sounds inform the Lucanian scene as well, assigning what was originally a biological noise (the lowing of cattle, the groan of a human being) to the landscape. By drawing connections between both Vergil’s overall use of mugire for vast sounds capable of creating “a great and aweeful [sic] sensation in the mind” (Burke 1757) and Vergil’s depiction of
Laocoön and the Trojan horse to the resounding caverns in Lucan’s grove, I demonstrate how the sublime nature of the grove exists beyond the visual plain and contributes subtly to Lucan’s larger narrative of the dangers of civil war.

**Title:** Rogue Bulls and Troubled Heroes: heroic value in Valerius Flaccus’ *Argonautica*

**Name:** Jessica Blum

In the *de Rerum Natura*, Lucretius describes his mission in terms of dispelling the shadows of ignorance that cloud human knowledge and bring fear to the minds of men (*DRN* 1.146-7). His account, he tells us, is designed to reveal what has true value in the contemporary world. In this, Lucretius’ philosopher-hero, Epicurus, provides the guiding light that will push through the dark boundaries of human ignorance: *e tenebris tantis tam clarum extollere lumen/ qui primus potuisti inlustrans commoda vitae* (*DRN* 3.1-2).

For the barrier-breaking protagonists of Valerius Flaccus’ *Argonautica*, the question of how to progress beyond the limits of the known world is equally pressing. Throughout the poem, these characters explore the heroic qualities necessary in Jupiter’s brave new world—essentially, the way that value is assessed. This paper will examine the competitive imagery of bulls from a narratological perspective, with a focus on the political and literary historical models offered by such a representation of heroism.

Both Lucretius and his epic successor Vergil use the figure of bulls to represent excessive emotions. In *DRN* 5, Lucretius illustrates the antithesis of self-control by describing of bulls and lions trampling their masters in battle (*DRN* 5.1309-40). Vergil, likewise, figures human strife and emotion through his depiction of two bulls battling for control of the herd (*Georgics* 3.219-23). In the *Aeneid*, however, his hero fails to exhibit the ideal qualities of Lucretius’ Epicurus: Aeneas’ foremost trait is a blind and dutiful adherence to the will of the gods, and his final triumph comes at the cost of his self-control, bringing with it a descent into animalistic violence figured by the very bulls that Lucretius had condemned: *cum duo conuersis inimica in proelia tauri/ frontibus incurrunt* (*Aen.* 12.716-7). Both Aeneas and his opponent Turnus are reduced to the same level, goaded by desire for political supremacy. Aeneas, therefore, runs the risk of self-destruction, showing his—and the future Roman people’s—capacity for internal strife when self-control is abandoned. This model of heroism, then, is far from ideal.

In the Flavian *Argonautica*, the debate over virtus, over what kind of heroic modus operandi will succeed, is likewise figured through the imagery of bulls. In the context of the Argonauts’ group mission to Colchis, the need to stand out from the crowd becomes even more urgent for Jason, the would-be hero of the story. In this, however, he is at a distinct disadvantage. In both strength and renown, he is overshadowed by the towering figure of Hercules, whose imposing presence continually—if inadvertently—pushes his companions out of center stage. Hercules’ career in the *Argonautica*, however, is short-lived, and the mechanism of his departure is particularly telling. In his maddened search for his lost companion Hylas, Hercules disappears into the trackless paths of Mysia, leaving the expedition behind. Most importantly, he is compared to a bull stung by a gadfly, a hero suddenly out of control: *volucri ceu pectora tactus asilo/ emicuit Calabris taurus* (*Argo*.3.581-2). Clearly, this model of madness is not the one to follow.

Freed from this shadow, Jason begins to come to the fore, offering a new paradigm, a middle road between Lucretian ratio and Vergilian determination. A fighter and a tactician, he emerges from the *densa caligo* of battle in *Argonautica* 6, as he will later emerge unscathed from the fire of the bulls and the weapons of the *terrigenae*. The image of enraged bulls suggests the link between the two *locri* at which Jason must prove himself the primary hero of the expedition: he must match the standard set by Hercules, and, equally, tame the Colchian bulls and overcome the clouds of armed men. In terms of the poetics of the *Argonautica*, Jason’s quest for visibility mimics the relationship of the poet to his own “Herculean”
predecessors, Vergil, Apollonius Rhodius, and Homer—both struggle to emerge from the clouds of their literary antecedents, to win a new epic prestige.

Title: Hymning Vergil’s Hercules in Statius’ Thebaid
Name: Brittney Szempruch

Augustan poetry (and Vergil’s Aeneid in particular) has been thoroughly located in its historical context in recent scholarship, but the historical contexts of the Aeneid’s descendents have often been undervalued when their intertexts with Vergil’s work are discussed. While the Silvae are often read as products of the dynamic between the poet and Domitian (Newlands 2010), studies of the Thebaid’s politics have focused on anxieties around succession (Rebeggiani 2013, Rosati 1990) rather than how the Thebaid assumes the politics of an earlier intertext.

The allusions between the Thebaid and the Aeneid have been well documented. In Book 4 of Statius’ Thebaid, the Tirynthian soldiers arm for war and sing a paean to Hercules, a passage that has been recognized as an intertext with the song of Salii in Book 8 of the Aeneid (Parkes 2009). The Salian hymn in Vergil is revolutionary in its own right, both as the first hymn performed in Latin heroic epic (Miller 2014) and as a point of fruitful interaction between the political and literary arguments of the Aeneid (Rosati 1990). In this paper, I argue that Statius’ hymn to Hercules at Thebaid.4.157-8 deserves the same sensitivity to contemporary empire as does Vergil’s corresponding hymn. Reading the paean to Hercules in Statius’ Thebaid against Vergil’s Salian hymn to Hercules demonstrates that Statius’ seemingly obvious praise of Domitian in the Silvae is complicated by the Thebaid’s positioning against Vergil’s language of Augustan empire.

The first half of this paper argues that the hymn to Hercules in Thebaid 4.145-63 suggests the Aeneid’s Augustus as the Statian Hercules; by alluding to the hymn of the Salian priests in the Aeneid, the Thebaid capitalizes on the Augustan poetic connection between apotheosized emperor and hero (immansis at 1.148, and Hercules’ perch on Oeta, the site of his deification). On a literary level, the Tirynthian warriors sing a hymn whose subject matter is reminiscent of the Salian priests’ “Herculean praises and deeds” at Aen. 8.285-305; theirs is a “paean of Hercules and all things freed from monsters” (Theb. 4.157-8). I argue that this deliberately evokes Vergil’s Augustus in two ways: first, the explicit use of the hymnic subgenre of paean aligns Hercules with Apollo, both gods repeatedly linked to Augustus throughout the Aeneid; second, in a passage already marked as an intertext with the Aeneid, the paean’s inclusion of “all things freed from monsters” matches Augustus’ description on Aeneas’ shield in Aeneid 8 (the same book as the Salian hymn), where he defeatsthe monstra “of all kinds of gods” (omnigenumque deum 8.698).

In the second half of this paper, I argue that the figure of a Vergilian Augustus-as-Hercules in the Thebaid invites readers not only to reflect on the nature of civil warin Statius (Gibson 2013; Parkes 2009, 2012), but functions as commentary on the political situation contemporaneous with the Thebaid. Scholarly work has shown that Augustus was portrayed as the healer of state through Apollo (Wickkiser 2005), and if Vergil’s Augustus stands behind Statius’ Hercules, the description of a town and people in the Thebaid under Hercules’ distant watch paints a Rome with a questionable future; while it may still abound in mighty men and enjoy the fana of its Herculean past, it has fallen from fortune and lacks its former opulence (Theb.4.148-50).

I conclude that the hymns to Hercules in the Thebaid and the Aeneid suggest that Statius’ relationship with empire may be more complicated than the panegyrics of the Silvae may initially lead us to believe. The Augustan comparison through Hercules demonstrates that Statius’ Rome is not what it was at the time of the Aeneid, and Rome’s former “protector” now sits from afar, watching the civil strife. In much the same way that the Aeneid is neither wholly optimistic nor pessimistic, the Thebaid’s Tirynthian paean to Hercules simultaneously allows possibilities of both political dissent and praise of Domitian in Statius’ Thebaid.
This paper offers a close reading of what is, perhaps, our earliest attestation of choral poetry in Athens, an inscription (IG I3 833bis) on a tripod base of Pentelic marble dated to ca. 500-480; once set up on the Acropolis, the block would have formed part of a more elaborate dedication, no longer extant, erected by a victorious choral poet and topped by a tripod. Scholars have documented the paradoxes of the inscription, its generic heterogeneity, its use and contravention of dedicatory conventions, its introduction of diction seemingly unparalleled in other votive texts (Wilson 2000, Martin 2007, Belis 2011). My aim in revisiting the epigram is two-fold: first, more fully to locate it within its contemporary political, social and musico-choral environment; and second, to demonstrate how the donor and stone-cutter exploit the inscription’s visual aspects or ‘sematography’ (see Bennett 1963) so as to recreate the performance its words record.

Part one of the discussion focuses on the epigram’s diction, situating several of its key terms within the broader political, social and literary landscape. Beginning with the anomalous horos (unparalleled in earlier dedications), I argue on the basis of Solon fr. 36 (also cited by Martin 2007) and Aeschylus Agamemnon 485-86, which styles Clytemnestra a ὅρος...ταχύπορος, that the boundary stone was nothing if not politically loaded in the fledgling Athenian democracy and seek to determine the expression’s valence in this choregic text. Illuminating for the social context and status of poets, choregoi and craftsmen in fifth-century Athens, is the strikingly similar epigram assigned to Parrhasius (Athenaeus Deipnosophistae 12.543e). This second passage both challenges the current view that horos never again occurs in epigrams and, like the earlier inscription, points to the highly competitive environment in which craftsmen, in words and other media, sought to promote their expertise; artisanal dedications of the same period, also vaunting their donor’s sophia, similarly indicate a new assertiveness on this social segment’s part. The lacunose term at the start of line two demonstrates the donor’s literary sophistication and a further claim: his chorus’ performance equals and even surpasses the most canonical of all such spectacles, that enacted on the shield of Achilles (Il. 18.590-606).

Part two addresses the ‘readerly visuality’ (Esrock 1996) central to the inscription, and proposes, building on Martin 2007, that the visible and material aspect of the letters, their layout on the rectangular stone, design and mode of incision, generate a re-enactment of the winning performance. Even the marble surface is pressed into service, becoming the dance floor on which the graphic notations perform and exhibiting the radiance regularly ascribed to choral ensembles in hexameter and lyric sources. By way of precedent, I cite the inscription on the Dipylon oinochoe of ca. 740-730 that likewise commemorates a winning dance and turns its letters (even those in the nonsense portion of the text) circling about the jug into the original performers. The choregic epigram’s visual dimension also proves pertinent to current polemics – apparent in near contemporary works by Lasus, Pratinus and Pindar - concerning the optimal shape for the dithyrambic chorus. Reading the epigram alongside both these texts and vase representations of dithyrambic performances, we can better understand the formations adopted by early fifth-century choral troupes and the inscription’s donor/composer’s engagement with these debates.

The final section accommodates the tripod mounted on the base and argues that the closing phase, π[ερ]ὶ τρίποδος, again pertains to performance dynamics and issues of re-performance. Recreating the original site for the winning spectacle, where the chorus, as texts and vase images illustrate, might dance around a central tripod or within a space delimited by tripods, and inviting the viewer of the monument to circle about the marker, it makes its latter-dance audience not only witness to the choral spectacle but a chorus-member too.
Title: Athens on Mount Olympus: portraying gods in Aristophanes’ *Birds*
Name: Francesco Morosi

A paradoxical travel to another dimension, *Birds* is one of Aristophanes’ most enigmatic comedies: it stands out as the only surviving Aristophanic comedy that bears no evident connection with the life of the *polis*. But this does not mean that in shaping his Cloudcuckooland Aristophanes did not keep Greek reality in mind. Aristophanes’ fantasy world is not pure science-fiction: on the contrary, it is depicted and described through the poetic filter of Greek and Athenian everyday life (for instance, the foundation of Cloudcuckooland is heavily indebted to the Greek colonists’ experience).

In this paper I examine one of these poetic filters, concerning the portrayal of gods. As is well known, gods are a fundamental feature of *Birds*: in fact, Peisetairos’ plan entails a sacred war against Zeus (*Av.* 556). But how are gods portrayed in the comedy? Is it possible to find a predominant paradigm in their depiction?

Although they are said to live in the sky (*Av.* 1234: τοῖς ἐν οὐρανῷ θεοῖς), gods are frequently portrayed as a maritime power throughout the play. When Iris comes on stage, for instance, Peisetairos mistakes her for a πλοῖον (*Av.* 1203), and all along the dialogue persists in using naval metaphors: at *Av.* 1214-5 he mentions the fact that she should have been given a seal-stamp (σύμβολον ἐπέβαλεν), a procedure that is only attested for sea travels (cfr. Aen. Tact. 10.8). At *Av.* 1256 he threatens to harass her by using a *double-entendre* based on naval warfare (the ἐμβόλος being the ram used for assaulting enemy ships). Later on, Prometheus describes Zeus as responsible for the traffic of offerings through coastal trading-stations (*Av.* 1523: ἐμπόρια): the exchange of burnt sacrifices is comically depicted as a sea-borne trade, and a ‘geography’ of gods is also provided, according to which the Olympians live by the coast – and therefore control trade routes and markets – and barbarian gods live inland (*Av.* 1522: ἄνωθεν τῷ Διί).

The gods, then, are often seen in *Birds* as the holders of a maritime power.

Actually, when *Birds* was first staged, the Greek world knew such a maritime power, that aimed at controlling military and trade routes – Athens. In more than one place Aristophanes suggests a comparison not only between the gods’ realm and a generic naval empire, but between the actual Athenian empire and Zeus’. Firstly, after Iris has stated her name (*Av.* 1204: Ἶρις ταχεῖα), Peisetairos compares her to two Athenian ships: Πάραλος ἢ Σαλαμινία (those two being the Athenian state triremes, used to carry orders to all the allied poleis in the Aegean). Then, when asked who Basileia is, Prometheus explains that, among many things, she ταμιεύει... τὰ νεώρια, manages the yards (*Av.* 1538-40). Commentators have not noticed that Aristophanes is here explicitly mentioning an Athenian public office, the ταμίας εἰς τὰ νεώρια, the treasurer of the yards (Jordan 1975: 57-8). Zeus’ plenipotentiary, then, is depicted as an official in charge of Athenian naval infrastructure. This prepares the audience for the embassy scene, when Aristophanes applies to the gods the Athenian laws on inheritance: Herakles is not entitled to inherit Zeus’ treasures because, unlike his fellow- gods, he was not born from an Athenian mother (*Av.* 1652: ἐκ ἔξων γυναικὸς). The gods all come from Athens, and Zeus’ empire is compared to the Athenian. But this comparison has been carefully built by the poet all along the second half of the play, through the combination of metaphors of maritime power with an Athenian setting. Far from creating a new Athens in Cloudcuckooland, then, Aristophanes is instead offering a comic alternative to it: Peisetairos sacred war against the gods proves to be, through the mirror of poetic metaphor, a war against Athens itself.

Title: Graphicology: Topos and Topography in Ovid *Tristia* 3.1 and Cicero *ad Att*. 4.1
Name: Gillian E. McIntosh

In this paper, I read Ovid’s *Tristia* 3.1 against Cicero’s *ad Atticum* 4.1, one letter written by a poet in exile, the other by an orator recently recalled. I show allusion by Ovid to Cicero who, I argue, provides a
blueprint from which Ovid designs and structures his own letter. Ovidian allusion is ground well covered (Sharrock, Hinds, Newlands). Allusions to Cicero in exile have been noted too (Nagle, Claassen). Yet there is space for further exploration, and in this respect my argument contributes in an original way, since nobody has connected Ovid’s sad letter with Cicero’s happy equivalent.

Tristia 3.1 is a limping elegiac piece, where the letter travels into Rome in lieu of the poet, and the voice within the letter –that of the letter itself– speaks on behalf of its master-father-poet. This programmatic poem includes a focalized tour of Rome that a friendly reader takes it on. Ovid’s logic for including the tour is intuitive: the transcription of the tourist-letter’s experience can be read as a facsimile of the imagined return of the exile-poet. Central to the letter is the center of Rome, the locus of everything and yet nothing for the exiled poet.

Despite what seems like the presentation of a singular experience, Ovid’s letter in fact covers the same epistolary, topical and topographical turf as another letter, with another focalized tour of Rome, written by another exile: Cicero’s ad Att. 4.1. The conditions of production of Tristia 3.1 (in exile) and ad Att. 4.1 (returned) are opposite, yet there is overlap unnoticed until now: topically, both writers play with absence and presence, vision and perception, literal and metaphorical structures as they depict the physical and emotional journey to, and arrival at Rome. With an eye on language, I present the particulars of their correspondence. There is coincidence also of epistolary and topographical landscapes. The latter is embedded within the former as both Cicero and Ovid present a tour. As we travel through the letter, we travel through the city.

The tour becomes a critical juncture for observing Ovid’s clever craftsmanship, and for confirming his allusions to Cicero. Yet at the same time, Ovid offers a point of view opposite to that of Cicero. The letters cover the same territory, but whereas Cicero heads from the south-west section of the forum, along the Via Sacra to the north end, Ovid’s letter travels in the opposite direction. This is a literal reversal but one that signifies a figurative equivalent. Cicero assumes the path of a Roman triumph, and reports his first-hand experience triumphantly. Ovid’s reversal of direction underscores the impossibility of return and the misery of solitude, particularly because the only first-hand experience belongs emphatically to the letter not the man, and because that experience is one of repeated rejection, expressed dolefully. The poet’s inversion of Cicero’s experience problematizes and enriches Ovidian allusion. Given this appropriation-cum-inversion at the focal point of Tristia 3.1, I argue that Ovid’s particular transposal here mobilizes a reversal of things elsewhere. If we turn back to the coincidence of topical representation, Ovid’s allusions become complex: while they do allude to Cicero, they do so by turning the orator’s topoi on their head. Mimesis becomes a false counterfeit, as it ironically fashions a new and unique original. Ovid writes by rewriting, and he rewrites by unwriting Cicero, as he limps backwards, reversing the steps that Cicero had formerly taken, and by assuming a tone of hopeless melancholy in lieu of fulfilled joy.

Title: In Capitolium: The Triumphator and Jupiter Optimus Maximus
Name: Caroline P. Mann

The Roman triumph is often read as an honor chiefly for the triumphator himself (e.g. Rüpke, 2012). The affinities between the triumphing general and Jupiter are primarily thought to be a means by which the triumphator is able to accrue prestige. In this paper, I seek to re-emphasize the religious aspects of the triumph, and specifically the ways in which the triumph and the rituals that follow serve to honor Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Capitoline temple. This paper stands in dialogue with ongoing debates about the status of the triumphator in relation to Jupiter, which have focused on the issue of triumphal dress (Versnel, 1970; 2006; Rüpke, 2012). I wish to move beyond the constraints of this particular line of inquiry in order to emphasize the centrality of Jupiter Optimus Maximus to the whole complex of events surrounding the triumph.
I identify three stages of the relationship between Jupiter and the potential triumphator: The connection between the general and Jupiter is established prior to setting out on campaign in the profectio. When the general next returns to the Capitoline during the triumph, the procession concludes with a sacrifice that pays homage to Jupiter. Even after the triumph, the triumphator often continues to celebrate Jupiter through further gifts and ludi votivi.

Before the potential triumphator sets out on campaign, he appears paludatus on the Capitoline to make vows to Jupiter. With the profectio vows, the general creates a contract between himself and Jupiter Optimus Maximus that is fulfilled when he returns in triumph to complete his sacrifice and dedication of laurels at the same temple. This ring composition was not obligatory (most generals never celebrated a triumph), but could be evoked to good rhetorical effect (e.g. Livy 45.39.10-13: Marcus Servilius’ argument that Aemilius Paullus be allowed to triumph).

During the triumph itself, the parade climaxes with a sacrifice performed for Jupiter, again before the Capitoline temple. While other aspects of the triumph varied, the sacrifice and dedication of laurels were repeated in every triumph and served as the culmination of the procession; the rest of the parade could be seen as ornamental. The sacrifice itself, and its relation to Jupiter Optimus Maximus’ contract with the Roman state, receives little attention from ancient or modern authors. It is easy to downplay the importance of the sacrifice in the triumph because it is discussed so sparingly in literary accounts, but this is likely to be a function of the aims of ancient historiographical writing. I argue that the centrality and invariability of the Capitoline sacrifice in the triumphal parade caused writers to take it for granted; they focused instead upon novelties. Visual evidence, on the other hand, emphasizes the sacrificial aspect of the triumph (e.g. the Boscoreale cups, the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum).

Scholarship on post-triumphal commemoration of the generals’ deeds has tended to focus primarily upon votive temples (e.g. Orlin 1997). However, Jupiter becomes an obvious presence when one turns to other means of commemoration, specifically smaller dedications and votive games. At the time of the battle the general could not know whether he would ultimately be given the opportunity to triumph, and so might bind himself instead to give games for Jupiter. When celebrated, these games formally resembled a triumph, beginning with a sacrifice on the Capitoline. Finally, in some cases, even when a gift or temple was given to another deity, the general would also adorn the Capitoline temple (e.g. Livy 40.52.5-7: Aemilius Regillus’ dedicatory inscription to the Lares Permarini was replicated in the Capitoline).

Emphasizing the ways in which the triumphator renders thanks to Jupiter Optimus Maximus offers a perspective on the relationship between Rome and its gods. In particular, the connection between Jupiter and the Capitoline temple with Roman hegemony comes to the fore (as in Flower, 2008; Perry, 2012). In the triumph, Jupiter is cultivated because Roman victory is consistently tied to his favor.

Title: Constantius and the Obelisk: Ignoring the Lessons of History
Name: Jonathan Tracy

At 17.4 of his Res Gestae, Ammianus Marcellinus narrates at length how an obelisk originally removed from Egyptian Thebes is conveyed to Rome and installed in the Circus Maximus by the emperor Constantius II. This episode has received much scrutiny from scholars (e.g. Kelly 225-230, with bibliography in n. 8). Nevertheless, it is usually examined in isolation, as a historical curiosity. I propose a different approach: to explore, within Book 17 and the Res Gestae as a whole, the moral function of the obelisk, of its Theban backstory, and of Constantius’ own smugly superficial attitude toward its meaning.

As in Tacitus’ presentation of the ruins at Thebes (Annales 2.60-61), the most striking feature of Ammianus’ narrative is a contrast of past glory with present decadence. Ammianus describes a city repeatedly devastated both by foreign conquerors and by corrupt misgovernment (17.4.3-5), in a precise
inversion of the two preconditions that, according to Ammianus, justified the erection of obelisks in the first place by Egypt’s rulers: victory over foreign enemies and domestic prosperity (17.4.6).

Here is a pessimistic lesson on the transience of power. Not only did Egypt itself decline and fall as an independent state (this fact emphatically concludes Ammianus’ general description of Egypt at 22.16.24), in spite of the flourishing conditions that originally gave rise to the obelisks, but the Carthaginians, who (at least in Ammianus’ narrative) raided Egypt and ravaged Thebes early in their rise to Mediterranean prominence, were subsequently annihilated, and Cambyses, who likewise plundered the city, nearly came to a bad end there (by Ammianus’ account). Finally, the enforced suicide of Cornelius Gallus, first Roman prefect of Egypt, swiftly followed his exploitative rule over Thebes (17.4.5). The general omens for Constantius’ act of imperial appropriation were clearly not favourable, if he cared to consider the deeper historical background.

More specifically, within the immediate context of Book 17, Ammianus represents Constantius as conspicuously falling short of both the stated conditions for obelisk-raising: conquest abroad and internal prosperity. At 17.3.5, we see Constantius intervening in an ill-judged attempt to prevent his Caesar Julian from mitigating the burden of unjust taxation on Gaul; this is in keeping with the general rapacity and indifference to provincial suffering of which Ammianus accuses him at 21.16.17. Again, in 17.5, directly after the obelisk narrative, Constantius fails utterly to impress the Persian king Sapor (Shapur II) with a letter (17.5.10-14) whose grandiloquent rhetoric matches the pharaonic inscription on one of the obelisks previously brought to Rome, as reproduced in Greek translation by Ammianus at the conclusion of 17.4. Although the texts themselves are (probably) original documents, the pointed juxtaposition of the two is Ammianus’ own authorial choice. Note the parallel of Ramses’ αἰώνιον βασιλέα (17.4.23) with Constantius’ semper Augustus (17.5.10), where the modifier “eternal” turned out manifestly untrue for both rulers, and also the resonance between the pervasive solar-light imagery of the obelisk text and Constantius’ proclamation that, with his recent victory, gestarum rerum ordines...nobis multipliciter illuxerunt (17.5.13).

