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ABSTRACTS

MARRIOTT MARQUIS
WASHINGTON D.C.

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MARRIOTT MARQUIS WASHINGTON D.C.

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-eighth 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.

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FIRST SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS

Session 1: Evaluating Scholarship, Digital and Traditional (Organized by the Digital Classics Association)

Title: Evaluating Digital Scholarship on its Own Terms: A Case Study

Name: Samuel Huskey

This paper will discuss how a multidisciplinary department made up of classicists and other humanities scholars at a large public research university developed and implemented a policy for evaluating digital scholarship. The challenges will be familiar to most faculty members, regardless of the nature or size of their departments. In this instance, the majority of faculty members were not engaged in digital scholarship of any kind. Some were firmly committed to the book as the gold standard of scholarly productivity. Others recognized the potential of digital scholarship, but had reservations about the ephemeral nature of so many digital projects. Still others took the view that building digital tools and resources is something other than scholarship; tools might support scholarly work, but they do not by themselves make an original contribution to scholarship. Nevertheless, with the university pushing ahead with a digital scholarship initiative, the department agreed that adopting a policy on digital scholarship would, at the very least, put it in the running for precious resources. Accordingly, the two faculty members who were involved in digital projects were charged with proposing a policy.

Many of our colleagues' concerns reflect their frame of reference: the print-centered paradigm that has guided humanities disciplines for centuries. Although the print paradigm continues to evolve, particularly in light of Open Access and other initiatives to address costs, it is a valid model for certain forms of scholarship, just not all of them. Accordingly, we sought not to fit digital scholarship into a print paradigm, but rather to develop policies appropriate for a digital paradigm. Developing those policies is not a herculean task for scholars who work on a digital paradigm. The hard part is getting buy-in from those who do not.

In this paper, I shall focus on the hard part, since that is where digital humanities scholars need the most help. How do you persuade colleagues who expect a book that a digital scholarly edition is its equivalent? How do you persuade them that a tool for visualizing data is a scholarly product? Even if you can persuade them of those things, how do you help them assess and evaluate these and other outcomes as original contributions to scholarship? To answer these questions, I shall give an account of the process that we followed, which concluded with unanimous passage of our digital scholarship policy and its approval by the dean and the provost.

Title: Evaluating Digital and Traditional Scholarship

Name: Gregory Crane

The first question is not how to evaluate digital scholarship but to articulate the contribution that scholarship on the Greco-Roman world makes to society as a whole. In practice, most departmental reviews of scholarship assume that the field deserves to exist and the paid professionals within have full autonomy to decide how to assess what does and does not matter. Those of us who have had the opportunity to earn tenured positions at established institutions may, of course, be able to assume that the existence of Greco-Roman studies is settled because our own positions are expected to be secure until we choose to retire. The reckoning comes, of course, when we do retire and our institutions must decide whether to replace us, to give that position to another department, or simply to allocate those resources elsewhere. When funders in nations such as the UK require proposals to describe the impact of funded research, they are not simply asking that we invent rhetorical explanations of impact for a research project that we have already designed. The prodding questions about impact challenge us to go back to first principles and to ask what work our scholarship should accomplish.

Specialist assessment of the technical quality plays an absolutely essential but, by itself, utterly insufficient role in assessing scholarship. The goal is not to abandon professional standards but to deploy them in the service of some goal beyond impressing other specialists. I see at least two complementary justifications for research. First, an analysis of popular culture would (in my view) demonstrate enough interest in the Greco-Roman world to sustain -- and even to expand -- the number of positions devoted to research in this area. Publication behind subscription

walls, writing that assumes too much specialist understanding (even in monographs that purport to reach a wider audience), and inadequate use of new interactive forms of publications all limit the realizable intellectual value of the scholarship that we produce. Second, our research must relentlessly demonstrate transparent, evidence-based reasoning. This entails that we provide, insofar as humanly possible, links to openly licensed versions of the primary sources upon which we base our conclusions. This requirement creates a demand for at least a generation of editors who can create born-digital editions that can be personalized to serve the general backgrounds and immediate needs of many different audiences. True philology -- broad in its scope, transparent in its use of evidence, open to different interpretations, and rigorous in its argumentation -- is possible and can demonstrate the contributions that Greco-Roman culture can make to human society.