Constantius, however, is no world-bestriding Ramses, as his addressee Sapor is well aware. The victory of which Constantius boasts in the letter quoted by Ammianus was, crucially, won over a domestic enemy, the usurper Magnentius. Constantius’ unseemly eagerness to build triumphal arches for conquests in civil war is condemned by Ammianus at 21.16.15; in 17.4, we find him raising a spectacular monument in Rome when his only real achievement to date has been the destruction of Magnentius. Julian, by contrast, already enjoys a solid combined record of benevolent provincial administration and imperial defence against barbarians. Indeed, as prompted by flatterers (17.4.12), Constantius seems to regard the technological challenge of transporting and erecting the obelisk as itself a signal feat that will allow him to surpass the glories of Augustus and Constantine (presumably Julian’s too). Such prioritization of expensive, competitive display over concrete achievement is, for Ammianus, a major factor in Rome’s decline (compare 14.6.8).

Session 57: Risk and Responsibility
Title: Hellenistic Risk Agenda
Name: Paul Vadan

My paper explores the ability of Hellenistic communities to assess and take risks in times of crisis. The underlying argument is that, although they may have lacked modern mathematical formalism, decision-making bodies were perfectly capable of probabilistic thought. I will look at literary evidence to draw attention to how decision-makers calculated chances of success at critical moments, particularly in a context of conflict. Risky situations produced significant psychological pressures. An awareness of the destabilizing emotions of risk, I argue, led communities to develop collective risk management strategies. Through appeals to patriotism, kinship, and hope, as well as public rituals meant to foster social cohesion,
communities sought to contain and channel people’s fears and hesitations from degenerating into panic at critical moments.

I will focus on the Rhodians’ resistance to Demetrios ‘the Besieger’ in 305 BC. I thereby highlight the risk management strategies that a Hellenistic community had at its disposal to mobilize the population and ensure its resilience. 3rd century BC epigraphic evidence further corroborates my observations. Specifically, Koaian inscriptions related to the beginning of the Kretan War provide insight into the process of deliberation that informed difficult decisions. Inscriptions further disclose an active concern with the emotions of risk and how to address them, through an emphasis on the virtues of self-sacrifice and incurring danger (kinduneuein). I posit that such epigraphic monuments in turn became lieux de mémoire meant to inspire members of a community to maintain social cohesion and endure present or incoming danger.

The paper will contribute to a deeper understanding of ancient collective risk. Its implications are significant, considering that there is a recent trend in sociology, stemming from the influential work on Risk Society (Beck, 1975), that perceives antiquity as a world guided by rituals of divination and resignation to fate. This perception has even persuaded some classicists to reject the possibility that we can indeed talk about an ancient risk agenda (Beard, 2015). I thus offer support to Esther Eidinow, whose use of the category of ancient risk has at times been dismissed as anachronistic (Beerden, 2013). On the contrary, I believe that decision-making and analytical processes undertaken by Hellenistic communities can be identified with the modern concept of collective risk. Finally, my argument serves as a gateway to integrate Classics into modern studies of risk, international policy, and the psychology of decision-making.

Title: A New Lease on Life? : Intra-elite Tenancy and the Social Impact of Land Redistribution in Roman Greece
Name: Erika M. Jeck

Discussions of Greek land leases often maintain a distinction between public and private properties, rarely bringing the two into dialogue with one another. Yet, the leasing of orphan estates and corporately-owned property had much more in common with that of public land than of individually-owned private property: while the latter is typified by social disparity between lessee and lessor, the former are intra-elite phenomena. These particular types of private leases may therefore be interpreted more profitably alongside leases of public and sacred land, as one broad category of contracts that perpetuate elite social bonds. Appreciating the social obligations that underpin what I call ‘intra-elite tenancy’ is critical for understanding the social impact of land redistribution wrought by the Romans: I argue that, due to a considerable decrease in public and other ‘intra-elite’ property, the ties that bound local elites to each other and their native poleis were somewhat loosened, contributing to the increased mobility of the elite and the growth of metropoleis in Achaia.

This paper first presents the epigraphic evidence for intra-elite tenancy in late Classical and Hellenistic mainland Greece, highlighting the social aspects of these documents. Lease contracts for public, sacred, and corporately-owned property are all characterized by 1) the elite status of both lessor and lessee, 2) a duration of ten years or longer, 3) relatively low rent rates, and 4) relaxed demands or limitations on agricultural activity. These generous contracts could only operate within a system of reciprocity; and indeed, as fellow members of the elite, the administrative officials who managed these leases could look forward to similar treatment whenever they might also rent land from the state or local sanctuary. Inscribed contracts from Thespiai, for instance, demonstrate such role reversals with the same names appearing as both lessee and lessor (I. Thesp. 44-47; 49-52; 53; 54; 55; 56; 57; 62). Thus, as a collective, the group benefits from mutual investment in each other and the polis. The importance of these relationships can be found in the explicit praise of tenants (e.g. SEG XXIV 151) and concern for their
families (e.g. IG II2 1165). Moreover, the extended duration of these leases—occasionally given “for all
time” (τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, e.g. IG II2 2497; SEG XXI 644)— means that lessees formed long-term bonds
with the association, civic official, or administrative council responsible for leasing the property. Since
the majority of wealthy Greeks participated in this system (Osborne 1988), intra-elite tenancy effected a
rooted elite in-group at the local level.

The second half of the paper outlines the disruptions in Greek landholdings caused by land confiscations,
colonization, centuriation, and the introduction of ager publicus and imperial estates (Alcock 1993 et al):
effectively, a process of expanding privatization. Despite such widespread instability, the scholarly
consensus on tenancy in Roman Greece maintains that the traditional Greek system outlined above
persisted without significant change, since it was not Roman policy to tinker with the minutiae of local
governance. But the removal and reallocation of so much public and sacred land undercut local intra-elite
tenancy, as well as the class interdependence that it fostered, evidenced, in part, by the changes in
landholding and euergetic behaviors of the upper class. For instance, it is at this time that the elite
increasingly accumulated swathes of land outside hometown civic limits (Rousset 2008; Rizakis
2013). I contend that these factors engendered greater independence amongst elite families, visible in
their heightened mobility—a florescence of inter-city patronage lasting from the late Hellenistic through
the Roman period (e.g. Balzat and Millis 2013). If Greek elites were less bound to each other and their
native poleis, it appears that they were ingratiating themselves more with those poleis and coloniae that
would become the reigning metropoleis of the Roman period.

Title: Medical Risk in Roman Law
Name: Molly A. Jones-Lewis

The Digest of Roman Law compiled during the reign of Justinian is a fascinating resource for reasons that
go well beyond the law itself. This paper focuses on how one professional group – physicians – used and
abused the letter of the law. Building on the work of Below and, more recently, Israelowich, this paper
focuses on the ethical lines drawn by Imperial law and the ways that Romans tried to work around those
lines for power and profit (Below 1953; Israelowich 2015). Medical writing from the Roman Empire is
primarily representative of the practices of wealthy, freeborn physicians and their wealthy noble patients,
but we know from epigraphical evidence and common sense that such practitioners were outliers in a
wider medical marketplace. Many of these medical professionals were slaves and freedmen whose social
position greatly influenced their ethical agency as well as the ways in which they gathered patients and
managed legal and social risk. Roman law not only gives voice to this silent majority, but also preserves
interesting and illuminating cases in which these doctors’ poor life choices illustrate the temptations and
pitfalls of medical practice in the Roman Empire.

The law is most helpful in showing how medical practice functioned within the heavily stratified but fluid
fabric of Roman society. Slaves, freedmen, free citizens, and foreigners all practiced medicine, and the
practicalities of their life's work were dictated by their status. Civic perks were given not only to the sort
of male freeborn educated physicians (like Galen) whom we usually think of when we imagine the
Roman physician, but also female physicians and freedmen seeking to integrate with Romanitas (eg. D.
people curious about the practicalities of a medical practice as well. Who paid for supplies and training?
How were patients recruited? Who paid for a physician's legal counsel when the need arose? Who
protected the rights of patients? All of these issues are addressed within the Digest, and examining them
provides key insights into how Rome's social ladder worked, and how it failed.

The Digest also shows early efforts at consumer protections and controlled substances. For instance,
D.48.8.3.2-3 makes the sellers of certain common toxic items used in Roman pharmacy liable if those
items are used in a murder by poisoning, and D. 48.19.38.5 holds the medical practitioner liable if a
patient dies from abortive or aphrodisiac preparations. Doctors came up with ways to corner markets, keep patients from hiring competitors, and (in one recorded instance) use their skills to extort money out of desperate clients by worsening conditions and prolonging treatment (eg. 50.13.3).

But doctors could also become victims of the system. Patients, especially patrons, would attempt to keep good doctors to themselves on the cheap and would use legal loopholes to get the maximum service for the minimum cost (Digest 37.14.2, 37.14.18, 37.15.11). The complex rules calculating culpa in the Lex Aquilia (the law used to award damages) and Lex Cornelia de Sicariis et Veneficiis (murder) take pains to distinguish between a slave ordered to kill and a slave killing without the master’s knowledge. We know from offhanded comments in Imperial histories (eg. Suet. Nero 34) that slave physicians could be ordered to assist in suicides, and the Digest strongly suggests that this abuse of a dominus or patronus’ power was not limited to rapacious emperors.

That said, Roman Law seems to have represented a remarkably fair referee in an extremely contentious and competitive medical marketplace. Furthermore, the roots of current medical law begin there, with the extension of general legal principles to address the unique and murky gray areas of medical care.

Title: How to Get Away with Murder: A Reinterpretation of the Mnesterophonia
Name: Eunice Kim

In the Homeric world, murderers go on the run. Such is the case for many fugitives that appear in the Iliad and Odyssey, e.g. Tlepolemus (Il. 2.661-70), Patroclus (Il. 23.83-90), and Theoclymenus (Od. 15.222-55). The recurring murder-and-flight motif, however, does more than reference a common and recognized practice of the late Bronze and Archaic age (Gagarin 1981); it also provides context for the unfolding drama of the Iliad (Schlunk 1976 and Heiden 1998) and Odyssey. For the Odyssey specifically, the motif anticipates, in significant ways, Odysseus’ permanent reinstatement as king in Ithaca.

This paper reinterprets the conclusion of the Odyssey through the prism of the fugitive-murderer story pattern, wherein a man guilty of manslaughter flees avenging relatives of his victim and joins or founds a new community. I argue that this pattern is habitually associated with Odysseus in a way that sets him up to be an exiled killer, but ultimately renders him the exact inverse: a killer reintegrated into his original domicile.

I begin the paper by reviewing the general pattern of the fugitive homicide within Homeric epic, and proceed to compare it to Odysseus’ own situation. Contrary to the typical homicide, who breaks ties with his home community and flees to a new one, Odysseus starts out as a fugitive. His arrival and activities on Ithaca resemble the kind of colonial (re-)settlement that other killers in exile, e.g. Tlepolemus, undertake (Dougherty 2001: 161-76), but his murder of the suitors then serves as the means by which he ultimately reestablishes himself at home. This narrative reversal of the fugitive-murderer motif validates Odysseus by recasting manslaughter – a kind of violence that typically severs ties between individual and community – as an important mechanism for political reconciliation.

After demonstrating how the fugitive-murderer motif interacts with the narrative logic of Odysseus’ homecoming, I conclude by considering the “external framing of the issue” (Burgess 2014: 339); that is, the non-Homeric narratives with which the Odyssey seems to compete. Odysseus’ exile as the default consequence of the suitors’ deaths is repeatedly foreshadowed throughout the Odyssey (20.41-3; 23.118-22; 24.426-37), and is in fact the outcome in many variant traditions (e.g. Apollod. Epit. 7.40; Plut. Quaest. Graec. 14). The potential for Odysseus to become an exiled killer thus appears to acknowledge alternative versions of Odysseus’ story (Danek 1998: 497-504; Malkin 1998: 120-55; Tsagalis 2008: 75-90; Marks 2008: 62-111). Building upon previous scholarship that has shown how the Odyssey preempts (Cook 1995) or responds to (Marks 2003) other Odyssean traditions, I demonstrate how the Odyssey’s
superimposition and reversal of the fugitive-murderer pattern simultaneously appropriates and trumps these alternative, non-Homeric narratives.

By situating Odysseus in the role of the exiled killer but ultimately foiling that expectation, the Odyssey makes it clear that its end is not just about private vengeance; at issue are both the restoration of civic unity and negotiation of mythological complexity. Just as the motif facilitates, on a conceptual level, Odysseus’ reclaiming of Ithaca, it also embraces much of the rivaling traditions surrounding his eventual fate.

Session 58: Obscenity and the Body
Title: Venereal Disease and the Ox-Eyed Goddess: Valerius Flaccus’s Venus and Juno as Vergilian Vectors of Disease
Darcy Anne Krasne

This paper examines the parallelism, in Valerius’s Argonautica, of the pairs Venus and Fama (Lemnos episode, Bk.2) and Juno and Tisiphone (lo-epyllion, Bk.4), and the connecting bridge of Juno and Dryope (Hylas episode, Bk.3). I argue that Valerius intensifies the disease element of the traditional equation between love, disease, and madness—so vividly depicted in Vergil’s Aeneid—by repeatedly drawing on the actual plague in Georgics 3, as well as other plague episodes from pre- and post-Vergilian literature, for language and imagery.

As has often been recognized (Keith; Elm von der Osten; Hardie 2009, 2012), Venus and Fama’s actions on the island of Lemnos are deeply indebted to numerous Vergilian figures. The pair enter the poem at the same time (2.104-25), and while together they recall the Aeneid’s Fama and Allecto (among others), they also recall intertextual antecedents and descendants of the Vergilian goddesses, including the Homeric Eris (Il.4.440-3) and the Tisiphone of Georgics 3 (3.551-3). Here, they cooperate to set Lemnos figuratively ablaze, their inflammatory words and behavior recalling earlier texts and contributing to the spread of a metaphorical sickness across the island and through the passage.

Of course, the madness and sickness of love are tropes, and Lucretius’s description of love-sickness was already analogous to his description of plague; Vergil had drawn on both passages to create his love-sick Dido. Dido’s infection, in turn, is closely echoed by numerous aspects of the Argonautica; the Carthaginian queen stands especially prominently behind two Valerian figures, Venus herself (Elm von der Osten) and her eventual, most significant, victim, Medea (Hull). Furthermore, in resembling Vergil’s Dido, Allecto, and even Amata, Venus also resembles the harbinger of plague from Vergil’s Georgics, the spotted Calabrian snake, with its fiery gaze (Geo.3.433) and maculosus belly (Geo.3.427, cf. Aen.4.643/Arg.2.105).

Apart from the intertextually-rife, fury-like onslaught of Venus herself, specific nods at earlier plague passages are subtle. Fama conjures up an image of the plague-infested meadows and lakes (lacus, pabula) of the Geographic countryside (Geo.3.481) under the influence of Sirius, adapting them to the poisoned banquets and goblets (dapes, pocula) of human civilization (Arg.2.155); the Lemnian women bring to fruition Sirius’s implied activity, setting their island alight and creating heaps of corpses. We see, too, in a simile, Tisiphone interfering with the dapes et pocula provided to Phlegyas and Theseus in the Underworld—Tisiphone was, for Vergil, the Fury of plague (Geo.3.551-3).

Thus we find additional significance in the use of Tisiphone as the Fury whom Juno mobilizes in the lo-epyllion to prick Io to madness, in lieu of the asilus to which Valerius alludes elsewhere (Arg.3.580-1, cf. Geo.3.147-53) and to which, along with the Calabrian snake, the Vergilian Tisiphone bears strong resemblance (Thomas). Furthermore, Io herself displays symptoms analogous to those of plague (tremerent artus, Arg.4.376; aegra siti, Arg.4.379; profundo incidit, Arg.4.403-4). Moreover,
Between these two episodes falls the removal of Hylas and Hercules from the epic, brought about by Juno and the nymph Dryope. Dryope serves as an elegizing Allecto (Heerink), thus completing the analogy between the goddess-pairs; importantly, Venus had taken the name Dryope on Lemnos. We can also extend the analogy to their victims, seeing various plague-like symptoms in the distraught Hercules, including a simile that compares him to a Calabrian bull driven mad by an asilus (Arg.3.580-1), thus again recalling the effects and causes of plague in the Georgics.

The parallelism of these episodes helps to bring out their shared engagement with the latent theme of disease (one strand of a much more complex network) that infects the epic, a pestis lying hidden as it will hide within Medea’s bones (Arg.7.252-3), again courtesy of Juno and Venus. With their respective responsibilities over love and air (Feeney), they are fitting vectors of disease in an inherited system that derives plague from celestial influences and equates it with love.

Title: Eunuchs from Lampsakos: Hipponax and the poetics of obscenity
Name: Alexander Dale

This paper takes as its starting point Hipponax frr. 26 and 26a West, two fragments sequentially joined by most editors (e.g. Schneidewin, Adrados, Medeiros, Masson, presupposed in West 1993; notably cautious is Degani) which appear to be an invective describing gluttony and profligacy. Through a close reading of fr. 26, it is argued that the fragment is instead a passage of thinly veiled sexual innuendo describing the fortunes of an avid cunnilinctor, a role signified through comparison with a pathic Lampsakene eunuch. This reading is achieved through a detailed examination of the sexual vocabulary of iambus and Old Comedy, in particular the use of culinary and agricultural terminology to refer to body parts and sexual acts. Following on from this, I examine the question of the placement of fr. 26a which, it is argued, cannot have been a direct continuation of fr. 26 (with or without a lacuna). Instead, it is suggested that fr. 26a might have preceded fr. 26 in Hipponax’ poem. This argument is facilitated by a close comparison of the two Hipponax fragments with Martial Ep. 3.77 (and with reference to Ep. 3.81) on the eunuch Baeticus which, I suggest, might have been directly modeled on the putative Hipponax poem as here reconstructed (note in particular the parallelism of sexual innuendo in θύνναν ~ melandrya; μυϲϲωτόν ~ putri allece, and the parallelism of the non-loaded ἀτταγέαϲ ~ turdus; λαγούϲ ~ lepus; τηγανίταϲ ~ liba. The structural parallelism is also notable, with the tripartite variatio of Hipponax’ οὐκ, οὐ, οὐδ’ being echoed by Martial’s repetitively emphatic nec beginning four consecutive lines).

Having established the sexual subtext and ordering of fragments, I then relate this reading of frr. 26 and 26a to the broader context of the poetics of gluttony and sex in archaic literature, as well as examine the typological similarities between iambus and Old Comedy, which is of particular relevance to the fraught question of the relationship between the two genres (cf. e.g. Rosen; Bowie). Through a close reading of the fragments and consideration of their place within the variegated corpus of Hipponax, we can achieve a greater appreciation for the poetics of Hipponactean iambus, and thus further rehabilitate the poetic persona of Hipponax, a poet of increasingly evident subtlety, dexterity, and richness.

Title: Bodily Metaphors and Self-fashioning in Persius’ First Satire
Name: Scott Weiss

Persius famously identifies his difficult metaphors as a hallmark of his style (5.14: iunctura callidus acri), and modern scholars have framed their studies through the lens of his obscure language (Dessen 1968; Hooley 1997). My paper focuses on a constellation of such metaphors in Persius’ programmatic first satire. I argue that these collocations construct a matrix of images surrounding eyes and ears, which signify competing modes of poetics. This system of imagery buttresses an elaborate
staging of self-fashioning for the satirist who presents his style as a departure from the popular performatve genres of his day.

Early in the poem, the satirist suggests his interlocutor may participate in a poetic recitatio while “broken with an ejaculating eye” (1.18: \textit{patranti fractus ocello}). Towards the poem’s end, the satirist desires that his ideal reader possess a “steamed ear” (1.126: \textit{vaporata lector mihi ferveat aure}). Elsewhere in the poem, eyes and ears signify poetic production and consumption. Bramble (1974, 26-27) has noted the presence of ears as a literary-critical motif in this satire, but does not contextualize the image with the repetition of eyes, nor does Gowers (2009), who reads the steamed ear and Persius’ call for a “boiled down” style as a response to Nero’s behavior. Freudenburg (2009) understands the ejaculating eye to be a comment on the decline of literary criticism and detects associations with the mention of ears, but like Gowers contextualizes these images within Neronian Rome. My argument goes beyond this previous scholarship by pointing out additional associations between eyes and ears in Persius’ first satire and furthermore grounding the imagery within a system of \textit{iuncturae acres} that functions as a strategy for the satirist’s authorial self-fashioning.

I begin by establishing the centrality of the \textit{iunctura acris} to Persius’ poetic project and to the satirist’s authorial identity in relation to his literary predecessors, especially Horace. I then analyze the “ejaculating eye,” with attention to its context within the \textit{recitatio}. The syntax of the passage is ambiguous, and it is unclear whether the eye belongs to the reciter or his audience. The ambiguity stresses an unstable relationship between author and audience, which the text elaborates through the gender role of the reciter, who paradoxically is emasculated (\textit{fractus}) while penetrating the audience with his verse.

By contrast, the “steamed ear” represents a different approach to poetic composition and reception. The phrase refers to a method to clean the ear, and with it the satirist metaphorically expresses his desire for an attentive reader suited for his dense, concentrated (\textit{decoctius}) poetics. With such a wish, the satirist simultaneously makes a statement about himself: this ideal reader is passionate (\textit{ferveat}), but receives the satirist’s verse with the attention implied by his steamed ear. The type of poet that requires such a reader is likewise in control of himself and his poetics rather than submissive (\textit{fractus}) to the whims of his audience.

Eyes and ears elsewhere in the poem elaborate the satirist’s authorial position. Right before the ejaculating eye, the satirist begins to reveal a secret that only becomes clear after the steamed ear: everyone in Rome has donkey ears, a mythical allusion signifying poor literary taste. Shortly after the steamed ear, the satirist contrasts such an ideal reader with a vulgar man who calls a one-eyed man “one-eye” (\textit{lusce}). The juxtaposition recalls a collocation of images from the poem’s mid-section (58-66). The satirist warns his interlocutor that, unlike Janus, he cannot see somebody mocking him from behind with imaginary donkey ears, and shortly afterwards he declares that the practitioner of popular poetics can set his verse like a craftsman applying a straightedge with one eye. The pattern of eyes and ears throughout the text thus establish the two organs as symbolic of competing styles of poetic production and consumption. Persius structures these images through the \textit{iuncturae acres} that define his own poetic style and thus establishes himself as deviating from popular literary aesthetics.

Session 59: Political and Military Conflict in the Greek World
Title: Lydian Hegemony and Lesbian Politics in Alcaeus
Name: William Tortorelli

The Mytilene of Alcaeus is a tricky knot to unravel. Waves roll in from every direction, with vague references in the poems to the back-and-forth push-and-pull of several factions alternatingly in ascendance and exile. But there is almost no constitutional specificity in the references to rule, few of these figures can be identified even vaguely, and there is little compelling textual evidence for any link in
this chain of events. I would suggest that yet another player is missing from this political picture. Lydia is suspiciously absent from our models of archaic Lesbian politics. This paper argues that recognizing the place of Lydian hegemony in archaic Lesbos can resolve much of this confusion.

The Hittite and Lydian empires exerted a great deal of influence on the development of Lesbian culture, as we can see from a material record that displays much more of Anatolian character than of Aeolian Greek (Spencer 1995; Mason 2008). I discuss the overwhelming textual evidence for Lydian influence over the island in the 7th to 6th centuries, including Sappho’s references to the luxuries of the mainland. The borders of Lydia seem especially porous for the people of Lesbos. I analyze the exilic fragments of Alcaeus, arguing that they depict factions in or out of favor with a pro-Lydian aristocracy, and his “ship of state” fragments, arguing that they relate to the security of Lesbian autonomy in the shadow of the powerful Lydian empire.

Myrsilus is the most confusing of the rulers of Mytilene mentioned by Alcaeus, not least because the name is associated with the Lydian king Candaules by Herodotus (1.7), who tells us that Candaules was called Myrsilus by the Greeks. Herodotus was under the impression that it is a Greek or Hellenized variant. This confusion suggests that Herodotus’ sources employ the name Myrsilus in an ambiguous way. Dale considers two possible conclusions about the identity of Myrsilus of Mytilene: (a) that Myrsilus was the heir to an indigenous royal family of neo-Hittite Lesbians, or (b) that the name Myrsilus is an autocratic title borrowed from Anatolia and applied by Alcaeus to both Melanchrus and Pittacus, in turn (Dale 2011). I conclude that the name Myrsilus appears in the fragments of Alcaeus not as a specific citizen of Mytilene, nor as a generic term for a ruler, but as a title for the king of Lydia. References to Lesbians making alliances with Myrsilus can be explained as factional contestants who have allied themselves with the powerful kingdom on the mainland.

Alcaeus also uses the term *tyrannos* to describe Pittacus, the first leader of a Greek state to be so called. The word comes into Greek through /tarwanai/ from the Luwian language group of Anatolia. Archilochus fragment 19 refers to the fame of Gyges with a word that the Lydian monarch himself may have used to denote his rule. When Alcaeus picks that up in fragment 348 as a descriptor of Pittacus, though, it is possible that he is attacking his rival with a term more appropriate to an eastern potentate. The fame of Alcaeus’s poetry and the importance of Pittacus led to the adoption of the Anatolian word as a general Greek term for a ruler.

**Title: The Defective Insularity of the Peloponnese**

**Name: Eric D. Driscoll**

In the *longue durée*, the Isthmus of Corinth was apt to be fortified. This history of fortification has hitherto been treated piecemeal and from a military-historical perspective, but the present paper draws on the archaeological and textual evidence from all periods in order to suggest that the impulse behind their construction derives instead from an enduring sense of what might be called the defective insularity of the Peloponnese. Trans-Isthmian walls in effect redeem the Peloponnese as a true island, a situation recognized by writers from the fifth century BC onward. But as Gregory (1993, 150-51) notes, there is no evidence that a trans-Isthmian wall was actually ever successfully defended against attack. The temporal depth of the pattern, then, I argue, arose from its deep and recursive imprinting in the landscape, literal and cultural, rather than from basic military circumstances. After a brief review of the evidence, I further elaborate on two important responses to these walls, Herodotus’ and Plethon’s, and conclude with some reflections on how the Peloponnese can contribute to the surging interest in *insularité* as an object of historical-geographical study, especially in its relation to ideals of autarky and utopia.

From a Mycenaean wall that already controlled the land route into the Peloponnese down to the Ottoman period, trans-Isthmian walls along various lines were built and rebuilt time and again: in 480, in 369, and
in 279, as Persian, Theban, and Celtic armies threatened; several times between Valerian and Justinian; and repeatedly in the 14th and 15th centuries AD, as the Morea became a stronghold during the twilight of the Byzantine empire. Recent developments in archaeological theory (e.g., Lucas 2005, 2008; Olivier 2008) help explain this pattern by refocusing attention away from common-sense military logic and onto issues of temporality, materiality, and memory: the persistence of configurations of material in the world, those enduring through processes of ruination included, as repositories of memory. The ruins of a wall still standing acquire a new significance as a synapse joining one time to another. When Byzantine historians refer to the various rebuildings of the wall, they inevitably figure the later as repetitions of the earlier (often degenerate, as when Phrantzes says that, unlike emperors of his own day, Justinian built the wall “not out of necessity, but simply because it seemed good to him” [p. 96 Bekker]).

What’s more, fortification can essentially transform even a slice of the mainland into an island ([Xen] _Ath. Pol._ 2). As Laonikos Chalkokondyles wrote, the “Isthmus encloses the entire Peloponnesse, so as to render it an island” when fortified (p. 184 Bekker). In 1415, when Manuel II Palaiologos rebuilt the Hexamilion, the philosopher Plethon was inspired to write several pamphlets (edited by Lampros 1926-30) advocating a utopian, communist scheme for social reorganization in the Peloponnesse. The systematic, utopian reorganization he envisages is engendered by newfound Peloponnesian insularity. Plethon’s texts are often justly compared with Plato’s city-in-speech (cf. Barker 1957), but may perhaps more profitably be juxtaposed to Herodotus’ narrative surrounding the fortification of the Isthmus in 480/79. In the latter case, the fortification of the Isthmus is recognized as essentially meaningless without control of the seas, while for Plethon the islandification of the Peloponnese restores it to a state of (imaginary) purity and autarky (cf. Bresson 2000, 109-30).

The two writers thus offer opposed yet complementary perspectives on insularity: connectivity as vulnerability, isolation as strength (Horden and Purcell 2000, 74-77, 225-27). Plethon’s utopian text, compared to the realism of Herodotus’, highlights the paradoxical nature of utopia as a genre in the way it discursively transforms the contradictions of late Byzantine reality into a refigured version thereof (cf. Jameson 2005, 22-41). But it also, then, serves to highlight intellectual tensions within the conceptualization of _insularité_ itself, as the whole case of the Isthmus fortifications links landscape, ruins, and human action over the very long term—and the defectively insular Peloponnesian slides between the categories.

**Title: Strategy and Supply in the Archidamian War**
**Name: Stephen O’Connor**

Spartan-led Peloponnesian forces devastated the countryside of Attica in five of the first seven years of the Peloponnesian War (Thucy. 2.10-14, 2.18-23, 2.31, 2.47, 2.55-7, 3.1, 3.26, 4.2.1, 4.6), and would have done so in 429 and 426, too, were it not for a plague in Athens and a series of earthquakes in those years (Thucy. 2.71.1, 3.89). The modern debate on the causes for the Spartan adoption of devastation of Athenian territory as their strategy (to the exclusion of all other strategies) in the first years of the Peloponnesian War has been limited to controversy over the extent of the damage that Peloponnesian forces were able to inflict on Athenian crops and property. Most scholars have believed that, since Greek infantry forces were, in general, relatively ineffective ravagers of their enemies’ farmlands, the desire to pressure the Athenians economically could not have been the reason behind the consistent use by the Spartan-led armies of the strategy of agricultural devastation. These scholars have instead tried to explain the short-term, raiding nature of the Spartan campaigns in one of two ways: firstly, by positing that the Spartans were operating within a culture of ‘agonal’ warfare, in which classical Greek city-states curtailed the duration of their land wars by choice, in order to limit both war casualties and social change (Hanson, 1998; Ober, 1996); and secondly, by arguing that the Spartans were aiming not to cause permanent damage in Attica, but rather to bring about internal dissension within the city of Athens (Foxhall, 1993).
Recently, however, it has been argued that the Spartan devastation of Athenian territory could have caused severe economic damage and was therefore justified as an end in itself (Thorne, 2001).

But all previous treatments of the strategy of the Spartans in these years have missed the fact that military strategy “combines tactics and logistics to shape the conduct of operations” (Jones, 1987: 54 (my emphasis)). By building on this insight and placing the Spartan ravaging operations within a comparative historical framework – by considering the Spartan-led invasions of Attica within the context of work done by scholars on the interplay between strategy and supply in later periods of European warfare – one can gain insight into what really caused the Spartans to devastate Athenian territory. The Spartans had no other strategic option than brief, ravaging expeditions since lengthy operations in enemy territory required the formation of continuous supply lines (cf. Harari, 1998: 300-301). Unlike states in other times and places in pre-industrial Europe which could use a combination of mechanisms (such as requisitioning, allied and enemy contributions, taxation-in-kind, and private contractors with large amounts of capital and access to widespread produce networks) to acquire the provisions needed to build and maintain supply-lines (Erdkamp, 1998: 12-18), the Spartans and their allies (in common with all other classical Greek city-states) did not have the resources to provision continuous overland supply lines and therefore had to rely on foraging for their provisioning. But foraging could not offer the security of supply needed for their armies to mount persisting campaigns in Athenian territory (cf. Erdkamp, 1998: 150; Harari, 2000: 300-301, 330); consuming all of the resources in their area of operations, the Peloponnesian armies dependent on foraging had to be constantly on the move and thus could only remain in Attica for short periods of time. The option of a sustained assault on the city-walls of Athens, or a siege of the city, was therefore not available to them. The Spartans, in other words, did not choose to devastate the countryside of Attica; they did so because the sole method of supply they could employ to feed their armies forced them to.

Title: Thucydides’ Literary Entombment of the Sicily War-Dead
Name: Rachel Bruzzone

Thucydides’ emphasis on vision in the battle between Athenian and Sicilian forces in the Great Harbor of Syracuse (7.70-1), the moment at which the Sicilian Expedition becomes an inescapable disaster for Athens, was noted as early as Plutarch (Moralia 347a), but the significance of this aspect of the text has not been fully explored. I argue that Thucydides’ presentation of this conflict is highly reminiscent of sculptural depictions of battle, and especially funerary reliefs, works that would have been innovative and conspicuous in his time. The historian’s treatment of this episode thus both challenges the visual arts’ capacity to preserve memory and creates a literary version of a tombstone to those who fell in Sicily.

Thucydides encourages the reader to visualize the scene. For many, the most striking example of this motif is when he describes the anguished feelings of the soldiers on shore at the height of the clash, with those looking in one direction cheering a victory, while those looking elsewhere despair at the sight of defeat, some rendered slave-like by the vision before them (7.71.3). The historian stops the progress of the narrative to describe the crisis they behold for nearly three OCT pages, breaking with his usual tendency to omit details that do not influence the outcome of a conflict.

Following a speech by Nicias that “is more properly a funeral oration in the traditional sense than is Pericles’” (Rawlings 157), this description of a struggle frozen in time resembles funerary monuments to those fallen in battle. The text describing the last honorable struggle of these Athenians’ lives is dedicated almost entirely to the impressive effort of the fighters. Every man strains to be seen to be the best (7.70.3), they shoot unceasingly at one another (7.70.5), and try to board each others’ ships in hand-to-hand combat (7.70.5) as the Athenians attempt to force their way out of the harbor (7.70.7), among other such efforts. Instead of the usual battle lines, Thucydides describes individuals locked in combat, emphasizing the qualities of the conflict that resemble visual representations of battle even though
elsewhere he suggests that it is the Syracusans’ technological advances that decide the outcome (e.g. 7.62.2-4, 67.2). The conflict hanging in the balance has a particular affinity to funerary reliefs, on which, as argued by Arrington, normally “both poles of victory and defeat are elided in order instead to thematize struggle and undecided contest” (198-9). Verbal evidence reinforces the shared imagery: “agon” is the word regularly used in the inscriptions accompanying friezes for the war dead (Arrington 183), and is used by Thucydides frequently to describe the Great Harbor fight (e.g. 7.56.3, 61.1, 64.2, 66.1, 68.3, 71.1).

Thucydides’ insistence on the closeness of the battle further resembles the compressed action of visual depictions of war. He reports that this conflict featured the most ships in the smallest space (7.70.4), an unusual claim to fame. There is little space for them to maneuver (7.70.4), and the attacks are πυκνότεραι (7.70.4). Unusually, he uses polyptoton to describe the clash (e.g. 7.70.3 ναῦς νηί, 70.4 ναῦς νηί); ships are verbally piled on top of one another, just as elements of sculpture depicting conflict often are (e.g. Athens, National Museum 2744).

Thucydides’ life overlapped with a vibrant era in visual arts, and works such as that on the temple to Athena Nike sought to preserve the past much as he or Herodotus did. Similarly, the use of decorative elements depicting war dead on gravestones seems to have arisen in precisely this period (Arrington 185). Rivalry with this alternative form of memorialization is suggested in Herodotus’ first words, claiming to preserve deeds from “fading” (1.1.1). Thucydides’ appropriation of the imagery of a competing artistic field, sculpture, would thus be fitting. His Great Harbor battle scene serves as a literary memorial for those who fell in Sicily, one that, unlike stone, remains impervious to the passage of time.

Session 60: The Genesis of the Ancient Text: New Approaches
Title: Revision and the Lyric Sphragis
Name: Daniel Anderson

In his vivid portrait of the author in the heat of revision, Euripides places emphasis on the repeated sealing and unsealing of the writing-tablet (IA 35-40 δέλτον ... σφραγίζεις λύεις τ’ ὀπίσθω), and the theme is recalled throughout the play's opening (IA 155-6, 325, 306). On one level, these words simply help paint a vignette, as do the other terms that refer specifically to a folding wax tablet (IA 35 ἀμπετάσας δέλτον, 37 γράμματα συγχεῖς, 39 πεύκην). More than this, however, the sealing and unsealing of the tablet express a teleology of revision; the sealed text is a symbol for the completed text, no longer in need of further change. Agamemnon's anxious near-incapacity to finish the letter is signalled by his repeated breaking of the seal.

One unexplored avenue in scholarship on ancient revision is its relation to the literary sphragis (σφραγίς). This is an especially useful avenue of investigation when looking to the sort of revision at work in Greek literary texts. On the one hand, the sphragis treats texts as distinct units, with the implication that they are single and stable entities. The symbolic assertion of authorial control over text suggests that editorial change would otherwise continue to be possible. On the other hand, the sphragis raises the possibility of non-authorial revision, when the conceit is used by one author to exert authorial possession over another's text (Anderson 2014).

The first extensive use of the sphragis is found in Archaic lyric, and so I propose to focus my investigation there. I begin by defining some formal features of the lyric sphragis, such as invocation and especially self-naming (e.g. h.Ap. 172-5, Demod. fr. 2, Sapph. 1.20, 94.5), certain key words (e.g. λόγος at Hes. WD 106, Xenoph. B 7, cf. Ar. P. 146-8, Com. adesp. 51), and deictic pronouns (e.g. Phoc. frs. 1-5). The image of the sphragis is of course specifically drawn from Theog. 19-30. Thought of in the context of revision, we find the sphragis used to supplement fictional documents (Archil. fr. 185, cf. West 1988), to admonish and emend (Sol. fr. 20, cf. Gurd 2012) and to revise one's own earlier work (Stesich. fr. 192).
To consider one example in more detail, note how Stesichorus draws on the format of the sphragis to mark two different versions of a text, fr. 192 οὐκ ἔστ᾽ ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος κτλ. While λόγος can stand for a story in a very general sense (e.g. Hdt. ii 120, also about Helen), the demonstrative suggests a specific reference in this passage to the text of the Helen. Moreover, the fragment addresses Helen, who is then at once the mythological figure and Stesichorus’ homonymous work, the Helen. There are some playful implications for the nature of revision once we begin to think of Stesichorus’ earlier work as an εἴδωλον (phantasm) with respect to the corrective supplement.

Where appropriate, I will make references to other periods and genres, especially the use of sphragis elements which indicate textual multiplicity in Old Comedy (Ar. Nu. 518ff. ταύτην ... τῶν ἐμῶν κωμῳδιῶν; Cratin. frr. 208-9, cf. Slater 2002: 69-71, 141), in order to flesh-out the picture offered by the Archaic poets.

Scholarly work on revision aims in part to overcome simplistic views about the fixity of text over against more fluid ideas about textuality (Gurd 2012: 6-7). However, in a world of text dominated by mass reproduction, we do well to remember how radically different a technology are most of the media for ancient writing, in that they allowed for change each time a fresh text was written-out. The importance of the sphragis is correspondingly great. Investigation into Archaic uses of the literary sphragis reveals a level of interaction with notions of fixity and textual plurality long before the encyclopaedic projects of the Hellenistic world.

Title: “This one was one who was working”: similes of poetic composition in the ancient reception of Virgil
Name: Talitha Kearey

In ancient discussions of Virgil’s methods of literary production one idea recurs: that Virgil took painstaking care over the production of his poetry. Ancient biographies give details: he rapidly recorded his ideas in verse or prose, including incomplete or unsatisfactory lines with the expectation of removing them later, then ruthlessly cut his drafts down to a few lines per day (Vita Suetonii-Donati 22-4); he resisted revision or publication of his work by any other party (VSD 40). For Quintilian, Virgil’s poetic methods exemplified his cura et diligentia, acerrimum iudicium and unicus usus (Inst. 10.1.86, 8.3.24); for Gellius, it resulted in the Aeneid being left in a monstruosissimum state upon Virgil’s untimely death (NA 17.10.19). This paper explores why (and how) it matters that Virgil’s readers in antiquity said of him, as Gertrude Stein of Picasso, ‘This one was one who was working’.

Recent scholarship on the application of genetic or documentary criticism to classical literature (in particular Gurd 2007, 2010 and 2012; Martelli 2013) has emphasised that, although we largely lack original material traces of composition or revision, ancient authors’ discourse of authorial activity remains extant: they detail the text’s composition, express hopes or expectations regarding circulation and discuss their revision of the text. Though this discourse does not necessarily tell us anything about the historical reality of these authors’ literary production, it can nonetheless inform us about metatextual manifestos, constructions of authorial agency and self-fashioning (Martelli 2013), and the changing functions of textuality and revision as media of social exchange, political engagement and community formation (Gurd 2012).

In the case of Virgil, who is silent on such matters, the focus must shift to ‘allographic’ discourses of authorship, those constructed by later readers of Virgil’s works. As today, so in antiquity: biographical information surrounding an author’s works displays a fascination with the processes of the text’s production. This information is often of dubious veracity (Horsfall 1995), yet remains a rich and still underused resource for reception studies. Just as ‘writing about literary genesis allowed [ancient authors] to think through problems of selfhood, textuality, and social context’ (Gurd 2012:4), so too, I argue, later
readers’ discussions of a canonical author qua author prove to be sites for examining conceptions of authorship, negotiating hermeneutic practices and thinking through the role and nature of literature in different historical-cultural contexts.

This paper focuses on the three statements regarding poetic composition and revision commonly attributed to Virgil himself in antiquity. We are told that Virgil said that his first drafts were assembled with temporary props and struts, like a building (VSD 24); that he produced his drafts quickly, then laboriously refined them, like a mother bear licking her cubs into shape (VSD 22, Gell. NA 17.10.2-7, Jerome ad Gal. praef. 3, in Zech. praef. 3); and that he defended himself from charges of plagiarism by saying it would be easier to steal Hercules' club than a single Homeric line (VSD 46, Macrob. Sat. 5.3.16, Jerome Quaest. Heb. in Gen. praef., Isid. Etym. 10.44; cf. McGill 2012:204-7). Notably, all three take the form of similes in Virgil’s own voice. I consider these anecdotes as a group for the first time, paying particular attention to the dynamics of their attribution to Virgil. Exploring the relationships between the similes and their possible Virgilian sources – the draft-as-building (VSD 24) and Virgil’s epic-as-temple (G. 3.1-47), the theft of Hercules’ club and Cacus’ theft of Hercules’ cattle (Aen. 8.190-224), Virgil as a mother bear and the Lupercalian scene of Aen. 8.630-4 – I contend that they display a sophisticated reading of Virgil’s own metapoetic modes, and that their attribution to Virgil ‘verifies’ them in a complex dance of impersonated self-reflexivity. Ultimately I make a case for taking these anecdotes seriously – if not as historical fact, then as sites where Virgil’s readers creatively explored concepts of authorship, negotiated literary practices, and constructed an author worthy of reading.

Title: Ancient note taking as a first step in the creative process
Name: Raffaella Cribiore

This paper will inquire into ancient note taking as a practice that allows us to reconstruct to some degree the working methods of ancient students, authors, and rhetors. I will approach this issue in a twofold manner. The literary and documentary papyri from Greek and Roman Egypt offer some examples of working drafts which contain notes and corrections that are similar to the genetic papers of modern authors. Of these, I will concentrate on P.Lit.Lond. 51; P.Oxy. LIV 3724; P.Koln. VI 250, and will examine a list of incipits in a papyrus from Michigan (Borges and Sampson 2012). Notes and memoranda of lawyers also survive, which show how advocates applied their rhetorical education and used brief aides memoires in court (e.g., P.Col. VII 174). The second part of the paper will provide some context for these papyri and consider the remarks of some ancient authors concerning process of genesis (though their own notes and drafts are irretrievably lost).

Note taking was an essential skill in the schools of sophists and philosophers where much instruction was oral. Students made notes at Quintilian’s lectures and recorded admired passages (1 pr. 7; 2.11.7, and cf. Lib. 3.16-17). Such notes could be worked up into finished treatises (Quint. 3.6.59). In the absence of textbooks, the students of philosophers regarded the taking of lecture notes as a serious obligation (cf. Lu Herm. 2.9; Philostratus, Vita Apoll. 1.19). In late antiquity, teachers of philosophy in the Aristotelian and Platonist schools lectured from their own notes, written down or memorized. They did not, however, always give the same version of a lecture on the same topic. Students wrote notes ἀπὸ φωνῆς, from the living voice of their teachers, and produced various, differing written records that sometimes were published under their own names without objections from their teachers (Praechter 1990; Sorabji 1990; Schoeler and Montgomery 2006; cf., however, the negative reaction of Quintilian).

Several authors allow us a glimpse of their creative process. Among them, Plato (Theaetetus 143), Pliny the Younger (Ep. 3.5.7-17, 7.12.3, 17.5, 20.1-2) Gellius (Pr. 1-3, 1.7.18; 15.14; 17.21.50) and Lucian (Hist. 48) show how notes were part of their preliminary work. Travelers who intended to produce written accounts of their journeys must have made extensive notes. Pausanias must have recorded observations and inscriptions as he travelled, before shaping them in the Periegesis (Habicht 1985). Travelling in
Egypt, Aristides dictated notes on various monuments to his slaves but could not use them because they were lost (Or. 36.1). He also dictated notes of his dreams to slaves when he could not record them in his own hand but many of these were also lost (Or. 48.2).

The barristers’ notes that survive in the papyri correspond to some degree to the notes that ancient orators brought with them when delivering their speeches in court and at oratorical displays. This practice, which is attested by visual and literary evidence, has been insufficiently investigated. From Demosthenes to Libanius (Or. 1.71; 232) orators could partly rely on writing during oral delivery (cf. also Quintilian 10.7.30-32 and Seneca the Elder, Contr. Pr. 3.6). Pleaders wrote out notes before speaking and some of these were later collected in book form.

In conclusion, the process of note taking in antiquity was often part of the initial mechanism of the genesis of a text. In schools jotting down notes was an indispensable practice because of the frequent lack of books. Students created their own books from lectures. Notes, however, also had another function. They served to prompt orators and advocates and referred to an already existing work. After delivery, however, orators might produce a differing version of their texts for publication.

Session 61: Ancient Greek Philosophy (Organized by the Society for Ancient Greek Philosophy)
Title: Inventing Incommensurability. Traces of a Scientific Revolution in Early Greek Mathematics in the Time of Plato
Name: Claas Lattmann

Most of early Greek mathematics lies in darkness: though Thales at the beginning of the 6th century BCE might have been the earliest Greek mathematician, as the ancient tradition has it, the first authentic first-hand testimonies date only from the first half of the 4th century BCE. All that we know about the earlier stages of Greek mathematics comes from later authors who, however, were (re-)writing them in the terms of (post-) Euclidean mathematics.

Though not regarded as a mathematician proper himself, one of the first authors to give an undistorted glimpse of pre-Euclidean mathematics is Plato. His works contain the earliest direct references to Greek mathematics, and this in great number. Among them is a quite odd and often-discussed passage in the seventh book of the Laws. The speaker is the Athenian:

My dear Kleinias, I was utterly astounded myself having heard only quite lately of our condition in regard to this matter. It seemed to me to be the condition not of human beings, but of guzzling swine, and I was ashamed, not only of myself, but of all the Greeks.

What the Athenian is so ashamed about is his and the Greeks’ state of knowledge with regard to “incommensurability” – one of the most important concepts of ancient Greek mathematics, namely the insight that some mathematical magnitudes in principle do not have a common measure with each other. This concept may be regarded as equivalent to the modern concept of irrationality, if one of the magnitudes is the number 1. For example, the number 1 and the square root of 2 are incommensurable, insofar there is neither a number nor a part of a number that might serve as a common measure (or, in modern terms, factor) for these two numbers. One of the most well-known examples from ancient mathematics is the relation between the side and the diagonal of the square, as it is being discussed in Plato’s Meno (82a–85b).