Title: Linking, publishing and evaluating language resources: The “LiLa: Linking Latin” project

Name: Francesco Mambrini

Semantic-Web technologies and Linked-Open-Data (LOD) have considerably affected the way data are published on the web. The adoption of LOD has important consequences also on the question of how digital scholarship is used and evaluated. By aligning data on common vocabularies and ontologies, the LOD paradigm introduces a form of standardization between projects, thus allowing for a more informed comparison. Moreover, interoperability makes projects easier to update and more discoverable, and thus more open to be used and debated by a larger community. On the other hand, Linked Data rest on the principle that anyone can make any assertion about any resource: the Resource Description Framework (RDF) on which Linked Data are based “does not prevent anyone from making assertions that are nonsensical or inconsistent with other statements, or the world as people see it” [1].

Recently, digital projects in Classics have productively adopted the LOD paradigm, in particular in Archaeology, Epigraphy and Ancient History (see e.g. Arachne [2], EAGLE [3][4], and Pelagios [5]). Using knowledge bases like Pleiades [6] or SNAP:DRGN [7], researchers can now connect all sort of different data that make reference to locations or persons.

In spite of the growing interest in LOD in both Classics and Computational Linguistics [8], linguistic and textual resources for ancient languages remain largely scattered and unconnected. While several corpora with linguistic annotation (including lemmatization, PoS-tagging, and syntax) or lexical resources like dictionaries and thesauri exist, no infrastructure is in place to connect those data in a unified architecture based on LOD.

In this presentation, we intend to discuss these questions starting from our experience in the LiLa project. LiLa aims to create an open-ended, lexically-based Knowledge Base for Latin using the Linked-Data paradigm. LiLa will enable users to exploit the wealth of linguistic resources for Latin assembled so far. At the same time, the project creates a space for newly published digital resources to interact with other projects all over the web. After a short introduction on LiLa’s architecture and the resources that we plan to connect, we intend to discuss the challenges and opportunities that Semantic-Web technologies pose to how we publish, use and evaluate data related to the ancient languages. Particularly relevant to the topic of evaluation of digital works is the aforementioned potential trade-off between increased publicity (as mentioned above) and lower control over data quality, which the very same principle of openness in LOD may produce.

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[4] Orlandi, Silvia. 2016. Ancient Inscriptions between Citizens and Scholars: The Double Soul of the EAGLE Project. In: M. Romanello, and Bodard G. (edd.), *Digital Classics Outside the Echo-Chamber*. London: Ubiquity Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/bat.1>

[5] <http://commons.pelagios.org/>

[6] <https://pleiades.stoa.org/>

[7] <http://snapdrgn.net/>

[8] Chiarcos, Christian, Sebastian Nordhoff, and Sebastian Hellmann (edd.). 2012. *Linked data in linguistics: representing and connecting language data and language metadata*.

Title: Your Personnel Committee Has Questions

Name: Christopher Francese

You are under review. Driven by fear, ignorance, and suspicion, your personnel committee is hostile to digital work and the plunging descent of scholarly standards that it represents. Where in God's name is the peer-review? Who can keep up with publication formats whose shelf life like unto that of soup? Who can even understand this stuff? How many journal articles is it equivalent to? Your review is doomed unless you can explain your work in 250 words. Go.

The first thing to do is to patiently describe the nature of your scholarly contribution and its lasting value. When that has been settled, help the committee to ask better questions the next time. This talk will give a list of nine questions or sets of questions that personnel committees should be asking of scholars who produce digital publications. They cover topics such as platforms and technical requirements; user experience; scholarly context; relationship to teaching and service; impact; the life cycle of digital projects; defining roles within a project; and grants.

The chaotic nature of digital publishing imposes added burdens on DH scholars to explain and justify their work. We might also need to take on the task of helping personnel committees to do their jobs more effectively. By asking better questions, colleagues and administrators can learn to discriminate varieties of, and levels of quality within, digital scholarship. The act of engaging in this dialogue about evaluation on an institutional level will also have salutary effects on digital projects themselves as they come to better articulate their purpose and place in the intellectual landscape.