What is most remarkable with regard to the Laws passage, however, is not that “the Athenian” thinks that the Greeks have an insufficient knowledge of mathematics with regard to some specific problem at some specific point in time – though, to be sure, this, too, is quite interesting from a history of science perspective. Rather, it is decidedly more interesting that this passage implies that the Greeks
mathematicians acquired knowledge about the phenomenon of incommensurability only just recently – that is, shortly before the composition of the Laws, which took place around 350 BCE with an obvious terminus ante quem of 348/7 BCE (with the exception, of course, of revisions done by Philippos of Opus). Though the formulation ἀκούσας ὀψέ ποτε would leave it open that only “the Athenian” (Plato) has learned just lately of the phenomenon of incommensurability, in effect his being ashamed of all the Greeks does, in all probability, not, thus implying that the reference is to the general state of mathematical theory and not to some autobiographical circumstance. For all this, of course, the premiss has to be accepted that we may interpret (at least some of) the utterances made by the dialogue’s characters as referring to the time of composition and not to the time of its fictional setting. Though this in general seems to be admissible (and often advisable, for Plato was not interested in a “historical,” but in a philosophical argument), in this case this would not even be quite problematic at all, for the fictional date of the Laws seems to be some time in the (though early?) first half of the fourth century BCE.

Title: Why the view of the Intellect in De Anima I.4 Isn't Aristotle's Own
Name: Caleb Cohoe

The status of nous in Aristotle’s De Anima (DA) has been controversial from antiquity onwards. Is it simply a power of the human soul, albeit one that may be able to function without the body (I will call this the Human Intellect view)? Is it a unitary extra-bodily intelligence, human in species, which individual human beings temporarily participate in (I will call this the Platonist Intellect view)? Is it the first unmoved mover of Metaphysics Λ (I will call this the Divine Intellect view)? While discussion usually focuses on DA III 5, several recent commentators, including Myles Burnyeat and Lloyd Gerson, have pointed to a passage from I 4 as evidence against the Human Intellect view. In their view, Aristotle claims there that the intellect is a sort of substance, separate from the human being, and is incorruptible in a way that the human being and ordinary human activities are not. Such a reading would provide support for the Divine Intellect and Platonist Intellect interpretations and count against the Human Intellect view on which nous is a power of the individual human soul.

By closely examining this passage and its context I will show that we can interpret this passage much more satisfactorily if we read it not as expressing Aristotle’s own views, but as dialectically examining a reputable position (ἔνδοξον) about the intellect which seems to show that it can be subject to change. Aristotle presents the view, examines it and shows its relevant implications for the question of whether the soul is subject to change, and then, in the final sentence of the passage, reserves for himself the right to give a different account of the intellect. My dialectical interpretation best resolves the interpretative difficulties of this passage and explains its place in the context of the chapter. On this reading, the passage does not support the Platonist or Divine Intellect view over the Human Intellect one.

Title: Pleasure and Motivation in the Eudemian Ethics
Name: Giulia Bonasio

The nature of pleasure and its role in the good life are much debated topics among Aristotelian scholars. Scholars agree that perceiving something as pleasant often entails believing that it is good. They stress that this process may lead one to consider something as good when it is not and they tend to emphasize the illusory and deceptive nature of pleasure. Jessica Moss argues that pleasure is the apparent good. She defines appearance of goodness as “a motivating representation through phantasia, which derives from previous perception of its object as pleasant, and forms in turn the basis for thoughts about goodness”. Moss argues that all motivations involve an appearance of the object desired as good. In the view she proposes, the pleasant is the object of desire qua apparent good and phantasia is the faculty that detects it, while the good is the only conceptualized object of desire. Moss' argument starts from a passage in the EE and then focuses on the NE.
In this paper, I engage with Moss' view and I propose a different interpretation of pleasure. I will show that Aristotle, at least in the EE, offers an account of motivation in which the good, the beautiful, and the pleasant all play a role in motivating the subject to act. In my argument, I focus on the nature and role of pleasure in the Eudemian Ethics and I claim that the passage in the EE, which is Moss' starting point, has a different upshot, if read within the context of the EE. As I will argue, while there are bad and deceptive pleasures, there are also pleasures that are not misleading and illusory. In my view, pleasure can appear good to the subject in two senses: the appearance can be misleading and the pleasure can ultimately result in not being good at all, or pleasure can appear good and be indeed good for the subject. But these are not the only ways in which the subject perceives pleasure; pleasure can be perceived qua pleasure and it can be desired in this guise. As I will show, pleasure co-motivates the subject to pursue virtue: virtue becomes second nature for the excellent person and it is perceived as pleasant. Thus, I end up disagreeing with Moss on three counts: first, her position is not compelling as far as interpretive matters go (the EE passage cannot justify the reading of the NE that she puts forward); second, her position ends up seeing pleasure in far too negative a light, at least with reference to the EE, and arguably also to the NE; third, on my account of pleasure, as Aristotle conceives of it in the EE, pleasure is a value property in its own right, namely, while Moss thinks that pleasure is a kind of surface property of the good, I am proposing that the pleasant and the good are two kinds of properties.

In this paper I start by presenting Moss' view (section 1); I then argue that the account of pleasure that Aristotle gives in EE VI (=NE VII) if read in the context of the EE, connects pleasure to virtue and to happiness, and thus gives a positive role to pleasure in motivation (section 2). Finally, I present my argument in favor of pleasure as contributing to the good life by co-motivating the subject to pursue virtue and my reasons for disagreeing with Moss' view (section 3).

NINTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS
Session 62: Insult, Satire, and Invective
Title: Did Palladas Produce an Iambic Collection for Constantine?
Name: Kevin W. Wilkinson

This paper will explore the possibility that the *Greek Anthology* preserves the remnants of a collection of poems in iambic trimeter for Constantine I by the fourth-century Greek epigrammatist Palladas of Alexandria. Most attested poets from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine Age had some degree of contact with an imperial court. The same appears to be true of Palladas, although this has been obscured by the longstanding misapprehension of his dates. Recent work, in part based on new papyrological evidence, has located his poetry in the early decades of the fourth century, rather than some 60-100 years later as previously thought (esp. Wilkinson 2009, 2012, 2015b). When read against this historical backdrop, several of his epigrams clearly reflect, without obvious irony or cynicism, the political and religious propaganda of Constantine (Augustus of the eastern provinces from 324-337). This is surprising for a poet whose signature was biting satire of public figures. However, it is noteworthy that the circumspect poems with Constantinian echoes were composed in iambic trimeter (both rare for the genre and also the metre of straightforward communication) rather than Palladas’ usual elegiacs (some of which contain a more characteristic, if also muted, bitterness in connection with political and social conditions under Constantine). The *Anthology* preserves a total of 20 iambic poems that are ascribed to Palladas, with considerable overlap in theme and vocabulary among them. In fact, at least 15 of them can be plausibly connected with Constantine’s court, where Palladas seems to have presented a legal appeal (first broached in Wilkinson 2015a). These include some that have already been analyzed individually for their Constantinian elements (e.g., Wilkinson 2009: 43-48, 53; 2010:181-189; 2015a; Barnes 2011: 127- 129; Woods 2015). This paper will touch briefly on these important poems before considering some others that have not yet been analyzed in connection with Constantine’s court (including AG 10.94 on God’s tolerance of blasphèmia; AG 10.86, 10.95, and 11.291 on Palladas’ social function as a satirical poet; cf.
Hawkins: 181-185). Analysis of some literary features (like internal echoes and the existence of doublets) will demonstrate the coherence of this collection, even if its original extent and shape are now indeterminable. The precise circumstances that brought Palladas into contact with Constantine’s court are probably beyond recovery, but it appears to be quite likely that he offered an iambic collection to the emperor as an accompaniment to a legal appeal (perhaps on the charge of blasphémia). This is hardly a unique scenario. Indeed, at roughly the same time, Publilius Optatianus Porfyrius offered a gift of propagandistic Latin poems to Constantine as an accompaniment to his legal appeal for recall from exile (e.g., Barnes 1975; Wienand: 355-402). Like Optatianus, and like many other poets both earlier and later, Palladas was the literary client of an emperor.

Title: Cutting off Ennius’ nose: Lucan’s Subversion of Ennius’ Annales in Books 2 and 6 of the Pharsalia
Name: Timothy A. Joseph

Recent scholarship has demonstrated Virgil’s pervasive aemulatio in the Aeneid with Ennius’ Annales (see e.g. Casali 2007, Gildenhard 2007, Elliott 2013, and Goldschmidt 2013). But the reception of Ennius in Latin epic does not end with Virgil’s poem. This paper explores the imperial epic poet Lucan’s manner of polemical allusion to the father of Latin epic. Scholars have long noted the echoes of Ennius’ self-presentation at Annales 12-13 (Skutsch) in Lucan’s programmatic passage at 9.980-6 (see Zwierlein 1982 95-6 and Skutsch 1985 167-8). After addressing that key intertext, this paper argues for Lucan’s subversive aemulatio with Ennius in two earlier passages in the poem.

The first passage comes during the account of the Caesarian soldier Scaeva’s aristeia in Book 6. At 6.184-195 Lucan draws much of the language and imagery for Scaeva’s battlefield stand from Ennius’ account of the tribune Aelius’ heroics at the siege of Ambracia at Ann. 191-8 (Skutsch), a nexus noted by scholars (see Conte 1970; Goldschmidt 2013, 186-7) but not related to a broader poetic agenda. Here Lucan builds upon, stretches out, and redirects Ennian language to the point of graphic, self-immolating absurdity. And, whereas Aelius stands as an exemplum of virtus directed towards Rome’s defense, the civil warrior Scaeva is an embodiment of virtus aimed only at self-destruction (as Leigh 1997 158-190 and Sklenár 2003 45-58 have addressed). Lucan thus evokes the Annales only to contort Ennian imagery, and to highlight the degeneration from the Republican glories that Ennius celebrated down to the ruinous civil wars of his poem.

The second passage appears during an elder Roman’s remembrance of the civil wars waged under Marius and Sulla (2.68-232). At 2.183-4 this man recalls how a Sullan attacker of Marius Gratidianus “cut off the vent-holes of his hooked nose” (spiramina naris aduncae | amputat). As Day 2013 (79-82) has recently considered, the line echoes Ennius’ statement that Pluto “placed vent-holes of the Nar River [and of Hell’s nose] beside its sulfurous waves” (sulpureas posuit spiramina Narias ad undas, Ann. 222 Skutsch). The poet thus suggests that the holes near the river’s banks “were in fact the nostrils of Hell, thus giving an etymology of Nar” (Skutsch 1985, 399). By bringing to mind this memorable image of a passageway from the Underworld in Ennius’ poem, Lucan evokes the idea that the civil wars led to the movement of Hell onto Earth – a motif that is strong in later in this same passage (the rivers of blood and corpses at 2.209-220) and is then predominant at Erictho’s lair in Thessaly (6.434-830) and again on the plains of Pharsalia after the battle (7.764-776). That Ennius’ image of an Underworld portal has been transferred onto a human face accentuates this shift and the ghastly transformation of the earthly realm – and its humans – through the civil wars.

With the phrase spiramina naris aduncae | amputat, Lucan may also be making a metapoetic statement about his engagement with Ennius. The nose was frequently understood to represent the powers of discernment and sagacity (OLD s.v. naris 3), and derivatives of spiro could carry with them associations of inspiration (see e.g. OLD s.v. spiritus 5). In addition, the verb amputo is used of cutting short a speech
or work of writing (OLD 3c). This act of cutting off in Lucan’s poem stands in stark contrast to the act of placing or establishing (posuit) in Ennius’. This allusion, then, while evoking the vapors of Ennius’ Hell for thematic purposes, may bring with it a claim of violent poetic succession: the poet whose content and themes overturn those of Ennius is himself “cutting off the inspiration of the nose” of his predecessor – that is, cutting short and cutting down the venerable and wise father of Latin epic.

**Title: Cannibalizing Satire: Insult, Violence, and Genre in Juvenal’s Fifteenth Satire**

**Name: Edward Kelting**

Juvenal’s Fifteenth Satire and its indignant criticism of infighting Egyptians’ barbarous cannibalism has always proved a puzzle to scholars, beginning with Ribbeck’s outright rejection of Juvenal as the poem’s author. Satire 15 is a poem of winks and nods: Juvenal constantly shifts gears and all but begs the reader to dismiss his own veracity and moral sincerity. He moves quickly from a criticism of Egyptian animal worship filled with Ciceronian and Ovidian allusions (Courtney, Ehrhardt, Keane 2007), to a narration of an Egyptian battle and the cannibalism that ensued, to a lengthy aetiology on the formation of community and the glue that holds it together. Similarly, scholarship has shifted from assessing the sincerity (Tennant, Powell) or insincerity (McKim) of Juvenal’s disgust to thematic discussions of the unique and ultimately sincere contribution Satire 15 makes to Juvenal’s meditation on *ira* in Books 3-5 (Anderson 1982 and 1987, Keane 2015).

But when read metagenerically as a reflection on satire, this seemingly disjointed combination of cannibalism narrative and *civitas* aetiology in fact contributes to a coherent argument about the social function of satire. I argue that in Satire 15 Juvenal first associates satire with cannibalistic violence and then meditates on the efficacy of this satire and violence in defining one community through opposition with another. I take as my starting point the presence of etymological wordplay at the poem’s opening which connects satiety and over-fullness (*satur*) to the genre *satura*: “Who doesn’t know, Volusius of Bithynia, what sort of monsters mad Egypt worships? This part reveres the crocodile, that one fears the ibis, sated on snakes (*illa pavet saturam serpentibus ibin*)” (15.1-3).

The presence of “*saturam*” has been noted only in passing, either to advance an intertextual argument (Ehrhardt) or as a small part of a larger survey of food in Satire (Gowers). I instead focus on Satire 15 itself and argue for the intratextual value of this generic marker. This preposition of *saturam* calls the reader’s attention to the way in which intercommunal conflict between Egyptians, here represented totemically through the ibis and snake, establishes anger and satiric insult as the first two steps in an inevitable movement toward violence and, ultimately, cannibalism. In particular, Juvenal’s concluding barb that, to these two Egyptian communities, “anger and hunger are equal and alike (*pares sunt et similes ira atque fames*),” reiterates the poem’s coordination of satiric anger and cannibalistic hunger and makes clear that the poem’s interest in satire is triggered by, and not limited to, the initial etymological wordplay.

After establishing the felicity of a metageneric reading of the poem, I situate Satire 15 in the wider Juvenalian corpus and argue that Satire 15’s teleological movement from anger to insult to violence is articulated in the same language used in the early satires for satiric abuse. More specifically, key vocabulary like *tuba*, *ardeo*, *ira*, and *lacrima* link the barbaric association of hunger, satire, and violence in Satire 15 with the programmatic concatenation of anger, satire, and martial conflict in Satire 1. In this conception, this episode of an Egyptian fight which ends in cannibalism, and the subsequent commentary on *humanitas* and *civitas* it provokes, become a way for Juvenal to meditate on satiric abuse, the anger upon which it depends, and the violence to which it leads.

I conclude that, when coupled with the poem’s lengthy emphasis on the history of community- formation through totemic opposition (one community is ibis-worshipers, another snake-worshipers), an
assimilation of satire with violence reemphasizes rather than calls into question the societal value of satiric abuse. Satire, just like violence between communities, is as important in defining one’s own community as it is in ridiculing another’s. Satire 15 presents a distillation of satire, anger, and violence that superficially critiques them but simultaneously reinforces their absolute necessity for intracommunal empathy and fellow-feeling.

Title: Petty Theft in Plautus
Name: Hans Bork

The creative use of insults and abuse language is notable in many genres of Latin literature, but most Classical scholarship on insults tends not to account for the dynamism with which Latin abuse language is deployed. Philological treatments of insult-language are largely atomistic, and often characterize insults as static, readily-categorized lexical entities (e.g, Opelt 1965, Dickey 2002). However, modern rhetorical and linguistic work on abuse language recognizes that insults are shaped by the discourse-context in which they appear, and that no terms are "inherently" insulting (Culpeper 1996, Conley 2010). Certain terms, particularly obscenities or taboo words, may have a greater probability of being viewed as insulting, but even this kind of language can be used in a friendly or bantering way by speakers who enjoy an established "social intimacy." Conversely, apparently innocuous or friendly speech can be made insulting by context. (Cf. greeting someone with "Hey, dummy!", if said in a joking way and to a friend, vs. the apparent compliment "Oh, good job", if delivered in a sneering tone to a stranger.) As such, to decide the valence of an insult in a piece of Latin literature, we need to take account of social context, the cultural semantics of the term in question, and the utterance in which it is used.

This approach is particularly fruitful when applied to the works of Plautus, as insults and abusive wordplay are key features of Plautine style (Fraenkel 2007[1922], Miniconi 1958, Lilja 1965). The Plautine insult lexicon is extensive (numbering over 700 forms according to Lilja), and includes both marked terms such as verbero or mastigia, which are generally used only to slaves or low-prestige characters, as well as less obviously marked forms such as insanus and fur, which are used by and against characters of all statuses and type. A form like fur is particularly interesting given evidence for a pan-Italic anxiety about theft; cf. injunctions against theft in Etruscan (Ve 3.13), in Oscan (ST Lu 62), in S. Italian Greek (IG XIV.865), and in early Latin (CIL I2 4; see (Rix 1985)). In addition, archaic Roman law allowed for thieves caught in furto manifesto to be killed or detained (Frier (1989); XII Tab. Leg. VIII.12). Nevertheless, thieves and theft play a major role in Plautus' plays: there are over 40 instances of the word fur in Plautus alone, as well as nonce coinages such as trium litterarum homo (Aul. 325) and perfossor parietum (Ps. 979). Moreover, acts of theft drive a number of Plautus' comic plots (e.g., Amphitruo, Asinaria, etc.), and in several instances, thieves serve as the main characters of the plays in which they appear, and are of otherwise "high" social status (e.g., Aulularia, Menaechmi, etc.). At one point, Plautus even has a character accuse the audience of being "full of thieves" (Aul. 717).

It seems incredible that a term and concept this charged (cited in Dickey 2002 as a "strong insult") would be used so widely by Plautus if its insult-value did not change across uses. Plautus avoids obvious "strong language" as a matter of style (Adams 1982), and his lexical choices are carefully made. I propose that in composing his plays, Plautus in fact exploited for comic effect a core lexicon of divisive, loaded terms (e.g., fur), and that the social relationships governing how these terms were used in the plays were an important part of the comic theater experience. In use, a word like fur could be insulting, shocking, or bantering, depending on the social relationship of the characters who uses it, and this relationship would have been obvious, and obviously entertaining, to a contemporary audience. In addition, metatheatric cues would have served to establish a bond between comic actors and their audience (Moore 1998), and this bond would also have influenced how audience members interpreted the insults used on-stage (or even against they themselves, as in the Aulularia example).
Title: The market insult and the ideology of labor in Classical Athens
Name: Deborah Kamen

At least as of the mid-fourth century BCE, it was forbidden in Athens to insult citizens for selling things in the agora. Our source for this prohibition is Demosthenes’ *Against Euboulides* (345 BCE), in which the speaker Euxitheus appeals his deme’s decision to remove him from the citizen rolls. He says that his opponent, the current demarch, “denigrated (dieballen) us…contrary to the laws that order that anyone who reproaches (oneidizonta) any male or female citizen for work (ergasian) in the agora is liable to the penalties for ill-speaking (kakêgoria)” (Dem. 57.30). In this paper, I explore this peculiar restriction on free speech, what I call the “market insult.”

First, I investigate how the market insult compares to other prohibited language. Scholars generally think this law (or laws) was instituted in the middle of the fourth century (cf. Dem. 57.31), designed to supplement an earlier law against *aporrhêta* (forbidden words)—namely, calling someone a murderer, a father-beater, or a mother-beater, or alleging that he had thrown away his shield in battle (Lys. 10.6, 8, 9). I argue, however, that the market insult was different in many respects from these forbidden words (cf. MacDowell 1978: 128; Todd 2007: 634; Guieu-Coppolani 2014: 136-37). First of all, the market insult is described with the language of *diabolê* (denigration), *oneidos* (reproach) and *kakêgoria* (ill-speaking), but not as an *aporrhêton*. In addition, unlike *aporrhêta*, which apparently needed to be false in order to be prosecutable (and therefore constituted slander), the market insult was actionable regardless of whether it was true or false (Hillgruber 1988: 7n19; Wallace 1994: 116). Finally, it was very different in kind from *aporrhêta*, since laboring in the market was (of course) not a crime, let alone a crime on the level of murder, parent abuse, or desertion.

I next address the question of why a new law was passed forbidding the market insult, especially given that this kind of slight was relatively unproblematic in the fifth century (see, e.g., Aristophanes’ jokes about Euripides’ mother being a vegetable seller: *Ach. 478; Th. 387, 456; Ra. 840*). I contend that the law’s primary aim was to prevent citizens’ legal status from being challenged simply on the basis of their (low) social status. Such a measure became necessary in the mid-fourth century for a couple of interrelated reasons. For one, this was a time when prejudices against outsiders in Athens were particularly strong (Cooper 2003), and strict measures were being taken to disenfranchise possible usurpers to the citizenship (Dem. 57, Is. 12; Lape 2010: 186-239). Secondly, although many citizens had to work for a living, the ideology that labor and commerce were appropriate only for slaves and metics, not for citizens, was pervasive (e.g. Arist. *Pol. 1277b1-6*; Brock 1994; Kamen 2013). As a result, accusations of “working”—and, by association, servility or foreignness—came to be leveled as way of not only tarring citizens’ reputations (Ober 1989: 270-79; Kamen 2009), but even disenfranchising them. I conclude that banning the market insult served a different purpose than banning slanderous speech, in that it protected the citizen status specifically of the poorest Athenians. It was, moreover, a way to uphold the notion that all citizens were equal under the democracy—even if in practice they were not.

Session 63: Linguistic Strategies and the Hermeneutics of Reading

Title: The Human Author in Augustine’s Scriptural Hermeneutics
Name: Theodore Harwood

It is generally recognized by hermeneutists today that St. Augustine argues for a multiplicity of meanings in Scripture beyond what any of its human authors intended, and that he grounds these interpretations in the intention (*voluntas*) of the Holy Spirit, who also inspires such interpretations in readers. These ideas are particularly appealing to literary scholars who welcome the multivalence of texts. While some of these have acknowledged that Augustine ascribes multivalence only to Scripture or divine texts (Bochet 1997, Pelttari 2014), others have seen Augustine’s hermeneutics as a forerunner of modern reader-response theories more generally (Glidden 1997, Matthews 2008). Tarmo Toom (2013, 2014) is a strong but
nuanced advocate of the second view. Though he acknowledges the importance of the human author’s intention in Augustine’s thought, he nevertheless argues that the intention of the Holy Spirit plays a larger role, especially because it includes prophetic and Christological meanings which the human authors of the Old Testament could not have known. In Toom’s view, the human authors of the Old Testament spoke to their contemporary audience, while the Holy Spirit conveys different meanings through the same words to people in succeeding eras, including our own.

I argue that this explanation wrongly suggests an opposition between the intentions of the human author and the Holy Spirit and contradicts Augustine’s own statement (De Doctrina Christiana III.9.13) that the writers of the Old Testament were “spiritual people” who “understood the meaning and significance” of the signs given in the texts they composed. This misunderstanding is harmful because it prevents one from seeing the peculiar but determinative role that the human author’s intention plays in Augustine’s interpretive system. In order to appreciate this aspect of Augustine’s thought, one must recognize several facts that are commonly overlooked. First, Augustine strongly distinguishes Scripture from secular texts and utterances. Both can prompt an interpretation that may be inspired by the Holy Spirit, but only in the case of Scripture is the human author’s intention also inspired by and aligned with the Spirit’s. Building on this, Augustine clearly says that finding the human author’s intended meaning is the proper goal of reading Scripture, and that anyone who misunderstands a passage in which the author’s meaning is clear should be corrected (De Doctrina Christiana I.26-27.41). As he repeatedly remarks in Confessions XII and the De Doctrina Christiana, a Scripture-reader’s proper goal is to find voluntatem tuam [Dei] per voluntatem famuli tui: “your [God’s] intention through the intention of your servant” (Confessions XII.23.32). Only in cases where the author’s intention is unclear can a reader legitimately admit a meaning which may not have been the author’s.

Finally, though Augustine does acknowledge the impossibility of the knowing the human author’s intention, since the reader cannot see into the author’s mind, he still believes that one can approximate it by observing certain external constraints. Nearly all scholars note his requirement that any interpretation of Scripture accord with the Faith, the Truth more generally, and the building up of charity (De Doctrina Christiana II.9.14, III.2.2; Confessions XII.23.32; XII.25.35), but many ignore that fact that he also says that one should believe that the human author (in Confessions loc. cit., Moses) intended that meaning which maxime et luce veritatis et fruge utilitatis excellit (“excels most both in the light of truth and the fruit of utility,” Confessions XII.30.41).