This talk is based on digital scholarship standards already in use at Dickinson College ("Evaluation of Digital Scholarship at Dickinson" memo of 2014: https://www.dickinson.edu/download/downloads/id/4510/evaluation_of_digital_scholarship_at_dickinson), which are themselves indebted to Todd Presner's article, "How to Evaluate Digital Scholarship," *Journal of Digital Humanities* 1.4 (Fall 2012).

Title: Grant Awards as Pre-Publication Review

Name: Sheila Brennan

Grant-funded research represents work that has received approval from experts across the field through a rigorous form of "pre-publication" blind peer review for the variety of expressions of digital humanities projects. Grant proposals, particularly ones that receive federal funding from agencies like the National Endowment for the Humanities, are more heavily scrutinized and evaluated than a book prospectus, article abstract, or manuscript draft. Receipt of funding from the NEH, for example, offers one of many ways to demonstrate to promotion and tenure committees that digital projects are legitimate scholarly endeavors. Proposing to design an open source software project or engage in computational analysis requires the project's director and team to ground the work within

humanities scholarship and explain a project's decisions and structure. It is rare that a scholar must defend to a publisher their choice in selecting a monograph as the appropriate design and format for a long-form narrative.

During this session, I will discuss the blind peer review process at the National Endowment for the Humanities from my perspective as a program officer. Leaders across humanities disciplines, experienced in digital methodologies, come together during NEH review panels to discuss comments made individually and then rate a project's potential to impact the field or fields of study where it is grounded and its intended audiences. This can be particularly important for projects building software, code libraries, or data sets that contribute to the digital scholarly infrastructure that so few understand but on which so many rely to do their own work.

I will also discuss how my experience in academia developing and writing grant proposals enhanced my ability to converse with colleagues less familiar with digital humanities practices and projects to convey their value and impact.

Session 2: Greek and Latin Linguistics (Organized by the Society for Greek and Latin Linguistics)

Title: Noun Incorporation in Ancient Greek?

Name: Nadav Asraf

A large group of compound verbs in Ancient Greek such as στεφανη-πλοκέω, στρατ-ηγέω, and νομο-θετέω, can be seen, from a synchronic point of view, as noun-incorporated verbs. The morphological phenomenon of noun incorporation is well known mostly from polysynthetic languages, such as Native American languages. However, looking at this phenomenon typologically (based mostly on Mithun 1984, but also on other typological and theoretical work), one can argue that Ancient Greek also displays this morphological process.

These verbs have been traditionally analyzed as denominative verbs, derived from verbal governing nouns or adjectives. However, for many of these verbs – most of them *hapax legomena* – the purported noun from which they were allegedly derived is not attested in our corpora. The talk will strive to show that these verbs can be better analyzed and understood as noun incorporated verbs, all sharing the same basic morphology of a nominal component followed by a verbal component.

In many cases it is possible to outline direct evidence for a noun incorporation analysis of these verbs. Often we see in texts the independent noun (e.g., ἀγών), the independent verb (e.g., τίθημι), and then the noun-incorporated verb (e.g., ἀγωνο-θετέω as in D.9.32). The incorporation also occurs across two different texts, such as in comments made by the scholia (e.g., scholia ad Ar.Nu.997 & Ar.Th.400-1) or in ancient translations (e.g., in the Septuagint). In cases like this the verbal compounding reveals the synchronic status of these verbs as noun-incorporated and not merely as denominative. In addition, in a few cases (e.g., Hdt.4.194.1) these verbs do not function as 'anaphoric islands' (Postal 1969) and the incorporated noun is actually referred to by anaphoric pronouns later on in the text.

From a morpho-syntactic point of view, the incorporation of the semantic patient of a transitive verb causes the argument structure of the verb to become saturated, that is to say most noun-incorporated verbs are intransitive (e.g., στεφανη-πλοκέω). However, in some well-defined exceptions – attested also typologically – these verbs indeed do take a full-fledged noun as a direct object, such as in cases of lexicalization (e.g., χειρο-τονέω), 'case manipulation' (e.g., δειρο-τομέω, in which the possessor of the body part appears in the acc., while in the non-incorporated version it appears in the gen.), and classificatory incorporation (e.g., οἰκο-δομέω, in which the acc. complement can be either truly cognate with the base noun (e.g., οἰκία) or merely semantically cognate, i.e. a type of substantial building like νηόν). These limitations on the argument structure of the verb are best accounted for under a noun incorporation analysis.