Confessions XII is, in fact, a refutation of those who would limit the intention of Moses to that which his contemporaries could understand. Thus the human author’s intention is not so much an object of careful philological or historical study as it is an ideal meaning which the reader draws nearer to through increasing theological and philosophical knowledge.

**Title: The Present and Aorist Imperative in (Inter)action: Commands and Politeness in Menander**

**Name: Peter Barrios-Lech**

A more refined understanding of Greek word order, address terms, and directives: these are some fruits of recent work belonging to a “21st Century Philology” (Dik 1995, 1996; Dickey 1996, Denizot 2011; Goldstein 2015: 695 for the term). Such scholarship makes use of inferential statistics and insights from relatively new fields in linguistics to analyze extensive and carefully gathered data. Inspired by this scholarly method, the present paper focuses on the Greek aorist and present imperative. Thus, basing itself on a corpus of all directives (commands and requests) in Menander (851 forms total), and making use of inferential statistics, the paper presents two results. First, the aorist imperative was more peremptory than the present imperative. That is, on the whole, ποιήσαι (“do!”) had a more commanding tone than ποίει (“do!”) in the Greek of Menander’s time. This had already been suggested by Sicking (1991b: 166) for Classical Greek, but this paper offers statistical confirmation based on an extensive
Second, taking again a quantitative approach, the paper shows that women, relatively powerless compared to men in New Comedy, do not avoid the aorist imperative, which we might have expected, given the commanding tone of ποιῆσαι. Rather, what we do see is that women, and socially subordinate characters generally, soften their imperatives with mitigators like εἰ σοὶ δοκεῖ (“if it’s alright with you”) and ἱκετεύω σε (“please”) more often than do the authoritative characters, the free men (young and old men).

One main argument, together with an ancillary consideration, shows that the aorist imperative has the more commanding tone. First, present imperatives (299 total in Menander) are softened 3.4% of the time, while aorist imperatives (225 total) are softened 14.4% of the time. The z-test shows that the difference is significant: speakers were probably more likely to soften an aorist rather than a present imperative (Butler 1985: 92-95 has a description of the z-test). The reason that aorist imperatives were mitigated more often was because they had the more commanding tone; that is, they were felt to require such softening.

Ancillary confirmation results from analysis of the prohibitions with the present (μὴ φέρει) and the aorist stems (μὴ ἐνέγκης). Of the thirty-eight total instances of μὴ φέρει in Menander, five are softened, representing a proportion of 13.2%. Of the thirteen total instances of μὴ ἐνέγκης, five also are softened (38.5%). The z-test indicates a tendency for μὴ ἐνέγκης to select softeners in preference to μὴ φέρει. Thus, as with the aorist imperative, so, too, the prohibition “μὴ ἐνέγκης,” presumably because more abrupt, receives softeners more often than “μὴ φέρει.”

As mentioned above, one might have assumed that women in Menander, being on the whole less dominant figures, avoid the aorist imperative. While that is not the case, two findings will show that less dominant characters do soften imperatives – whether aorist or present – more often than authoritative ones.

First, women soften present imperatives nearly four times as often as do men (Bain’s [1984: 32-42], an earlier study, had focused not on imperatives or their modifiers in female speech but on vocatives and exclamations).

Second, the courtesan, the soldier (often a foreign mercenary) and the concealed courtesan are most polite in the world of Menander’s comedy. That is, they soften imperatives – whether present or aorist – most often. Thus, the courtesan employs, on average, 44 softeners per 100 imperatives, followed by the soldier, who mitigates commands at a rate of 25.8 softeners per 100 imperatives, then the concealed courtesan (25 softeners per 100 imperatives). Young men (13 softeners per 100 imperatives) and old men (9.2/100) are least polite. From these data, we conclude that Menander’s soldier presents a “deliberate inversion of the type” (Barsby 1999: 157), for in his more polite speech he resembles female characters. With these findings, the paper hopes to contribute to recent work addressing the “sociolinguistic” dimension of Classical Greek.

**Title:** The Voice and Mind of the Stone: Social Presence Theory, Artificial Intelligence, and Inscribed Epigram  
**Name:** Michael A Tueller

Archaic inscribed epigram often allows an object to speak in a bold first person. Noting this, Jesper Svenbro observes that the ancient reader must have had no countervailing “conviction that the first person necessarily implies an inner life and voice” (1993: 42). I have often found it necessary to repeat this observation to my students, as they immediately assume that even such simple statements as “Iphidice dedicated me to Athena” (CEG 198) imply an assumed mind behind the voice. In my twenty-minute paper, however, I pose the question: what if my students are right? My paper breaks down this question into two parts. First, to what extent did the ancient reader grant personhood to an inscribed “speaking
object,” treating it more or less as one would any other interlocutor? And second, how closely should we connect this grant of personhood to a mind—to an artificial intelligence?

In addressing the first question, I apply the findings of social presence theory. This theory was pioneered in the 1970s to quantify the attenuated presence of people encountered through telecommunication (Short, Williams, and Christie 1976). To what degree, the theory asked, did a person seeing (for example) a newscaster on television, consider that person to be present to him or her? And what factors affected that impression of presence? Today this theory is applied to situations where no real person may be involved, such as multiplayer computer gaming, which incorporates both digitally mediated representations of networked players (or “avatars”) and computer-simulated characters with no human operator (or “bots”). Psychological researchers attempt to determine the extent to which players feel that they are “with another person” in the game (e.g. Biocca, Harms, and Burgoon 2003, Hudson and Cairns 2014). By applying their conclusions to the ancient evidence, my paper finds that, while the ancients would not have answered “yes” to the direct question “is this object a person?” their behavior when confronted with such objects likely indicated a tacit assent.

Finding an explicit mind behind a grant of personhood is more difficult: all but the most rigorous thinkers simply assume that the two inevitably go together, and even some who probe the issue directly tend to fall back on “rules of thumb.” In fact, both Plato (Phaedrus 275d4–e5) and Alan Turing (1950: 433–434) appear to use the same standard to diagnose the presence of intelligence: does the thing in question apparently respond interactively to questioning by an ordinary interlocutor? Given this agreement, we have reason to believe that the results of modern AI experiments may have trans-historical implications. By examining a few “near-misses” of Turing’s standards, my paper will demonstrate that, even in the past fifty years, the popular understanding of intelligence has evolved substantially, as people tend to attribute intelligence to any device that exceeds their prior experience with non-human devices. In short, people do not know what intelligence is, but only what it isn’t: it isn’t the things they’ve seen before. This finding allows us to understand why Plato’s “near-miss”—a painting or a written text—is beneath consideration today: we know devices that can do better. But the ancients, who started from a lower bar, probably would have conceded intelligence to works of art, or to texts, if those things represented a substantial departure from past works.

My paper then makes a brief attempt to apply these findings, by generating a rough rubric from the results of modern research, and using it to evaluate a few inscribed epigrams. We will see that their use of the first person is not simply conventional, but part of a strategy to create an impression of personhood, and perhaps even of mind. Both we and the ancients, then, had a desire to connect to a “thinking machine” (Turing 1950: 434)—and both of us have thought that we were on the cusp of inventing one.

Title: The Genesis of Two Examples in Stoic Grammatical Theory: σκινδαψός and βλίτυρι
Name: Tyler Mayo

Diogenes Laertius (7.56-7) preserves for us the linguistic theory of the Stoic philosopher Diogenes of Babylon. Part of this theory included a distinction between voice (φωνή), which is both articulate and inarticulate, and utterance (λέξις), which is only articulate. There is also a further distinction between utterance, which contains both significant and non-significant utterances, and language (λόγος), which is a significant utterance. This classificatory scheme was adopted by grammarians and later philosophers working within the Platonist-Aristotelian tradition (i.e., the commentators). Each part of the classification was connected to set examples across all post-Stoic authors. The examples of non-significant utterance (i.e. λέξις which is not also λόγος) are two supposedly nonsensical words: σκινδαψός and βλίτυρι. Yet, there is reason to believe that the examples date back to the Stoics as well. Diogenes Laertius himself gives the example of βλίτυρι in his précis of Diogenes of Babylon’s classification, where we would expect extraneous material not to be added, but removed. Furthermore, a fragment from the satirical
poet Timon connects Zeno, the founder of the Stoa, with the word κινδαψός (with the initial sigma removed metri gratia).

But the word σκινδαψός was also of interest to ancient lexicographers, precisely because it did signify something. Various authorities gives its definition as a musical instrument, a tribe in India, a plant, and the name of a slave. βλίτυρι, too, had another meaning: that of the sound made by a string. These meanings are attested in sources either contemporaneous with or earlier than the Stoics. This, of course, creates a discrepancy, as noticed by Galen (De Diff. Puls. 8.662). If the words had meanings, why would the Stoics use them as examples of words without them? The answer, I will argue, is that the Stoics originally used them as examples of certain types of λέξις, which had meanings, but for certain reasons failed to signify them properly. As suggested by Ax 1986, βλίτυρι is an onomatopoeia of the sound of a musical instrument (very possibly that of the σκινδαψός itself), and so, on the Stoic view, signifies nothing but itself, a particular sound. A further look at the lexicographical evidence confirms Ax’s view. The path of σκινδαψός is harder to trace, but a careful look at the evidence shows that above all what ties the meanings together is the idea that the word was thought of as foreign (which is, of course, a matter separate from its actual origins). And, as it happens, Diogenes of Babylon also classified foreign language as λέξις, not true λόγος. These words were technically examples of certain types of λέξις, but were misunderstood by later authors and explained as words that referred to nothing at all. Thus, we may surmise that the grammatical theory of the Stoics originally had more to say on the classification of language and language-like sound than the doxography communicates.

Title: Starting from the Top: Gellius, Antonine Reading Practice, and the Table of Contents
Name: Scott J. DiGiulio

For modern readers, the table of contents is an essential element of a scholarly work, offering a synoptic view of the text. In contrast, only four such indices survive in Latin literature that were definitively composed by the authors of the original works: Scribonius Largus’ Compositiones, Columella’s Res Rustica, Pliny the Elder’s Historia Naturalis, and Aulus Gellius’ Noctes Atticae (hereafter NA). These indices were such a comparative rarity that there is no single term for “table of contents” in Latin, and the authors that included them felt obligated to describe their function to their audiences. As such, the ancient table of contents has recently become a subject of interest for its own sake (Schröder, Riggsby), in addition to how these devices were integrated into the broader programs of authors like Pliny the Elder (Doody). Similarly, the index to Pliny the Younger’s Letters has received attention for its central role in mediating the reader’s experience of the collection (Bodel, Gibson).

Despite this interest, the latest of the extant tables of contents, that of Gellius’ NA, has received comparatively little attention beyond its formal characteristics (Maselli). This oversight can be attributed to its format, which presents challenges to the reader both in its miscellaneity as well as the complex syntax of its lemmata, in contrast to earlier, more utilitarian tables. However, in this paper I argue that Gellius integrated his table of contents into the literary program of the NA despite these apparent difficulties for the reader, employing it as more than a reference tool. Instead, reading the entries of the table of contents alongside the body text of the NA reveals dissonances of the sort that emerge between the different chapters themselves at times. Negotiating between these tensions becomes part of Gellius’ project of cultivating critical, engaged readers.

In describing his table of contents, Gellius remarks that he included the capita rerum (NA pr.25), emphasizing their status as abridgements of the chapters that they represent (Gunderson). This oversight can be attributed to its format, which presents challenges to the reader both in its miscellaneity as well as the complex syntax of its lemmata, in contrast to earlier, more utilitarian tables. However, in this paper I argue that Gellius integrated his table of contents into the literary program of the NA despite these apparent difficulties for the reader, employing it as more than a reference tool. Instead, reading the entries of the table of contents alongside the body text of the NA reveals dissonances of the sort that emerge between the different chapters themselves at times. Negotiating between these tensions becomes part of Gellius’ project of cultivating critical, engaged readers.

In describing his table of contents, Gellius remarks that he included the capita rerum (NA pr.25), emphasizing their status as abridgements of the chapters that they represent (Gunderson). In so doing, Gellius suggests that these entries only begin to scratch the surface of each of the articles—the entries in the table of contents are beginnings rather summaries—and thus extend an invitation to read further. Indeed, these lemmata defy many of our expectations as a reference tool, and reading the table of contents alongside the chapters reveals a complex interplay between the two that induces the reader to reconsider...
the utility of the one for understanding the other. For instance, *NA* 13.25, on pleonasm, prompts readers to reflect on the use of *quaesitum tractatumque* in the lemma, as well as the nature of the lemmata themselves. Gellius’ treatments can also subvert the reader’s expectations, as in the case of 17.19, in which the lemma offers Epictetus as the subject, but the bulk of the chapter filters his words through Favorinus, a known rival and philosophical opponent (*Favorinum ego audivi dicere Epictetum philosophum dixisse...,* 17.19.1); in so doing, Gellius manages to problematize Epictetus and his authority for his reader.

The table of contents in Gellius then is a different kind of tool than the earlier tables of contents, thoroughly integrated into Gellius’ literary and intellectual project as a part of the text that needs to be read instead of merely consulted. While the inclusion of tables of contents in his earlier precedents were concerned with ensuring that readers understood how to use the device to navigate the work, in Gellius the table of contents becomes another text for his audience to read, meditate upon, and situate within its broader literary context. Gellius’ *capita rerum* diverge from the conventions of the majority of previous examples and instead are integrated into his miscellaneous project. With his table of contents, Gellius offers a snapshot of his essential points, but he also guides the reader to important questions arising from his treatment.

**Session 64: Translating Greek Tragedy: Some Practical Suggestions (Workshop)**

**Title:** Translating Exclamations in Aeschylus

**Name:** Sarah Ruden

Classical Greek exclamations, as words with a very wide range of possibilities for representation in modern English, provide an interesting basis for a discussion of translation tastes and principles; particularly as related to the perennial question of how loosely a translator should render the original language in an effort to achieve roughly analogous literary effects.

Unlike the particles (another element commonly called “untranslatable”), the exclamations are discrete and important verbal acts, often helping set scenes, marking turning points, and supplementing if not comprising stage directions imbedded in the text. But the words have nothing like equivalents anywhere in modern North American or British culture. Our emotive, spontaneous utterances are typically swearwords, which have clear but metaphorical meanings alien to tragic topics, and unsuited to the tragic register. Substitutes within the bounds of propriety (“Alas!” “Golly!”) are so outdated and stilted that they are even more awkward. Nor is the comic-book super-villain’s “EEEEEEE!!!” spread across a page suitable for the panicked lyric self-lament of Cassandra (*Agamemnon*) or the raging *parados* of the Furies (*Eumenides*). Exclamations consisting of repeated vowel sounds (joined double epsilon, separate double alpha, joined iota omega) would suggest inarticulate cries – if not for their ritualistic and metrical contexts. And what can be done with a word like *popax* in *Eum.* 143, a *hapax*? In Aristophanes, the –*ax* ending (including in exclamations) is characteristically comic. But in the *Eumenides* it is best described as an intensified version of *popoi*, a lofty, literary expression of shock and distress. Lattimore did not translate it. I thought something strongly adversative was needed and settled for “No! No!”

In my own and other translations, three solutions to the problem of exclamations predominate:

1) To suppress the exclamation but incorporate its force into a sentence somehow, adding, for instance, an exclamation point at the end, or heightening another word or words. In *Agamemnon* 1107, the exclamation *iō* combines with *talaina*, which usually means “wretched,” sometimes “abandoned” in the moral sense, so that together the two might fruitfully yield the word “monster.”

2) To spell out the state of mind or situation as an exclamation (“Agony!” “No!” “My grief!”). “Horrible! What is she plotting?” is a possible version of *iō popoi, ti pote mēdetai*; (*Agamemnon* 1100).
(3) To use a reasonably decorous-sounding inarticulate cry (“Aaah!” “[A shriek]”). At the very beginning of Cassandra’s threnody, in Agamemnon 1072, the translation might read: “Cassandra: (wails in grief and horror): Apollo! Apollo!” The English in parentheses represents the elaborate exclamation *ototototoi popoi da* in Greek.

Particularly intriguing as comparanda are exclamations in the translations of Bryan Doerries. This translator has actually tested his versions of tragedy prepublication through live productions for audiences of US military veterans. Emotional authenticity has been for him the main goal in work that follows Jonathan Shay’s *Achilles in Vietnam*, which posits an original therapeutic function of Greek tragedy. In *Philoctetes*, for example, the repeated exclamation (from the protagonist as he suffers despair and physical agony) “Ahhhhhhhhhhhh!” is used for Greek expressions as different as *a-a* and *pappapappapai*. But should the words instead be differentiated through English translation? Ideally, yes, when a translator integrates scholarly data with the literary impulses of rendering texts for the stage. This data allows for more-precise tracing of verbal rhythms and dramatic moods. As always, not everything can be shown in the target language, but the choices should be as extensively informed as possible.

**Title: Representing Greek Meter**  
**Name: James Romm**

This paper investigates changes in the metrical choices made by translators when dealing with the iambic trimeter of tragic speeches and dialogue.

The evolution of Greek tragedy in translation has followed a clear trend in the past fifty years: Lines of dialogue have become shorter and less metrically uniform, as the goal of producing a “dramatic poem” (the phrase comes from the foreword to Oxford’s “Greek Tragedy in New Translations” series) has predominated over that of drama *per se*. The increasing ratio of white space to print, seen in the works of poet-translators like Anne Carson, Ted Hughes and Seamus Heaney, has reached a new extreme with Bryan Doerries’ 2015 *All That You’ve Seen Here is God*, where most lines of Sophocles and Aeschylus are shortened to three or four syllables. This trend has gone largely undiscussed despite the enormous change taking place in a modern reader’s experience of Greek tragedy. As lines have shortened and lost uniformity, looking more like choral odes than dialogue, the lyric and emotional quality of the plays has crowded out the more discursive side that is best expressed in the iambic trimeter lines of the original.

Aristotle famously remarked in the *Poetics* that iambic trimester was closest of any meter to normal spoken rhythm, and that ‘prose’ conversations sometimes accidentally slipped into it. The conversational cadence of iambic trimester lines was strongly set apart, in performance, from *recitative* passages and *kommoi*, both of which used music, and choral odes which also employed dance, to heighten emotion and quicken pace. These distinctions are badly blurred in many modern translations, some of which actually render choral odes in a longer, more uniform line than dialogue – reversing the original relationship of these two elements with regard to formal restraints. Various motives explain this shift, as expressed by the translators themselves: A desire for ‘speakability’ or ‘performability;’ a striving for ‘modern’ effect; an emphasis on poetry over dramaturgy (as expressed in Oxford’s “dramatic poem”). Looming over their creative process, though unacknowledged, is the ghost of Shakespeare, a historical phantom inevitably summoned if they choose to put dramatic dialogue into iambic pentameter – as ever fewer choose to do.

In my own translations I have chosen to use strongly metrical blank verse in our own translated plays and insisting on the same in those we commissioned. This verse form, it seems to me, is easily recognizable to readers and therefore any departure from it, in *kommoi* and odes, is instantly felt – an essential point, I believe, if the boundary lines between sung and spoken Greek are to be made meaningful to non-Classicsists. Uniformity of line length also seemed to us an important goal, just as it would be in a translation of a Homeric epic. Indeed, the iambic line (unlike the dactylic) does not permit resolution and
is always twelve syllables long; this formal restriction, again contrasting markedly with the fluid, ever-changing meters of sung passages, gives tragic dialogue its characteristic stateliness and elevation, qualities that are inevitably diminished when line length is allowed to vary widely within a single speech or stretch of stichomythia.

As to the ghost of Shakespeare, we chose to welcome this phantom rather than banish it, mindful of the historical circumstance that the Elizabethan dramatists first chose iambic pentameter for their own plays in imitation of the Greek and Roman tragedians.

Title: Out of Joint: Anachronism and Timelessness in the Translation of Greek Tragedy
Name: Emily Wilson

This paper aims to examine the ways that anachronism is currently feared, used, avoided and understood in Anglophone translations of Greek tragedy, and to interrogate current assumptions about anachronism.

English translations of ancient Greek tragedies are inevitably anachronistic, in that they move these plays into an entirely non-ancient time. Words and phrases that are felt as anachronisms are those that are more strikingly modern than the other (also modern) language around them. Disruption is uncomfortable, and may interrupt an immersive reading experience. But discomfort can be a good thing. Lawrence Venuti (Venuti 1995) has famously inveighed against the Anglo-American assumption that translations should be smoothly "domesticizing" as opposed to "foreignizing". Anachronism might seem like a domesticizing move, but it can also work to shake the reader out of complacency, and in this sense it can "foreignize" (Venuti 1998).

Venuti's theoretical work is well-known, but it is not clear how much effect it has had on translation practices; the trend in classics has largely been towards more colloquial versions, which some have seen as vulgarizing (cf. Mendelsohn 1998). I argue for a clear distinction between vulgarity and anachronism; the former is out of place, but the latter can be useful. There is a dangerous current expectation that tragedy must be timeless (cf. discussion of Auletta 1994 in Rourke 1995). I argue that it is a good thing to shake readers out of this prejudice, and occasional anachronism can serve the useful purpose of making readers aware of time. Deborah Roberts has rightly noted that anachronisms and archaisms come in several different types, which may be both anachronistic and archaic, but may also create richer meaning (Roberts 2007). In this paper I further explore the ways that anachronism can make visible or invisible our temporal distance from Greek tragedy.

Versions of Greek tragedy which make extensive use of anachronism (e.g. Harrison 1991; Heaney 1991; Carson 2015) tend to be understood as "imitations" not "translations". Certain kinds of anachronism seem to have become less acceptable: Gilbert Murray's Euripides makes extensive use of capital-G "God", as well as medievalizing language ("coif", "raiment": Murray 1943). The later Bacchae of Paul Roche is anachronistic in its translation of the language of divinely-induced madness into the terms of then-contemporary psychoanalysis: we are told that Pentheus has been "brainwashed" and the bacchants are suffering from "hysteria" (Roche 1998). More recent text-book translations tend to make less prominent use of anachronism, But is it just a colloquialism, or also an anachronism, for Euripides' Jason to say that women are happy "if everything goes well between the sheets" (Svarlien 2008)? Did the Greeks have "sheets", and if not, how exactly does this kind of anachronism differ from the "hysteria" or "God" types?

I will set this background against my own choices, focusing on cases where I was tempted to use anachronism, and discuss why I sometimes revised the passage to make the translation seem less anachronistic, and sometimes not. I argue that the reminder of a modern parallel through anachronism can sometimes be effectively jarring (as in calling Helen "Miss Sparta" (for Tro. 870, τὴν τὰλαιναν), inviting comparison with modern beauty pageants and also evoking their negative connotations). I will include
detailed discussion of religious language, considering what might be lost and what can be gained, by using terms that may seem anachronistically reminiscent of Christian or Judaic-Christian terminology in the translation of Greek tragedy. My (occasional) use of religious anachronism may seem similar to Gilbert Murray's (much more extensive) uses of Christianized language, but my purposes are different from his. If Athena is "the Virgin" (Trojan Women 561), or Dionysus declares "I am GOD" (at Bacchae 22), the momentary evocation of Christian terminology -- like other occasional anachronisms -- may create a disturbing awareness at the combined closeness and distance of the world of Greek tragedy from our own times.

Title: Oedipus the Tyrant and Oedipus the King: A Problem in Translation
Name: Frank Nisetich

The play that has come down to us in the manuscript tradition as Oidipous tyrannos is best known in English as Oedipus the King, a translation of the Latin Oedipus Rex. In one respect, Rex is a reasonable translation: the idea of “king” was anathema for centuries in the Roman Republic, but tyrannos has resonances in Greek that rex in Latin and “tyrant” in English lack. Rendering it as “king” instead of “tyrant” obscures a crucial dramatic development which is clear in Greek but not translatable into English without the help of notes.

Oedipus is called or referred to as a “tyrant” four times in the play, first by Tiresias (408), again by Creon (514), and twice by the Messenger from Corinth (925, 939). The five translators cited in my bibliography agree in rendering the four occurrences of tyrannos as if it were basileus. The reason for this is the pejorative connotation that “tyrant” always has in English. It is different in Greek: the messenger wouldn’t ask after “Oedipus the tyrant” (925) and Oedipus himself wouldn’t apply the same word to his predecessor (799, 1043; cf. 128) if it were exclusively pejorative.

Rendering tyrannos as “king” diminishes the impact of lines 1202/03, the one place in the play where Oedipus is called basileus. The bestowal of the title by the Chorus here occurs immediately after he has discovered who he is—no longer the tyrannos who arrived in Thebes and gained the throne, but the son of the dead king, his rightful heir. So Theseus is basileus of Athens as son of Aegeus, who reigned before him (OC 67-69). The movement from one to the other is lost on readers of the play in English if they have experienced Oedipus as a king all along.

There is only one other occurrence of basileus in the play, at line 257, where Oedipus himself applies it to his predecessor, Laius. Everywhere else in the play, Laius receives other appellations. Creon calls him “a leader” (hegemon, 103). Oedipus describes his reign as a tyrannis (128) and calls him a tyrannos at lines 799 and 1043. When questioning Jocasta about his appearance, he asks her whether he travelled alone or with an escort—not “like a king” but “like one in authority” (archegetes, 751). The avoidance of basileus is, again, deliberate. Sophocles has only Oedipus call Laius a king, and only once, just as he has Oedipus himself addressed as a king only once.

Both uses of basileus occur in the context of Oedipus’ recognition: the second (1202/03) immediately after it; the first (255-68) in the lines where Oedipus anticipates it, imagining himself as having children by the woman his predecessor would have had them by, had he not been killed first. Knox, who noticed the psychological implications here (1979 [1954], 89), did not stress that this is the only other time the word appears in the play. In other words, he missed the dramatic implications.

Once Oedipus has become the basileus he is by birth, he is not called tyrannos again. Nor is he called basileus again, because (as Tiresias had predicted) the moment of his recognition is also the moment of his destruction (438). When the Chorus Leader, speaking to the ruined Oedipus, announces the return of
Creon, he avoids both terms: Creon is neither the king nor the tyrant but “the protector (phylax) of the country, as you once were” (1418).

Over sixty years ago, Knox showed that tyrannos and basileus cannot be considered interchangeable in this play (1979 [1954]: 87-95). 44 years later, Winnington-Ingram insisted that tyrannos “…never means anything more than king” (192, n. 42). The careful deployment of these terms by Sophocles verifies Knox’s distinction between them and shows that Vernant and Vidal-Naquet (487) were right to complain of the “deplorable habit of translating tyrannos as ‘king’.”

Title: Translating Divine Action in Greek Drama
Name: Mary Lefkowitz

In the first half of the twentieth century it was common practice to translate an unspecified theos as “God,” in an attempt to bring out a supposed commonality between Greek religious thought and the monotheism of their own times. But in the last half-century the significant advances in understanding polytheism have shown why creating such supposed commonality is at best misleading, if only because it might lead a reader to assume that Greek gods shared with the Judeo-Christian deity a commitment to further the general welfare of mankind. A rendering such as “the god” or even “Zeus,” serves to remind the reader that the poet and his audience did not have access to religious texts that assured them of divine providence or hope for the future. Prophecy, with all its obscurities and uncertainties was the only means of determining what might happen, but as the dramas clearly illustrate, it was only too easy for mortals to misinterpret such signs as the gods might choose to send. For that reason, in my translations I try to indicate, either by stage directions or with footnotes, that readers can understand the importance of omens and prophecies, and not try to imagine that they are mere superstitions.

Explaining the meaning and importance of ritual provides another major challenge for the translator. In translations without footnotes, such as the 1958 collection Greek Plays in Modern Translation (1958), the editor Dudley Fitts avoided coming to terms with the extended ritual summoning Agamemnon’s ghost in Aeschylus’ Choephoroe by replacing it with Sophocles’ Electra, which focuses on the emotions of its central character, and keeps the gods in the background. Fitts claimed that “thus the trilogy is, as narrative, preserved,” without observing that he was at the same time preventing his audience from understanding that the rituals enacted in the drama help both the audience and Orestes understand why it is necessary for him to kill Clytemnestra. Here footnotes and stage directions help to explain the significance of libations, grave offerings and other unfamiliar beliefs and practices.

I believe that translators need to pay special attention to the presence of the divine in human action, even though as modern readers we may instinctively prefer to treat references to the Greek gods as metaphorical. For example, when the chorus of Sophocles’ Electra sings of the Erinys “coming, with many feet, many hands, hidden in a cruel ambush… with feet of bronze” (399-401), I observe in a note that they are predicting how the gods will see that Agamemnon’s death is avenged, by using the many feet and hands of Orestes and Pylades, of whose presence the chorus and Electra are yet unaware, at the same time indicating that the gods will work (as they often will) through the agency of human beings.

I also seek to treat divine epiphanies with the respect that an ancient person might have given them, and not characterize them as purely mechanical, demeaning or even ironic. When gods appear at the ends of dramas, it is not merely to tie up loose ends, but to illustrate the power of the gods, however undeserving the human characters receiving their beneficence might seem to us to be. For example, Apollo’s intervention ex machina at the end of the Orestes, is not “illusory,” or the god “stupid,” as William Arrowsmith argued in the introduction to his translation in the Chicago Complete Greek Tragedies (1958). In practice, the god’s predictions about Orestes’ exoneration vary only in a few details from the prophecies given to Orestes in Aeschylus’ Eumenides, and the god’s sudden intervention brings order to
the chaos the human characters have created. After all, *Orestes* was Euripides’ most popular play in antiquity. We do not know why, but the god’s message, with “its final tonic chord of satiety and satisfaction” may have had something to do with it (West 1987, 28).

Session 65: Stasis and Reconciliation in Ancient Greece: New Approaches and Evidence

Title: What was Stasis? Ancient Usage and Modern Constructs

Name: Scott Arcenas

*Stasis* was an important category of analysis for the ancient Greeks (e.g. Gehrke, Loraux, Kalimtzis, Gray). Textual and epigraphic sources designate a relatively small number of conflicts as *staseis* explicitly (e.g. Alc. 130, Thuc. 3.82-85, Arist. Pol. 5.1302b25-33). They also document a larger number that may or may not qualify as *staseis*, depending on how broadly one interprets the term (e.g. Hdt. 9.5, Dem. 15.14-15, SEG 57.576). In this paper, I develop a criterial framework to determine which of these ambiguous cases do qualify. This is an important contribution to the literature, because the ambiguous cases substantially outnumber the unambiguous ones. Accordingly, the question of which to recognize as *staseis* has considerable implications for our understanding of the concept as a whole.

In the first section of the paper, I survey the ways in which existing scholarship handles ambiguous cases. Most historians choose which cases to in- or, conversely, exclude arbitrarily (e.g. Lintott, van Wees). Others conflate *stasis* with etic concepts, such as *internal war* (e.g. Gehrke) or *civil war* (e.g. Fisher), and recognize conflicts as *staseis* insofar as they conform to the criteria associated with these concepts. None address the question of what criteria the Greeks themselves used to distinguish *stasis* from other types of conflict, such as *prodosia* (i.e. the betrayal of a polis to invading forces; e.g. Thuc. 4.103-4) or apolitical feuding (e.g. Dem. 54).

In the second section, I assemble a corpus of ca. 200 archaic, classical, and early Hellenistic conflicts that one or more ancient sources explicitly describe as *staseis*. I then identify four criteria that distinguish these from other types of conflict: first, *stasis* occurs within a political community; second, members of the community dominate all parties to the conflict; third, one or more of these parties seeks to control the community politically; fourth, the conflict threatens to—but does not necessarily—erupt in violence.

In the third section, I apply these criteria to a selection of ambiguous cases. I then compare the results to a selection of conflicts that existing scholarship recognizes as *staseis*. The selections differ in three significant respects: i) whereas the literature tends to consider only *staseis* that occurred in poleis (e.g. Berger, Hansen and Nielsen; but see Gehrke), my criteria recognize *staseis* that occurred in political communities that range from poleis to the Persian Empire (e.g. Hdt. 7.2.1-2); ii) whereas the literature tends to consider only *staseis* that involved violence (e.g. Fisher, van Wees; but see Lintott), my criteria recognize *staseis* that remained non-violent (e.g. Thuc. 4.84.2); iii) whereas the literature considers foreign-initiated regime changes to be *staseis* (e.g. Gehrke, pp. 255-7, on the decarchies installed by Lysander), my criteria recognize only conflicts in which members of the relevant political community dominated all parties to the conflict.

All three differences have substantial implications. Consider the third, for example. Application of my criteria to the corpus of ca. 400 conflicts recognized as *staseis* by Gehrke, Berger, and/or Hansen and Nielsen would eliminate several dozen cases in which foreign allies played a leading role. In so doing, it would substantially undermine Gehrke’s influential thesis that foreign interventions were a fundamental element of *stasis* (Gehrke, esp. 268-308; cf. Hansen; but see Gray, esp. 197-204).

On the basis of the preceding discussion, I take *stasis* to be an exclusively endogenous breakdown in the harmonious equilibrium that maintains successful political communities. As such, it differs in several crucial respects from the etic concepts, such as internal war and revolution, with which it is regularly conflated. And this recognition presents scholars of intra-community violence in ancient Greece with a
dilemma. Insofar as we wish to consider the emic category of *stasis*, we need to shift our objects of analysis to match. Insofar as we want to retain our objects of analysis, we need to recognize that they are not *staseis* and, accordingly, employ appropriate etic categories.

**Title:** Recovering from Civil Strife in Classical Eretria: The Artemisia at Amarynthos  
**Name:** Julia Shear

In about 340 B.C., the people of Eretria decided to add competitions in musical and other cultural events to the city’s biggest festival, the Artemisia, which was celebrated in honour of Artemis at her extra-urban sanctuary at Amarynthos, as we know from the inscribed decree (RO 73). Modern scholars’ interests in both the document and the festival have been limited to providing parallels for the musical and cultural contests at the Panathenaia in Athens (e.g. Rhodes and Osborne 2005: 365-366) and to using the Artemisia as an example of a festival celebrating the city (e.g. Parker 2011: 201-202). In so doing, they have neglected the Eretrian context of the decree, its strong emphasis in inclusion, and its relationship to recent traumatic events in the city. Drawing on discussions of how rituals create remembrance (e.g. Young 1993: 263-281; Cressy 1992, 1994; Cubitt 2007: 181, 219-221) and how the Athenians used rituals to reconcile after the oligarchies and civil strife at the end of the fifth century B.C. (Shear 2011: 135-165, 188-217, 286-294), I shall argue that these changes to the Artemisia created an opportunity for the Eretrians to reconcile with each other after a period of tyranny and *stasis* and to rebuild their relationship with the goddess, whom they now also addressed as Moderator and Guardian (RO 73.5). In this way, they could ensure the survival and stability of the democratic city.

In the middle years of the fourth century B.C., the people of Eretria were repeatedly ruled by dynasts and tyrants and the whole period involved Eretrians fighting against one another and so civil strife (e.g. Dem. 23.124; Diod. 15.76.1; Gehrke 1985: 65-66). By the autumn of 341, when the city was once again controlled by the *demos*, the people of Eretria will have been all too familiar with the problem of internal divisions and the need to overcome them. In this political context, they decided to make changes to the Artemisia in order to make it as inclusive as possible. Thus, ‘*all* those participating in the musical contest are to compete after the oligarchies and civil strife at the end of the fifth century B.C. (Shear 2011: 135-165, 188-217, 286-294), I shall argue that these changes to the Artemisia created an opportunity for the Eretrians to reconcile with each other after a period of tyranny and *stasis* and to rebuild their relationship with the goddess, whom they now also addressed as Moderator and Guardian (RO 73.5). In this way, they could ensure the survival and stability of the democratic city.

When the Eretrians celebrated the festival, no Eretrian could be barred because of his previous political actions and his support for regimes other than the current democracy. Since anyone could sell items in the sanctuary, it became a place where all Eretrians could go and none were excluded. Artemis the Moderator invoked at the beginning of the decree (RO 73.5) is a divinity who is explicitly not favouring one side over others and could be worshipped by all Eretrians irrespective of their earlier actions. Providing the sacrificial animals and organising the procession required members of different factions to work together for the city and not their faction. In this way, the festival repeatedly re-unified the divided Eretrians. The decree’s politics of inclusion should have attracted a large external audience to witness this new Eretrian unity. Through these actions the *demos* also renewed its reciprocal relationship with Artemis which had been disrupted by the civil strife and the previous tyrannical regimes. Under the care of Artemis the Guardian, consequently, the Eretrians could reunify themselves and ensure that the festival was celebrated forever on behalf of the free and autonomous city.
In 2010, the Inscriptiones Graecae volume for Kos debuted a new, largely unpublished decree for foreign judges (IG XII 4 1 132; recent commentary: Thür, Scafuro, Gray). Foreign judges—citizens sent by one polis to adjudicate politically sensitive lawsuits in another polis—represented an important institution for resolving civil conflict in the Greek cities of the Hellenistic period (Robert, Crowther, Gauthier). Most decrees for foreign judges are highly formulaic and non-specific. The new inscription, which records the results of a reconciliation agreement following an episode of stasis on the small island of Telos, thus stands out for the richness of its testimony (it is 142 lines long). In this paper I will address a specific aspect of the inscription, its status as a medium of memorialization. The extensive description of the resolution attests to the magnitude of the crisis at Telos, and thus to impressiveness of the feat achieved by the Koan mediators. At the same time, however, the willingness of the decree to specify the relevant litigants and to record their names for posterity threatens, by its very publicity, to exacerbate civic strife at Telos. Memorialization is a double-edged sword.

The decree describes an apparently successful attempt by the mediators to reconcile “the damos of the Telians” and “those of the Telians at odds (diapheromenoi) with the damos” (ll. 40-41). The identity of the warring parties is already highly unusual, in that decrees for foreign judges usually avoid factional language and speak more neutrally of “citizens” being in conflict with each other (e.g. Tit. Cal. 17, IG XII 6 1 95). We know from additional decrees and coins that Telos was fiercely democratic at this time, and so we might wonder how disinterestedly the “damos of the Koans” (ll. 5-6) could adjudicate the dispute.

The reconciliation reincorporates the named offenders, who had been punished with fines and property confiscation, back into the community on the condition that they expend their restored property on public sacrifices and the renovation of the altar of Asklepios (ll. 46-57). Interestingly, these are precisely the kinds of expenditures (sacrifices and building projects) recommended by Aristotle to oligarchs to mark their accession to public office (Pol. 1321a35-40): such actions habituate the demos to the rule of the few, while the oligarchs have “memorials of their expenditure” (mnemeia tes dapanes). The Telian reconciliation presents an inversion of this situation, in which the majority force the elite to contribute to the public good. The listing of their names is no longer a “memorial” of benefits freely bestowed but a reminder of their subordination to the democracy.

Finally, tensions over writing are not merely implied by the overall context of the reconciliation: the decree itself reveals a concern over written records. The elite litigants complain about fines inflicted on them, for which they have been “publicly registered” (en koino anagegrammenoi, ll. 71-72). The agreement promises to release them from this “register” (anagraphe, l. 76), presumably by erasing their names from the relevant stelai. Inscribed lists of names could perpetuate infamy, as in the stele of Hipparchos (Lyc. 1.117-19), the Attic stelai (IG I² 421-30), and the decree recording the sale of the property of the Thirty (SEG 32.161) (Culasso Gastaldi, Ober, Shear). Notwithstanding the terms of the reconciliation, the Telian decree itself allowed the damos to have the last laugh, by preserving the names of the elite for future generations. The reconciliation appears at first glance to be conciliatory but in fact represents a provocative act by a democratic faction that felt itself to have the upper hand in the situation. The text is thus simultaneously a plea for peace and a form of “memory sanction” (Flower), opposition to which could reanimate stasis.

This paper will consider how civic practices and ideology concerning stasis, conflict and reconciliation can be used to track and interpret changes in Greek approaches to citizenship and civic community in the
later Hellenistic world (c. 150–31 BC). It will contribute to the aims of this proposed panel by bringing together the study of *stasis*, reconciliation, citizenship and political ideology.

Although increasing Roman intervention in the Greek world placed new constraints on traditional civic conflict, *stasis* and civic reconciliation continued to be prominent features of the later Hellenistic civic world. Indeed, *stasis* in the later Hellenistic period and early Roman Empire has been receiving increasing scholarly attention (Thornton (1999) and (2001); Böhm (2016)), from scholars who extend into this later period the influential emphasis on *stasis* as a central aspect of Greek civic culture of Gehrke (1985). Both *stasis* and reconciliation revealed in the later Hellenistic period features very familiar from earlier Greek history: for example, divisions concerning finance or foreign allegiance, leading to internal civic tensions and often violence; and reconciliation based on ritual, arbitration of financial disputes, and appeals to *homonoia* (concord). But both *stasis* and reconciliation also showed some modifications and new features in the later Hellenistic world: for example, it became possible to appeal to powerful Romans as champions of particular factions or of moves towards reconciliation.

This paper will argue that the simultaneous continuities and changes in the nature of Greek *stasis* and reconciliation in the later Hellenistic period can be mapped onto interesting and important corresponding continuities and changes in the political culture of the later Hellenistic poleis. Scholars have argued strongly that civic ideals and practices were undermined in the later Hellenistic world, especially after c. 150 BC, by a number of new developments: the increasing prominence of narrower, Roman-backed elites, no longer so strongly constrained by civic safeguards and scrutiny; the influence of Roman law, politics and culture; and apparent ‘depoliticisation’, involving an increasing emphasis on culture and education at the expense of traditional political interaction and warfare (see, for example, Gauthier (1985); Grieb (2008)). This picture has some truth, but there were also significant continuities with earlier civic institutions and ideology concerned with the common good. Moreover, the changes emphasised by scholars can also be interpreted in a more positive light: some later Hellenistic poleis were moving towards a more cosmopolitan, cultured civic model, backed up by a mixed constitution combining elite leadership with an active assembly and other meaningful institutions.

This paper will investigate and analyse this complex, ambivalent political culture of the later Hellenistic world by analysing discussions of conflict, reconciliation and civic harmony in the public rhetoric of later Hellenistic civic inscriptions. It will focus on decrees praising those responsible for reconciliation and civic harmony, especially the later Hellenistic honorary decrees of Cos for the *dikastagogos* Theugenes (*SEG* 48.1112), of Sagalassos for Manesas of Termessos (*TAM* III 1 7), of Mylasa for Ouliades (*I.Mylasa* 101, ll. 42–6) and of Priene for A. Aurelius Zosimos (*I.Priene* 112–14, esp. 112, ll. 23–7, and 113, ll. 68–70). The rhetoric of such texts about conflict, and its prevention or pre-emption through *homonoia*, brings into focus central problems and contradictions of the later Hellenistic polis: for example, the role of paternalistic elite figures as guardians of *homonoia*, whose elite dominance is paradoxically framed within a wider shared vision of interdependence and the common good; the influence of Roman models; the complex, evolving character of relations between citizens and outsiders (including visiting foreign judges and arbitrators), now increasingly linked by complex formal and informal cross-polis ties; corresponding changes in notions of internal civic relations and order, including a blurring of the relationship between *homonoia* and peace (*eirene*, previously normally an interstate matter); and complex, developing ideas of civic virtue, as gentle, universalistic virtues of *philanthropia* and peacefulness came to compete with traditional ideas of robust, martial patriotism.
By any metric, Cicero wrote across an astonishing range of genres. Quickly canonized as the master of Roman prose, he did indeed master almost all its ancient facets: oratory, rhetoric, dialogues, treatises, letters. For ancient readers, trained to believe that authors were naturally disposed towards a single genre (Rep. 394e-395b; Farrell 2003), Cicero’s movement between prose genres was unusual enough, but his composition of—and pride in—works of poetry was far more unsettling. For Cicero, this fluidity was a way to maximize the avenues for publicizing his political and literary message (Steel 2005), but later readers were not inclined to such generic experiments. In this paper, I will demonstrate that ancient animus against Cicero’s poetry owed much to his transgression against genre boundaries, and that its effects only began to be widely felt when his canonization as Rome’s primary prose author began.

First I will show that much Julio-Claudian criticism against Cicero’s poetry explicitly draws attention to its generic unsuitability. Seneca in the Controversiae notes that while “his own eloquence failed Cicero in poetry,” this was the result of transgressing one’s natural genre; after all, “the fertility of Vergil’s genius abandoned him in prose” (3.pr.8). Tacitus in the Dialogus recalls two other bad poets—the prose writers Caesar and Brutus—whose fortune lay in their genre transgressions being less known than Cicero’s (21). And Juvenal juxtaposes the triviality of the poetry with the gravity of the prose: he prefers Cicero’s poetry to the Philippics, since the former did not get him killed (10.122).

This was a far cry from the situation a few generations earlier, when Cicero’s poetry was the object of widespread poetic interest. Lucretius’ engagement has been well-documented (Gee 2013b, Volk 2013), and Vergil’s use was also considerable (Gee 2013a): one notable borrowing is Ec. 3.60, which adapts the opening line of Cicero’s Aratea in a window reference to Theocritus 17.1 (then thought to be a translation of Aratus’ opening). Ovid too contains Ciceronian echoes, including nearly an entire line at Met. 15.577 (~Cons. 2.34). Other Augustan poets, like Horace and Propertius, also reveal their awareness of the poetry (Buescu 1941, Soubiran 1972). For these authors, I argue, Cicero’s poetry was just as worthy of emulation as his prose.

But as I will demonstrate, by the end of Augustus’ reign, this respect was fading; Germanicus’ Phaenomena is premised upon improving Cicero’s version, and allusions to his poetic works declined, despite a few spikes in Seneca the Younger and Lucan—though the former notes contemporary mockery of Cicero’s poetry (De Ira 3.37.5). After this, most mentions to it are insulting references to the two most infamous lines, o fortunatam natam and cedant arma togae.

Cicero’s poetic fortunes, in other words, ebbed right as his prose began to be canonized, a process that began in earnest in the early Julio-Claudian period (Roller 1997, Kaster 1998, Gowing 2013). For authors of this generation, it was Cicero’s oratory that made him, in Quintilian’s phrase, “not the name of a man but of eloquence itself” (10.1.112). Throughout the declamations preserved by Seneca the Elder, praise is lavished on Cicero’s political and oratorical career at the expense of all else. In Cornelius Severus’ account Cicero is “that defender of the senate and the forum, of laws and rights and the toga, a public voice” (6.26). Severus’ insistent focus on Cicero’s public activities is typical of praise in this period, and had the result of leaving even non-rhetorical prose like philosophy largely dormant until the high empire (Bishop 2015). The disassociation of Cicero from such a divergent experiment in genre as poetry was, I conclude, inevitable given the lines along which his canonization proceeded. While Cicero certainly planned his self-fashioning in every genre to maximize positive reception, for later Romans, to be Roman prose’s greatest success story required poetic failure.
In this paper I argue that Cicero’s *de Consulatu suo*, an auto-biographical epic poem that survives now only in fragments, was inadequate as a monument to Cicero’s role in the Catilinarian conspiracy and did not allow Cicero to become part of the exemplary tradition of the conspiracy.

In nearly every one of Cicero’s speeches delivered after his consulship he brags that he saved the republic (for example Cic. *Mur*. esp 49-53; *Dom*. 75; *Sest*. 89-98; *Pis*. 3-6). Unfortunately for Cicero, it seems that his own evaluation of the events of 63 was not shared by the remainder of Roman Society. He was exiled for his execution of the conspirators in 58 and his dreams of a monumental epic poem written by one of Rome’s leading poets, fell flat (Cic. *Att*. 1.16.15). Cicero was then forced to monumentalize his own actions and write the *de Consulatu suo*.

While other Roman aristocrats were permitted to set up monuments to their own victories without incurring severe criticism, Cicero’s own self-aggrandizement was largely the subject of ridicule by the elites. Ps. Sallust’s invective against Cicero reveals that the self-praise wore thin on many (5-6). Cicero’s victory was a tarnished one, and he was exiled for the very actions he thought so praiseworthy, namely the execution of Roman citizens. Cicero naturally presents the *Lex Clodia* as a personal attack and that his *de facto* exile was opposed by the Roman people in general. Furthermore, Cicero’s house, in its prominent location on the Palatine (itself a monument, see Beck 2009; Roller 2010), had been destroyed by Clodius and replaced with a shrine to *Libertas*. Following Cicero’s return, Clodius’ shrine was removed and Cicero’s house rebuilt at public expense, leaving a lasting monument not to Cicero, but to the political turmoil of the late republic.