Due to the prevailing historical approach to the Classical languages, this phenomenon has hardly been studied in Ancient Greek (though it was studied in Latin: Fruyt 1990 & Fugier 1994). The only significant exception is Pompei 2006, but this article does not fully explore the phenomenon and its morpho-syntactic ramifications. The suggested talk will adduce additional examples and arguments in order to show that one can actually add this phenomenon to the inventory of Ancient Greek morphological mechanisms.

Title: The Etymologies of ἄπειρος
Name: Thomas Davies

This paper explores an important technical term in early Greek philosophy, ἄπειρος. The first known use of the word (in the neuter, ἄπειρον) occurs in a cosmological fragment (DK A9/B1) of Anaximander of Miletus (traditional dates 610–c. 545 BC).

For more than a century, scholars of early Greek philosophy have debated the sense in which Anaximander used this word, with the debate mostly turning on its etymology. It is rare to find a treatment of Anaximander which does not offer an etymology of the word. Unfortunately, few scholars of Anaximander are historical linguists, and proposals range from the unsatisfactory to the insane. This paper offers an informed etymology of ἄπειρος and explores its semantic development and folk-etymological explanations through the Archaic and Classical periods. I conclude with some remarks on the legitimate uses of historical linguistics in ancient philosophy.

Three main accounts of the etymology have been proposed: the majority of commentators understand ἄπειρος as an alpha-privative formed on πείραρ ‘limit’ and accordingly render it ‘infinite’ or ‘unlimited’ (Burnet 1930, Jaeger 1947, Vlastos 1947, Guthrie 1962, West 1971, Sweeney 1972, Barnes 1982, Dancy 1989, Couprie 2003, Couprie & Kočandrle 2013, Gregory 2016). An influential minority take it as an alpha-privative formed on πείρω ‘traverse, pass through,’ meaning ‘untraversable’ (Kahn 1960, Graham 2006). A fringe view is that ἄπειρος is an alpha-privative formed on πείρα ‘test, experience’ and means ‘that which cannot be experienced’ (first argued by Tannery 1904, and periodically disinterred from the dignity of the grave by e.g. Sweeney 1972, Drozdek 2008, Couprie & Kočandrle 2017).

After a brief summary of the independent problems with these views, I argue that the debate itself is misconceived. The word ἄπειρος was not a new and independent alpha-privative formation, but the product of a collapse of four formally and etymologically distinct words containing the initial element ἀπειρ- into a single o-stem:

1. ἀπέιρων ‘without limits’: an alpha-privative formed on πείραρ.
2. ἀπειρέσιος (metrical allomorph ἀπερείσιος) ‘untraversable’: an East Greek descendant of **aperyet(i)os* (< PIE **per-ye/o-*) (Vine 1998).
3. ἀπειρίτος ‘uncircumnavigable’: either from **a-peri-itos* (after semivocalization of the first /i/ and regular metathesis, as Chantraine, following Schulze 1892), or simply from **a-per-itos* (< PIE **per-* ‘come through’) with **-per-* analogized to (1) and (2).
4. ἀπειρήτος ‘inexperienced’: a regular negative passive adjectival formation from πειράω ‘try, test.’

Near the beginning of the sixth century, ἄπειρος ‘ignorant’ replaced (4). In Ionic, it also replaced (1)–(3), which had already undergone significant semantic bleaching and simply meant ‘vast.’ The Ionic usage of ἄπειρος ‘vast’ spread to Attic and West Greek over the course of the fifth century, resulting in a single o-stem form ἄπειρος meaning both ‘ignorant’ and ‘vast.’ Early on, ἄπειρος ‘ignorant’ was falsely etymologized as an alpha-privative formation to the noun πείρα ‘test’ (e.g. Thgn. 571–2). I argue that this provoked reanalysis of its homophone ἄπειρος ‘vast’ into a formation to the noun πέρας, especially in philosophical discourse (Xenoph. B28, Philol. B1–2, Plat. *Phlb.* 16c10; Arist. *Phys.* 203^b3–15, etc.). The technical meaning of ‘infinite’ therefore arose in the fifth century. I conclude that Anaximander probably would not have found precedent for using ἄπειρος in any sense but ‘very large.’ This does not, of course, preclude his using it in a novel sense, and the paper closes with some methodological remarks on how linguistics should be brought to bear on the interpretation of philosophical texts.