Roller (2004) has developed a model for what he deems “exemplary discourse.” His model asserts that for an actor or an event to become exemplary first an act must take place in public where it is judged by the primary audience as good or bad. Next, a monument of some kind must be set up to commemorate the deed and, finally, a secondary audience must view the monument and remember the deed. Roller designed his model to deal primarily with *exempla* that exist in a literary context and that are already part of the historiographical tradition. Therefore, his model does not account for the importance of the non-elite in the secondary audience. My paper looks at Cicero’s attempt to follow the Roman exemplary tradition and evaluate the possible reasons for its failure, namely that Cicero’s poem was not a lasting monument for anyone other than the literate elite.

I will argue that the *de Consulatu suo* was an ineffective monument because it was aimed only at the literate elite, completely disregarding the largest, and I argue the most important, demographic of the secondary audience: the non-elite, non-office holding class of the Roman people. The Roman elite did set up monuments to compete directly with one another, but the most important audience was the voting audience. Most of the voting audience could appreciate a statue or a temple, but its access to written works was limited by overwhelming illiteracy. I argue that the marginal success of the *de Consulatu suo* demonstrates that the non-literate section of this audience was a decisive factor in the success of an exemplum (i.e. entry into the exemplary tradition).

This paper reexamines Cicero’s *De consulatu suo* from the contemporary critical understanding that the poetic works “gave Cicero the opportunity to write and disseminate a public persona” (Steel 1995, 19) and, in turn, forever reshaped Roman epic poetry through their innovative generic qualities (Gee 2013; Volk 2013). I contend, however, that the focus on finding innovation within Cicero’s epic poetry has also
obscured some of the more “traditional” features of his verse, features he highlights and even privileges throughout his writings to construct authority and appeal to the power of history (Van der Blom 2010; Elliott 2013, esp. 152-95, 198-210). Accordingly, this paper considers what Cicero says about the form and function of epic at Rome, and, perhaps more importantly, about “history” and its relationship with epic. I focus on Ennius as both a literary character who populates many of Cicero’s works (e.g. Baraz 2012, 15-21, 173-9) and as the author of the Annales. In conclusion, I argue that the DCS actually fulfills in one work the desired “epic” and “history” Cicero so fervently requested from Archias and Lucceius (Arch. 28-30; Fam. 5.12).

Without returning to the naïve understanding of Cicero’s poetry as situated somewhere between Ennian and neoteric, this paper suggests that Ennius’ epic eschews conventional characterizations, thus destabilizing certain comparisons often made between Cicero’s verse and the “traditional” features of the Annales (Gee 2013, 89). Indeed, it is Cicero’s complex understanding of “history” that truly complicates matters. At De inventione 1.27, he famously defines historia by quoting from the Annales: historia est gesta res, ab aetatis nostrae memoria remota; quod genus: Appius indixit Carthaginiensibus bellum (Ann. 216). The notion that historia can be hexameter for Cicero is far too rarely brought to bear on the appreciation of his literary self-construction.

Scholars have also long grappled with the “oddity” of Cicero’s meetings with the divine in the DCS, as did ancient critics, but such interactions appear more typical in light of Ennius’ encounter with Homer at the opening of the Annales and that scene’s cosmic rerum natura. Moreover, if prose historia on the recent past failed to countenance interactions between mortals and gods (cf. Liv. Praef. 6-8), might Cicero have expected its hexameter congeners to allow for such conventions? In a similar fashion, I will also explore Volk’s contention that the “De consulatu suo,” by contrast [to other Latin poems on contemporary events], treats the achievement of a civil magistrate who defends the state by vigilance and eloquence, without any recourse to military might” (Volk 2013, 105). I compare the famous “good companion” (Ann. 268-286), who is praised in the Annales not for his martial prowess, but for virtues that align with Cicero’s elevation of the toga over arma (cf. Fabrizi 2012, 11-12; Elliott 2013, 228-32). In fact, the Annales offer substantial evidence for the value placed on the political and cultural arts, those not often cited when constructing an idea of the “traditional” shape of Republican epic, but lauded by Cicero throughout his corpus (Ann. 247-9): <proelia promulgata> / pellitur e medio sapientia, ui geritur res; / spernitur orator bonus, horridus miles amat ur.

In sum, this paper will show that Cicero draws upon his varied readings of the Annales in crafting the DCS as simultaneously historia and epos. In the Annales he found an authoritative representation of the Roman past, praise of civil and intellectual virtues in addition to martial valor, and a nexus of genres put to service in a narrative of the Roman people. Viewed as historia, the DCS, whatever its ancient reception, was not all that divergent from the most “traditional” of Republican epics, the Annales. In the end, Cicero did not need Archias or Lucceius to write distinct histories and poems on his deeds, he could turn to Ennius, simultaneously the summum epicum poetam (Opt. Gen. 1.2) and the author of historia, to inform his own singular work of “historical epic.”

Title: A destructive text(ile): translating pain in TD ii.8.20 from Soph. Trach. 1046-1102
Name: Jessica Westerhold

In the second book of Tusculan Disputations, Cicero adduces and translates from Greek tragedy three examples of suffering caused by pain—Sophocles’ Philoctetes and Heracles and Aeschylus’ Prometheus—only to relegate these shameful representations to literature and advocate, instead, the tolerance of pain. Nevertheless, each tragic hero resembles Cicero in his suffering. He is an exile, like Philoctetes, and a foe to tyrants, like Prometheus. This paper will focus on the second exemplar, Heracles, whose resemblance to Cicero is strongest at this time of his life. In 45 BCE, Cicero’s suffering, like
Heracles’, has its most immediate origin in his relationships to the women in his life—the death of his daughter, his subsequent divorce from Publilia and, before that, his divorce from Terentia. The Ciceronian Heracles cries: “but by a woman’s feminine hand I a man am destroyed./ O son, truly adopt this name of your father” (sed feminae uir feminea interimor manu./ O nate, uere hoc nomen usurpa patri, TD 2.20=Soph. Trach. 1062-64). Like Heracles, Cicero’s son remains to him as comfort and heir. By translating and transforming Sophocles into Latin verse, Cicero performs his ability to confront and endure his own pain for the educated audience whose ranks will be self-identified by their shared familiarity with the very same Greek literary text he has chosen. Our poet at once represents himself as a brave man and a member of an elite group.

Scholars have noted Cicero’s love of the stage. They have also noted his fondness for quoting plays in all of his writings (Canter 1936; Geffcken 1973; Gildenhard 2007; Goldberg 2000; Malcovati 1965; Shackleton Bailey 1983; Zetzel 2007; Zillinger 1911). Goldberg 2000 further demonstrates the important work these quotations do. Identifying the literary education as cultural capital, Goldberg sees in Cicero’s literary quotations a means of defining and claiming membership in an educated Roman elite. Sophocles’ Heracles offers both an excellent example of suffering and proof of Cicero’s education. In my analysis of this passage, however, I will consider how Cicero’s poetic choices in his translation reveal his motivated selection of this particular example and his attempt endure his own pain.

The text which he translates into Latin is chosen for its difference. It demonstrates negative examples represented by the poets. Cicero’s act of translation repudiates this kind of suffering as Greek and tragic. Rendering it into Latin, however, makes it more available to Romans. Cicero’s Latin rendition presents his pain in Latin verse to his fellow Romans to inspect and judge as if a challenge to recent critics of his extended grief and seclusion (Att. 12.20.1, 12.21.5, 12.38a.1, 12.40.2–3, 12.41.3; Fam. 4.5, 5.14; Walters 2013; Wilcox 2005). Moreover, through the act of translating the Sophoclean Heracles’ pain, Cicero masters his own. For example, he ends his translation with Trach. 1102 (κοὐδεὶς τροπαῖ᾽ ἔστησε τῶν ἐμῶν χερῶν). Just as no one triumphed over Heracles own hands, Cicero proclaims that “no one snatched martial prizes away from our own praise” (nec quisquam e nostris spolia cepit laudibus). The Roman Cicero-Hercules’ suffering renders him effeminized in the eyes of his friends and colleagues (Ecfeminata uirtus adflicta occidit), nevertheless, he is not bereft of glory. His pain, moreover, is bound by a woven ruin (pestis textile), not the unspeakable fetter of Sophocles’ Heracles (ἀφράστῳ τῇδε πέδῃ, 1057).

Cicero’s translation disembodies Heracles’ pain in his Latin verse, where the triumphant body (χεῖρες) becomes public praise (laudes) and a physical restraint (πέδη) becomes a woven ruin (pestis textile). The adjective textile in the translation of a poem carries with it metapoetic connotations. Cicero’s linguistic choices augment the process of abstraction begun by the scholarly process itself. Pain belongs to poetry, to ancient Greek poetry—to a destructive text.

Title: What Replaced Cicero’s De Temporibus Suis?
Name: Brian Walters

It is commonly noted that Cicero “never published” the De Temporibus Suis, the three book epic about his exile and return on which he was working in the mid-50s (e.g. Courtney; Knox; Volk). Proposals for what might have replaced the abandoned poem are less forthcoming. Given Cicero’s fervent desire for commemoration (Fam. 5.12), it is unlikely that he would set the work aside with nothing to take its place. Engaging with various contemporary perspectives on Cicero’s poetry and self-poetics (Volk; Steel), this paper suggests a small sample of possible answers (one poetry, one prose) with an aim to shedding light on Cicero the poet and his cross-generic project of self-construction.

Cicero’s motives for withholding the De Temporibus Suis have been ascribed to various causes (e.g. Dugan). In particular, Knox has made a case for the role of poetic anxieties, citing changes in the literary climate at Rome in the mid-50s, but goes too far in his attempts to separate “Cicero’s conservative tastes”
from new poetic streams. Cicero was always an innovative and “experimental” poet (Volk) perfectly able to keep up with the times. Regard for Ennius as the best epic poet (Opt. Gen. 1.2: Ennium summum epicum poetam) and indignation at the fact that modern poets spurn him (Tusc. 3.45) no more align Cicero with Ennian poetics than do similar claims about Cato (Brut. 65-69) prove that Cicero’s oratorical style was somehow Catonian. Still, if changing poetic tastes played some role in the decision to suppress the De Temporibus Suis, Scaevola’s praise of Cicero’s Marius (at Leg. 1.2) in language heavy with neoteric approbation (Courtney; Hollis) is surely revealing. Dates for the Marius are disputed, but sometime in the late 50s seems best (e.g. Malcovati; van der Blom). The decision to replace the longer work with a single book (Leg. 1.2: de Mario; Div. 1.106: in Mario; Att. 12.49.1: Marium), small-scale hexameter poem treating his exile and return in allegorical terms makes the work seem a suspicious and uniquely Ciceronian take on the epyllion replete with the various genre-bending innovations we might expect in light of Volk’s recent claims about the De Consulatu Suo. Cicero’s experimentation with a hexameter form only then gaining traction at Rome (e.g. Catullus 64; Cinna’s Zmyrna) places him in the poetic vanguard, complicating standard narratives about his supposed adherence during this period to old-fashioned historical epic (e.g. Courtney; Clausen), and suggesting that in the mid-50s, far from being silenced by the new poetic climate at Rome, Cicero continued to be a dynamic presence.

Strictly personal details left out of the Marius by necessity would have found other venues. Cicero rehearsed the details of his exile and return across a range of speeches in the 50s (Dyck). But the Pro Plancio, delivered in late summer 54 (Marinone) when Cicero was hard at work on the De Temporibus Suis (Harrison) is particularly relevant in that it seems a consciously offered prose substitute to the suppressed epic. In addition to obliquely referencing the De Temporibus Suis at Planc. 74, Cicero playfully gestures to its title on multiple occasions (Planc. 1: meorum temporum memoriam; 4: recordatione meorum temporum; 95: ex meis temporibus), framing his entire speech within the phrase and including details unrecorded elsewhere (95-98). Material from the speech (86: quorum alter exercitum perdidit, alter vendidit) is vetted for inclusion in the poem in a contemporary letter to Quintus (Q.fr. 3.1.24: quorum alter exercitum perdidisset, alter vendidisset), revealing the permeable boundary between the two. Faced with a recent mixed reaction to his epic from Caesar (Q.fr. 2.16[15].5), Cicero was likely hedging his bets and considering alternatives already. Too many contemporaries knew he was working on a poem about his troubles (Planc. 74; cf. Fam. 1.9.23) for him to turn away from verse altogether. By dividing the project across texts and genres Cicero followed a pattern of self-fashioning that he had initiated half a decade before (Att. 1.19.10).

Session 67: Violence and the Political in Greek Epic and Tragedy
Title: Is Foucault Useful for the Study of the Ancient Prison? The View from Archaic Poetry and Greek Tragedy
Name: Marcus Folch

This talk explores the intersection of politics and violence through the lens of representations of incarceration in archaic poetry and tragedy, with principal focus on the Theogony, Odyssey, and Prometheus Bound. Its chief contributions are to propose a new interpretive framework for understanding the political function of binding and imprisonment in antiquity, to argue for the centrality of incarceration in ancient notions of sovereignty, and to present a reappraisal of a neglected practice in archaic and classical literature.

Studies of incarceration in ancient Greece have aspired to historical reconstruction, seeking to identify the location of, and to elucidate the legal principles governing, the ancient prison (desmôterion; Vanderpool 1980; Peters 1995; Krause 1996; Hunter 1997; Bertrand-Dagenbach et al. 1999). Some commentators have offered anthropological interpretations of incarceration in antiquity (Gernet 1981; Hunter 1997), while others have argued that the prison became integrated within ancient penal ideology in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE (Allen 1997; Allen 2002). Others still have examined philosophical representations
of the ancient prison (Saunders 1991; Hunter 2008). With rare exception, however, the secondary literature on incarceration in antiquity has been dominated by a single, disjunctive question: whether the prison was used as a form of punishment. Orthodox opinion maintains that ancient criminal law did not employ punitive incarceration independent of other penalties such as fines and exile; instead, the prison is thought to have served as a jail, a temporary detention facility for remanding inmates at various stages of prosecution (Hansen 1976; MacDowell 1978; Todd 1993; Rivière 1994; Hunter 1997; contra Barkan 1936). Because ancient imprisonment appears not to have been punitive and because the prison was certainly not used as a corrective facility, it is regarded as fundamentally unlike the modern prison system Foucault analyzed in *Discipline and Punish* (1977), and incarceration is often treated as having played little substantive role in ancient law and political life. This paper departs from previous scholarship by concentrating on poetic representations of incarceration, which are routinely overlooked in historical reconstructions of the ancient prison, and by extending the study of incarceration to the archaic period, a period that predates the institutionalization of imprisonment in the classical Athenian polis. It also departs from earlier studies by attending to the historically particular language and conceptual categories by which ancient societies rendered incarceration intelligible.

Beginning from archaic representations of incarceration, this paper thus examines the emergence of binding in the fifth century as a locus of political dissent—a space to interrogate the legitimacy of newly founded sovereign regimes. Building on a loosely Foucauldian framework, it argues that binding and incarceration are represented in the archaic period as the foundational act of sovereignty: it is by incarcerating that sovereigns (typically aspiring tyrants) consolidate political power and arrest regime change. Athenian tragedy, by contrast, is shown to subvert the archaic topos, rewriting mythological representations of incarceration as a critique of political power. Binding and incarceration are shown to form a conceptual crux around which are posed such seminal political questions as the definition and limits of sovereignty, citizenship, liberty, and legitimate violence.

The transformation of incarceration from foundational political act to node of dissent is illustrated in the representations of binding in *Theogony* and *Prometheus Bound*. Each successive divine regime in the *Theogony* seeks to establish authority by casting rivals (e.g., hekatonkheires, Prometheus, titans, Typhon) in shackles (*desmoi*) and unbinding those who were confined by the previous regime. Hesiod thereby stages a progressive exploration of the manner in which binding and incarceration may become legitimate mechanisms of political control. [Aeschylus], however, focalizes incarceration from the perspective of the imprisoned, mapping incarceration onto the distinct political realities of the democratic Athenian polis, of which the play provides thoroughgoing (if oblique) criticism.

**Title: A Case of Domestic Violence: Euripides’ Orestes**

**Name: Jan Kucharski**

Few plays have seen the political reality of 5th-century Athens encroach more unceremoniously on the tragic stage than the Euripidean *Orestes*. Frequently deplored for its glaring ‘anachronisms’ (cf. Porter 1994 with Easterling 1985) this tragedy is set in a quasi-democratic polis, where decision-making remains in the hands of the people. The eponymous hero is tried not at a solemn, aetiological congress of gods and men, but an ordinary judicial session of the assembly. It is even suggested that instead of killing his mother Orestes should have sought legal punishment, or perhaps prosecuted her for homicide (*Or*. 500-502). Set in such painfully ordinary context the hero’s revenge acquires a very particular political color when compared to other extant dramatizations of this myth. Or rather, as I seek to argue in my paper, is actually deprived of it.

The Aeschylean, Sophoclean, and even Euripidean (*Electra*) Orestes is represented as the archetypal ‘avenger’ (*timōros*) of blood. In classical Athens the prosecution of homicide was considered the cornerstone of political order (e.g. Dem. 23.66), and at the same time consistently conceptualized as
‘revenge’ (timōria), which furthermore remained the exclusive and discretionary prerogative of the victim’s relatives (e.g. Ant. 1; cf. Phillips 2008). Orestes’ actions provide thus a mythical template to these legal and political tenets, one set in the conceptually distant world of tragic Argos (Zeitlin 1986), where violence is not provided with a viable institutional alternative and thus becomes inevitable. Foregoing violence is tantamount to foregoing revenge altogether (Aesch., Cho. 899-909; Eur., El. 973-8), and only by killing his mother can Orestes become – for the better or worse! – the ‘avenger’ of his father. In Aeschylus, furthermore, this violent pattern serves as the basis for negotiating the primacy of the male over the female, yet another tenet of classical Athenian democracy and its discourses (e.g. Zeitlin 1996: 87-126). A more explicitly political aspect of these essentially domestic woes stems from the fact that they affect the ruling family. The fate of the house is thus inherently bound with the fate of the polis (cf. esp. S. El. 1413-14), and in the case of Orestes’ revenge, this bond is subject to a very particular twist: his victims, Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, are consistently represented as tyrannoi (Aesch. Ag. 1356, 1367; Cho. 973; S. El. 661, 664; E. El. 93, 876 but see Finglass 2005 for Sophocles), who usurped the throne, and subsequently attempt to force the polis into obedience (Aesch. Ag. 1617-50; S. El. 1458-63). Matricide thus becomes tyrannicide (Aesch. Cho. 1044-7; S. El. 973-85; E. El. 876-7, 880-5; with Juffras 1991 and Ajootian 1998), an act of therapeutic political violence (Ober 2003), one which falls neatly into the well-established motif of ‘tyrants killed out of revenge’ (Phainias of Eresus; FGrH 1012 F 3-6).

The eponymous hero of the Euripidean Orestes, however, is denied these political qualities. Where legal punishment is represented as a viable alternative, his vengeance can no longer be seen as an act of foundational, archetypal violence, and his appeals to the Aeschylean topos of gynaecocracy ring a deliberately hollow tune (Or. 935-7). Even more significantly, in a world where the decisions belong to the entire polis (Or. 46), which has the power to make and unmake kings (Or. 437), there is little room for deploying the motif of liberation from tyranny, all the more that the political status of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus (rulers? tyrants?) in this play is almost deliberately vague (cf. Euben 1986: 234). In this tragedy Orestes emerges as neither archetype nor tyrannicide: stripped of its political significance, his revenge is contemplated as a purely domestic affair, a case of gratuitous, sordid and bestial (e.g. Or. 524, 819-22) violence, where the only saving grace is sought in divine folly (e.g. Or. 417).

**Title: Feasting on Corpses: Violence and Its Limits in Iliad 24**

**Name: Caleb Simone**

A popular theme in the archaic visual tradition must have shocked its viewers with its evocation of what has been called the most violent sentiment in the Iliad: Achilles appears to fulfill his threat to cut up Hector’s flesh and eat it raw (Segal 1971: 38 on Il. 22.345-54). On closer examination, it becomes clear that the image actually adheres more closely to the epic narrative of the ransom. Priam has come to ransom Hector’s body and Achilles’ participation in the dais or properly ordered feast suggests a favorable outcome.

Assuming this archaic image as a lens, my paper shows how Iliad 24 represents violence and its limits in terms of the dais. In the vase paintings, the jarring juxtaposition of Achilles reclining with meat and a sacrificial knife over the bloody corpse of Hector demarcates the bounds of a spectrum of violence within the epic narrative, from justified retribution to its clear transgression. This provocative image thus becomes a nexus of politically significant attitudes and decisions—affects related to what Sloterdijk terms the “thymotic impulse”—which are here mediated in the resolution of the Iliadic narrative. Within its context of the archaic aristocratic symposium, this epic image resonates with contemporary ideas of political order as moderation in the feast (as opposed to violence and hubris). The paper thus demonstrates how Iliad 24 may have been interpreted in the archaic symposium as a paradigm of politics understood as a complex accumulation of thymotic affects.
Following a brief account of the visual formula of the ransom scene (Recke 2002; Lowenstam 2008; Giuliani and O’Donnell 2013), my argument focuses on the many levels at which this image engages the epic tradition. When Priam arrives to supplicate Achilles, the hero has just finished the dais, having fasted for eleven days as he grieved for Patroclus and mutilated Hector’s corpse. His participation in this symbolic ritual marks his decision to recognize his place within the hierarchy of gods and men, and to heed the will of Zeus (Saïd 1979; Bakker 2013). But at the same time, the depiction of Achilles carving flesh over Hector’s mangled corpse evokes the fever-pitch of Achilles’ thymotic impulse when he threatened to cut up the Trojan’s flesh to eat (22.346-7; cf. Lowenstam 2008: 53-7). This impulse is vividly recalled at the counsel of the gods in Iliad 24. In remarkable language, Apollo describes Achilles as a thymotic, senseless lion which pounces upon its prey in an utterly perverse dais; this beast is enaisimos—without any sense of apportionment (24.39-45). Furthermore, Zeus reveals his own submission to the power of the dais: Hector must no longer serve as Achilles’ defiled prey, precisely because Hector faithfully participated in the dais while he was living (24.69). Other examples illustrate the full extent to which the Iliad’s resolution emerges as a complex accumulation and mediation of affects concretely conceptualized in the dais.

These various affects articulated in terms of the dais find a contemporary resonance in the image’s context; here the paper turns to consider the late archaic setting of the ransom scenes on drinking cups (Steiner 2007). As in several other instances of sympotic songs and vessels, we can assume a high degree of identification between the epic hero and the vase’s user (Irwin 2005). Moreover, Solon’s sympotic poetry (fr. 4W.7-10) provides a contemporary parallel in which the order of the feast correlates with an ideology of the well-ordered polis, while its disruption or perversion is hubris (Nagy 1990: 269-75). The paper concludes by hypothesizing the ways in which this archaic reception of the Iliad’s resolution conceptualizes justice and political mediation more generally as an accretion of thymotic affects. While a structure of order imposes restraints upon divine and mortal communities, the image—and Iliad 24—underscore the contingency of these powerful affects, as the constant potential for violence lies just beneath the surface.

Title: Mythical Violence as Christian Violence in Nonnus’ Dionysiaca
Name: Nicholas Kauffman

Nonnus’ Dionysiaca is replete with violence more graphic and more ubiquitous than anywhere else in the Greek epic tradition. Much of this violence is directed against the Indians, who are killed in the name of, and often at the hands of, Dionysus himself. In this paper, I argue that Nonnus’ representation of this divinely-sanctioned slaughter should be seen as political rather than merely literary, that it reflects on the Christian violence of the late-antique world in which Nonnus lived. My approach (which develops an insight in Newbold 2003) accords with a strain of contemporary Nonnian scholarship (e.g. Shorrock 2011, though cf. Miguélez-Cavero 2009 and 2013) in which the epic’s mythical and exotic setting allows it to safely explore potentially controversial or dangerous themes.

Scholars of Nonnus in recent years have highlighted the extent and subtlety of the Christian resonances in the Dionysiaca (most notably Shorrock 2011, though cf. Miguélez-Cavero 2009). In particular, parallels between Dionysus and Christ have often been noted (e.g. Liebeschutz 1995, Hernández de la Fuente 2013), most obviously that both are sent by their fathers to ease the sufferings of humankind, and that both use rituals involving wine in fulfilling their missions. Also of note is the surprising pity that Nonnus’ Dionysus sometimes displays, both for humans in general (12.171) and even for his enemies (e.g. at 14.411-17). This merciful, Christ-like aspect of Dionysus would seem to stand in sharp contrast with his violent actions on the battlefield and his explicit thirst for the blood of his enemies (17.91), but scholarship has seldom noted this tension. Rather, it has downplayed the violence of the god, highlighting instead his more positive aspects, even in the scenes of battle (Vian 1994, Frangoulis 2012).
In my reading, though, it is crucial and significant that Dionysus shows both pity and pitilessness and offers both salvation and destruction, as this mirrors Christianity’s dual nature as a religion of peace and also, increasingly, as an instigator of violence. Central to my argument is a series of observations on the changing character of the violence in the epic. Scholars often note the hyperbolic nature of Nonnian violence and mark its literary significance (as evidence of Nonnus’ aemulatio with Homer), but I trace a more complex dynamic in which the epic’s violence is not uniformly excessive. The initial battles of the Indian War, in fact, are marked by restraint, pity, and a desire to receive suppliants, but this changes as the war goes on, and the god and his followers begin to strive for the total annihilation of the foe.

For Nonnus’ fifth-century audience, I suggest, this narrative of an initially peaceful and merciful mission that becomes more and more violent would have had clear and uncomfortable resonances. In a relatively short period of time, Christianity, a religion that once rejected violence and warfare of any kind (Kalantzis 2012) had become deeply enmeshed with the Roman Empire, including its military apparatus (Drake 2011), and acts of violence by Christians against opposing parties had become relatively common, most notoriously, perhaps, in Egypt (Gaddis 2005, Watts 2006). The links between epic violence and Christian violence are suggested not only by these broad narrative parallels but also by the presence in Nonnus’ battle narratives of specifically Christian language.

Suppliants in the Indian War, for instance, are described as taking the same posture as converts to Christianity in Nonnus’ own Paraphrase of the gospel of John; and the enemies of Dionysus are often designated by the term θεημάχος, which is unattested in Greek epic, but was used often in Christian writings to describe heretics, Jews, and (notably) the foes conquered by Constantine.

All this suggests that the extreme violence in the Dionysiaca responds to the present as well as the literary tradition, sparking not only learned comparison with classical epic but also serious reflection on the very real phenomenon of religious violence.

**Title: The Things Gods Dare?: Sexual Violence and Political Necessity in Greek Tragedy**
**Name: Erika L. Weiberg**

Several tragedies that foreground the rape of an unmarried woman by a god or hero portray the rape as necessary for the political foundations of a community. Scholars have analyzed these tragedies in terms of an ongoing debate about consent in antiquity (Scarfuro 1990, Doblohofer 1994, Omitowoju 2002, Harris 2004, Sommerstein 2006, Rabinowitz 2011, James 2014). In an attempt to expand analysis of sexual violence in tragedy beyond issues of consent, this paper asks, borrowing from feminist philosopher Robin Schott (2010, 25), “what logic underpins stories in which a woman who is a member of a community is portrayed as suffering violence so that her community can take shape?” Through analysis of passages from Euripides’ Ion and several fragmentary tragedies, including Euripides’ Antiope, Auge, and Dictys, this paper argues that language of force (βία) and lack of volition (ἄκων), which the victim employs to describe her experience of rape, is appropriated by male characters to disguise violence inherent in the political narrative of female submission to male dominance and mortal submission to divine will. By appropriating the victim’s language in this way, these plays silence the victim of assault and frame her rape as politically and theologically necessary. The first part of the paper examines the portrayal of Kreousa’s rape by Apollo in Euripides’ Ion as the violent act upon which Athens’ political and religious role as mother-city of Ionia is founded. Dougherty (1996, 258) has argued that this narrative “disguises the imperial flavor of military and political domination and figures it instead as erotic conquest.” In addition, the play undermines the victim’s claims by portraying Kreousa’s pursuit of justice as a violent assault both on the god and on their child, Ion. Ion frames Kreousa’s plan merely to ask the god about the fate of her exposed child as an act of force (βίᾳ, 378) against unwilling gods (ἄκων τῶν θεῶν, 378). He uses the language of rape to describe Kreousa’s actions rather than Apollo’s. In private, Ion chastises Apollo and the other gods for raping young women (436-451), and Kreousa’s monody (859-922).
highlights her suffering. Yet the recognition scene between Ion and Kreousa at the end of the play again calls attention not to Apollo’s daring (ὦ τολμήματα θεῶν, 252-253), but to Kreousa’s in exposing her child (ὦ δεινὰ τλᾶσα, μῆτερ, 1497), and shifts the blame from Apollo to the unpredictable variability of human fortune (1501-1515). In this way, the violence that Kreousa has suffered is downplayed, while the political and theological necessity of the rape for Athens is emphasized. The action of the play transforms the “involuntary” harm perpetrated by Apollo into a “voluntary” benefit both to Kreousa and to Athens.

Similar logic undergirds the rape narratives in several of Euripides’ fragmentary tragedies, discussed in the second part of the paper. In Auge, to give one example, the title character is raped by Heracles and persecuted by Athena for giving birth to Telephus in her temple. When Heracles returns and discovers his exposed child, he attempts to persuade Auge and her father that the rape was “natural” (ἡ φύσις ἐβούλετο, fr. 265a Kannicht) and the harm done to Auge “involuntary” (οὐχ ἑκούσιον, fr. 272b). His appropriation of the rape victim’s language casts him as the victim of natural desires that made him act against his will. Moreover, he transforms the harm he caused into a benefit for Auge, whom he saves from her father by using persuasion instead of force, and whose subsequent journey to Mysia results in her marriage to the king and Telephus’ eventual assumption of kingship there. Antiope and Dictys employ similar language that emphasizes the “involuntary” harm suffered by the rape victim, which results in the foundation of Thebes and a dynasty at Argos. These tragedies silence the complaints of victims of assault by manipulating language of force and volition, and by framing rape as necessary for political foundation and theological balance.

Session 68: Ritual and Magic
Title: Performing Immortality: Direct Address in Funerary Epigram and the Orphic Lamellae
Name: Mark McClay

This paper argues for a limited generic relationship between the “Orphic” gold lamellae and inscribed funerary epigram, with particular attention to conventions of apostrophe and direct address as reflections of ritual practice in both genres. The lamellae are a collection of small gold tablets/leaves deposited in Greek graves of both men and women in the later Classical and Hellenistic periods. They appear to derive from Dionysiac initiatory cults (though other divinities, notably Persephone, figure prominently in their texts), and are inscribed with short poetic texts that guide the deceased through the underworld and offer promises of postmortem blessedness. These objects are among our most important direct evidence for a religious interest during the classical period in what might be called an “afterlife”: i.e. a lively continuation of the individual consciousness after death. Studies have stressed their significance as documents of belief and ritual language, and many scholars (e.g. Graf & Johnston 2013, Janko 1984) interpret them as mnemononic aids whose function was to inform the deceased of eschatological details and passwords (symbola) necessary to win a privileged place in the underworld.

This paper suggests widening the communicative frame of reference to include more fully the living ritual communities that performed rites of burial and initiation. To this end, it reexamines the lamellae through a limited generic comparison with the communicative fictions of funerary epigram (Schmitz 2010). The writing of epitaph and its generic concern with public memorialization are often invoked as a disanalogy for the private/esoteric writing of the gold leaves (e.g. Bañuls Oller 1997, Edmonds 2004: 33-4, Herrero 2011: 289-90, Betz 2011: 102-3). Yet the lamellae show significant lexical parallels with funerary inscriptions (noted e.g. by Pugliese Carratelli & Foti 1974, Scalera McClintock 1984, Ferrari 2011) and replicate the repertoire of fictional speech-forms (address, apostrophe, command, prosopopoeia, dialogue) generically associated with epigram. Recent scholarship on epigram has emphasized its interactive character and stressed the importance of its ritual associations (esp. Day 1989 and 2010): although the lamellae are not objects of public display, their association with ritual and especially with ritual language (see Obbink 2011, Graf & Johnston 2013: 137-166) offers a basis for a limited generic comparison with funerary epigram as analogous practices of ritualized sepulchral writing.
Private funerary epigrams of 4th-c. Attica (treated in Tsagalis 2008) represent a rhetorical development of widely attested conventions of classical and archaic verse epitaph, and particularly emphasize the deceased’s participation in a special social structure (i.e. the oikos) as a basis of his/her postmortem memorialization. During this period, direct address to the deceased in an anonymous speaking voice becomes increasingly popular in funerary epigram: epitaphs written in this style function as scripts or prompts for a spoken "interaction" between reader and deceased (Tsagalis 2008: 252-6; Vestrheim 2010: 75-8).

In a separate 4th-c. context, the earliest gold lamellae similarly feature language in an undefined speaking voice addressed to the deceased: these include both words of guidance through the underworld and declarations of the initiate’s postmortem happiness. Like funerary epigram, the lamellae texts are concerned with establishing the deceased’s identity in terms of group membership: the deceased in the lamellae texts is presented as a member of a social-kinship structure that offers immortality (Herrero 2011). The forms of direct address used in the lamellae can be interpreted, on analogy with the speech-acts of epigram, as a performative articulation of collective identity linking the deceased with living ritual participants. Producers of the lamellae may have appropriated from epitaph the speech-form of address and the rhetorical emphasis on group/kinship identity, reapplying these conventions (in a very different writing practice) to a specifically telestic ritual context. Thus, while the cults associated with the lamellae diverged in certain important ways from Greek religious norms, the gold leaves still reflect some elements of familiar practical concerns associated with death and the ritual treatment of the deceased.

Title: A New Explanation, Based on Near Eastern Sources, for the Greek Use of Squill in Purification Rituals
Name: Maddalena Rumor

This talk will begin by quickly presenting the main arguments that support an identification of the (previously unidentified) Akkadian plant sikillu with Greek σκίλλα (En. “sea squill,” or “onion squill,” Scilla Maritima Linn.). These include etymology, similarity of habitat, physical characteristics and specific medical and magico-religious applications. To anticipate one example, the Babylonian handbook on medicinal plants known as Šammu šikinšu (Stadhouders, ed., 2011 and 2012) describes sikillu as “a plant for purification” and states that it should be used on the last day of the lunar month. This information is matched by the use of σκίλλα in early Greek purification rituals (cf. Diphilus, fr. 125 [126]; Hipponax fr. 6 [West, 1971-2]; Theophrastus etc.). In addition, the proper time of administration is also confirmed by a later, 2nd century AD story (Lucian, Nec. 6-7), in which the cynic philosopher Menippus is described as being purified with squills, on the last day of the month, by a Chaldean priest from Babylon.

The remainder of the talk will discuss the implications of this identification, which are important inasmuch as they operate in two directions: on the one hand, they help explain details of Mesopotamian culture that were previously unexplained, and on the other hand they provide a background against which the Greek use of the squill can now be interpreted.

For instance, Greek and Latin sources (which are characteristically more descriptive than cuneiform texts) inform us that σκίλλα was a plant that naturally fought off decay and repelled vermin (Theophr. Hist. pl. 7.13.4; Plin. NH 17.87). These sources, therefore, supply us with a justification of the origin of the Sumerian name, SIKIL, meaning “pure/purifying plant,” which is otherwise inexplicable.

Conversely, the puzzling presence of σκίλλα in early Greek magico-religious rituals has been discussed by several scholars (Burkert 1975, 1979; Parker 1983; West 1971-2, 1997, and many others), and yet no fully convincing reasons for this use have been found. In our Mesopotamian sources, however, sikillu was recognized to have specific medical, and in particular emetic, properties (as it still does today). These
properties were exploited for a variety of cures, including for the physical expulsion of symptoms of “witchcraft” (cf. Abusch and Schwemer 2011), which entered the body either by means of eating or drinking, likely referring to cases of food poisoning or heartburn. Because of its reputation for being medically purifying (i.e., an emetic), sikillu, so it will be argued, also began to be applied in a translated, apotropaeic way to dispel evils that were understood as being external to the inner workings of the body. While both the medicinal and magical aspects are attested in the Babylonian tradition, only the symbolic/apotropaeic uses seem to be attested in early Greek sources. This may partially be an accident of preservation, although it seems reasonable to suggest that the Greeks may have inherited the idea of using squills in purification practices, either directly or indirectly, from the Near East, but probably at first without a full comprehension of the original medicinal rationale behind its magical/symbolic uses.

In other words, the Mesopotamian reputation of this plant as being “pure/purifying,” as its etymology suggests, and its resulting applications in a variety of cleansing rituals, may help explain its association in Graeco-Roman sources with magico-religious purification. As such, the identification of sikillu with σκῆλλα has then even bigger implications, as it adds another piece of evidence to our more general understanding of the relationship between the Eastern and the Western cultures of the ancient World.

Title: Stoic Physics in the Bugonia of Vergil
Name: Peter Osorio

I propose that Vergil’s descriptions of bugonia in Georgics 4 (308-11 and 554-8) draw on Stoic theories of generation, according to which the heating properties of pneuma is responsible for any development of life. By defending this proposal, I set out to remove an interpretative taboo in Vergilian studies: looking for an allegorical bugonia in the Aeneid. Vergil compares the souls in Elysium awaiting rebirth to bees (A. 6.706-9), and Farrell (1991: 263), Austin (1977: 217), and Norden (1957: 305-307) recognize that Vergil here alludes to the mythological tradition of calling human souls ox-born bees. Despite this allusion, Horsfall (2010: 41) and Habinek (1990: 211) consider attempts to locate bugonia in the epic ill-founded, since accounts of bugonia do not mention the passage of soul from the bull to the bees. But by the time Vergil came to write his epic, he had already forged the link between the ox-born bee soul and bugonia by alluding to Stoic theory in his account of bugonia; a soul, according to the Stoics, is simply a portion of hot pneuma with a high degree of tension. It is therefore not at all problematic that the pneuma latent in the residue of a former living bull, given the right circumstances, could concoct, refine, and develop into bee souls.

First I provide Aristotle’s account of spontaneous generation (GA 3.11.762a18-27), according to which pneuma is refined in concoctions of admixtures of water and earth so as to support life. From Cicero’s De natura deorum (2.26-28), we find evidence not only that Stoic theories of generation could support the phenomenon of spontaneous generation through their theory of pneumatic heat but also that they drew strongly from Aristotle’s account of psychic heat in pneuma (Mayor and Swainson: 113-4; Pease: 609-10). Vergil’s two descriptions of bugonia shares notable verbal parallels with the Stoic Balbus’ account of pneumatic heat (Cic. ND 2.26). So, for instance, Balbus and Vergil share a diction for describing warmed liquids (viz. liquefacta and tepefactus) (cf. Verg. G. 4.308; 555). In addition, Vergil, like Aristotle, stresses that generation arises out of a process of heating and concoction (aestuat, Verg. G. 4.309; effervere, Verg. G. 4.556) rather than one of putrefaction, as Ovid does (Fast. 1.379). I infer either that Vergil is himself creating a putative Stoic theory of bugonia by adapting Balbus’ account of pneumatic heat to the logic behind Aristotelian spontaneous generation, or that he is alluding to a lost Stoic account of bugonia which accomplishes as much.

I conclude by considering whether Vergil’s Stoic reading of bugonia is traceable in the Aeneid. I focus on a previously unnoted parallel between Anchises’ Stoic account of the soul (Verg. A. 6.724-34), located just after the Elysian bee simile, and the poet’s bee-simile for the destruction of Laurentum in A. 12.587-
94. The Laurentines as dying bees recall the nature of the soul as set out by Anchises in Elysium and provide another locus for the soul as ox-born bee idea in the epic. Given that Vergil twice creates the expectation for a bull to facilitate the transfer of souls, I float one proposal for the figure of the dead bull: the land of Italy itself. Italus, the eponymous king whose statue stands in the museum-like halls of Latinus (Verg. A. 7.178), is the Greek word for a bull (*italos*; cf. the Latin *vitulus*), and the bull was also the symbol for the new confederacy called *Italia* during the Social War. The *bugonia* of the *Aeneid*, then, is a reflection on the cost of wars that gave rise to the new beginnings both for the Trojans in Italy and for the state of Rome in its more recent history.

**Title: A New Fragment of a Demotic Papyrus from the Fayum in the Oriental Institute Museum**

**Name: Foy Scalf**

The Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago has a small, but important collection of Demotic papyri, nearly all of which have now been published. Yet, surprises remain to be found. Recently the presence of an unpublished Demotic papyrus was discovered during the planning stages for an upcoming special exhibit at the Oriental Institute on the Book of the Dead scheduled for autumn 2017. The discovery was made when examining a list of items acquired as part of accession 2017, which included eleven unpublished linen bandage fragments inscribed in hieratic with book of the Dead spells, three Demotic papyri, six Coptic papyri, and one Arabic papyrus. All of the objects had been collected by Egyptologist Charles Edward Moldenke (1860-1935) and gifted to the Oriental Institute Museum by his son Harold Norman Moldenke (1909-1996) in July 1935.

The papyrus is light brown and measures 12.8 x 14 cm. Only the second half of eleven lines from one column and the very beginning of a second column are preserved. Traces of the first line demonstrate that the papyrus is missing an undetermined number of lines above what is preserved. A distinctive feature of this manuscript is the use of horizontal ruled lines underneath each line of text, laid out with a pair of vertical inter-columnar lines. Although Demotic texts laid out in bordered columns are well known, it is rather less common to find each line written upon a ruled horizontal guideline. This feature and a number of other paleographic features of the papyrus clearly indicate a Fayumic scribal hand from the 2nd-3rd century CE of the Roman Period. The scribe was most likely trained in the Tebtunis school, but the papyrus itself may derive from Soknopaiou Nesos.

Lines are laid out in stichic fashion, most well-known from wisdom and instruction literature. However, the content of the preserved text focuses on plant terminology and the prominent mention of donkeys. This paper will provide a preliminary analysis of this papyrus and discuss the possible interpretations of its mysterious contents in comparison with the large collection of related Demotic material from the Fayum temples and related scribal schools.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adamo, Mario</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aldrup-MacDonald, John P</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anderson, Daniel</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrade, Nathanael</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arcenas, Scott</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arft, Justin</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arieti, James A</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaturian, Sosseh</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atkins, Jed W</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baca, Albert</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakker, Egbert</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber, Cary M</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bark, Brandon D</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrios-Lech, Peter</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartlett, Charles Frederick</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beasley, Thomas</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaulieu, Marie-Claire</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beck, Bill</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beek, A, Everett</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begin, Anne</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendlin, Andreas</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamins, Joshua</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggs, Thomas</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop, Caroline</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackwell, Christopher</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blakely, Sandra</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blank, David</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blecher-Cohen, Joshua</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloomer, W. Martin</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blum, Jessica</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blythe, Barbara A</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boatwright, Mary T</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Garofalo, Laura L  149
Gilbert, Mary Hamil  167
Gillespie, Caitlin  34
Golab, Hanna  78
Goldhill, Simon  125
Goler, Sarah  185
Goyette, Michael  67
Gray, Benjamin  254
Greene, Ellen  83
Gruber-Miller, John  115
Guast, William E  195
Gunderson, Eric  126
Gurd, Sean  122
Guth, Dina  160

H
Hart, Rachel M  212
Hart, Timothy C  151
Harwood, Theodore  242
Hay, Paul  106
Hejduk, Julia  140
Hendrickson, Thomas  37
Herz, Zachary R  104
Hexter, Ralph  174
Houghtalin, Liane  116
Howley, Joseph A  66
Hu, Alice  28
Hulme, Emily L  10
Hutchins, Richard  145

J
Janko, Richard  143
Jeck, Erika M  224
Jendza, Craig  130
Jewell, Evan  56
Johanson, Christopher  90
Jones, Steven L  173
Jones-Lewis, Molly A  225
Jope, James  2

K
Joseph, Timothy A  239
Joshi, Sandra  110

Kamen, Deborah  242
Kauffman, Nicholas  263
Kearey, Talitha  234
Keeline, Tom  49
Keling, Edward  240
Kemezis, Adam  40
Kemmerle, Allison  4
Keny, Joanna  193
Kidd, Stephen  65
Kim, Eunice  226
Kingston, Rebecca  178
Kinney, Angela Zielinski  99
Kowalzig, Barbara  90
Krasne, Darcy Anne  227
Kucharski, Jan  261
Kuper, Charles  133

L
Langford, Julie  39
Laskaris, Julie  68
Latham, Jacob A  98
Lattmann, Claas  236
LaValle, Dawn Teresa  159
Lefkowitz, Mary  251
Lehmann, Christian  147
Lewis, Anne-Marie  48
Li, Yukai  107
Liu, Jinyu  175
Long, Jacqueline  161
Lundquist, Jesse  29
Lye, Suzanne  82
Lytle, Ephraim  6
López-Ruiz, Carolina  73

M
Madsen, Jesper  41
Major, Wilfred E  116
Mann, Caroline P  221
Mann, Kristin  2
Marcos, Moyses  18
Markus, Donka D  187
Marshall, Laura  64
Mason, Hannah  160
Massetti, Laura  31
Master, Jonathan  105
Mayo, Tyler  245
McCallum, Sarah  215
McCarty, Matthew  94
McClay, Mark  265
McCright, Thomas D  189
McFarlane, Roger  183
McGowan, Matthew  144
McIntosh, Gillian E  220
McKenna, Erin  85
McVane, Sam D  188
Meeusen, Michael  135
Millender, Ellen  77
Mistretta, Marco Romani  195
Mockler, Emily  177
Monti, Giustina  137
Moore, Daniel Walker  170
Moore, Timothy  132
Morosi, Francesco  220
Morton, Peter  203
Mowat, Chris  210
Mugelli, Gloria  79
Mumper, Brian M  109
Muse, Kevin B  62
Muslin, Jennifer Lynn  82

N
Nabel, Jake  150
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naiden, Fred S.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nichols, Marden</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisetich, Franl</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O’Connor, Stephen</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obermayer, Hans Peter</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orlandi, Silvia</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osequeda, Jason</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osorio, Peter</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmer, Morgan</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandey, Nandini B.</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parker, Grant</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parmenter, Christopher Stedman</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parslow, Christopher</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paschalis, Sergios</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedicone, Jason</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penrose, Walter</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peralta, Dan-el Padilla</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peralta, Dan-el Padilla</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perl, Eric</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perrot, Sylvain</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peterson, Anna</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petkas, Alex</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pincus, Jacqueline</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittard, Andrea</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popescu, Catalina</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probert, Philomen</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabinowitz, Nancy S.</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radcliffe, Ben A.</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramgopal, Sailakshmi</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramsby, Teresa</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratzan, David R.</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ready, Jonathan L.</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renberg, Gil H.</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rider, Zackary</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robertson, Bruce</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman, Luke</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romm, James</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruden, Sarah</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumor, Maddalena</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sammons, Benjamin</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sampson, C. Michael</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sancineto, Jane</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanders, Kyle</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satterfield, Susan</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scalf, Foy</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough, Julia</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schroer, Clayton A.</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schultz, Alexandra</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schwab, Andreas</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott, Andrew</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sears, Rebecca A.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segal, Noah A.S.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shannon, Kelly E.</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shear, Julia</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shedd, Martin P.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simmons, Jeremy</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simone, Caleb</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simonton, Matt</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slama, Joseph</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaveva-Griffin, Svetla</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Joshua M.</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solez, Kevin</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon, Jon</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorg, Tim</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soto, Irene</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spielberg, Lydia</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stark, Caroline</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steed, Kathryn L.</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steiner, Deborah Tarn</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewart, Roberta</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimson, Jacqueline</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan, Nancy</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Szempruch, Brittney</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor, Michael J.</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor, Tristan S.</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teets, Sarah Christine</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thatcher, Mark</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson, Olivia J.R.</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tipton, Joseph A.</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tortorelli, William</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tracy, Jonathan</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traill, John</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trundle, Matthew</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsolakis, Georgios</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tueller, Michael A.</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulrich, Jeffrey Peter</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungvary, David</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vadan, Paul</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Minnen, Peter</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varhelyi, Zsuzsa</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walden, Daniel</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walker, Abbe</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walsh, Erin</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walters, Brian</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward, Graeme Alexander</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weiberg, Erika L.</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weinlich, Barbara P.</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weintritt, Jennifer L.</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weiss, Michael</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weiss, Scott</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West, David T.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westerhold, Jessica</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitmarsh, Tim</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Kevin W.</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, Emily</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, Emily</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, Kathryn</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wray, David</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wutrich, Timothy</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yatsuhashi, Akira</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yu, Kenneth</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zarmakoupi, Mantha</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang, Tongjia</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zientek, Laura</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>