Title: Ἔρως Καλυψώ: an Etymologizing Pair?
Name: Andrew Merritt

Despite uncertainties of formal detail (v. Heubeck 1988:249), it is uncontroversial to assume that Καλυψώ derives from καλύπτω ‘cover’ (< **kel-* ‘id.’), that this derivational relationship was apparent both to bard and audience, and that the name corresponds overtly to the character’s principal activity: the literal isolation and complete obscuration of Odysseus. Though the name alone is so transparent as to speak for itself (cf. Ἀντίνοος), it may be argued that this

saliency, rather than precluding word-play, conditioned Καλυψώ's participation in an etymologically allusive phrase: ἔρυκε Καλυψώ 'Calypso detained'.

As Risch (1947:72–91) demonstrated, Homeric word-play is of an altogether greater subtlety than Hesiod's more conspicuous aetiological etymologizing. For example, as I would argue, the echoic word-play with Ὀδυσσεύς by means of δύστηνον ὀδυρόμενον κατερύκει (1.55) and ὠδύσαο (1.62), though actual etymology may be unintended, still alludes variously to the hero's unhappiness and subjection to superhuman ire. In contrast, the formula Ἄρπυιαι ἀνηρέψαντο 'the Snatchers/whirlwinds snatched' (1.55; 14:371; 20:77) is clearly etymological word-play effected by phonic resemblance founded on an underlying correspondence of meaning (cf. ἀναπάξασα θύελλα 20:63); that is, the poetic intimation of lexical kinship is mediated by segmental and syllabic similarity and conditioned by the bard's native feel for the intended semantic field. As regards ἔρυκε Καλυψώ, while the metrically principal internal echo of the liquid-initial syllables constitutes the medium (-ρυ- ~ -λυ- ~ -λυ- ~ -λυ-), a sense of the message emerges from the frequency with which (κατ)ερύκω is predicated of Calypso (1.14, 1.55, 9.29, 23.334). Indeed, the two are so bound together that the poet can play with the audience's expectations by having Athena/Mentes mention the concealer's location and activity (κατερύκεται...νήσῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ...ἔρυκανόωσι 1.197–9), while concealing her agency (χαλεποί δέ μιν ἄνδρες 1.198). Not only does this diction display and play on word-play, it may also betray in solely semantic terms an etymological basis recoverable through morphological analysis of ἐρύκω itself.

Despite Chantraine's derivation from (F)ἐρύω 'drag' (2009: 375–6), it is generally agreed that ἐρύκω, formed with the marginal, yet paralleled, -κω present suffix (e.g. ὄλε-σα- : ὄλέ-κε/ο- :: ἔρῦ-σα- : ἐρύ-κε/ο-), derives from ἔρυμαι 'guard, protect, ward off, check' (Schwyzer 1939:702; Frisk 1960–1973:568; Risch 1974:279), because of semantic overlap and lack of initial digamma (v. Chantraine 2013:136–7). Viewed comparatively, ἔρυμαι is formally and semantically problematic. In form and largely in meaning, the best etymon is **ser-* 'aufpassen auf, beschützen' (LIV²:534; v. Chantraine 1968–1980:376), from which was formed the *u*-present reflected by psilotic ἔρυμαι (cf. YAv. *ni-šhauruuaiti* 'watches' Jasanoff 2003:142). Though it is possible for a preform **ser-* of the sense 'watch/guard' to underlie all of ἔρυμαι's above-mentioned meanings, there are two instances where ἔρυμαι simply means 'cover' (5.484; 6.130). The first, when Odysseus covers himself with leaves (φύλλων...ἔρυσθαι 5.483–4) is soon echoed by φύλλοισι καλύψατο (5.491); the second, when Odysseus uses leaves to conceal his genitals before meeting Nausicaa (ὡς ῥύσαιτο 6.130), is without any sense of physical protection. Since semantic change from 'cover' to 'protect, shelter, etc.' is straightforward (e.g. Ved. *śárman-* 'protection' < **kel-mṛ* 'cover'), it is possible that ἔρυμαι, as the formal reflex of **ser-*, has appropriated the meaning 'cover' from an originally distinct but formally and semantically overlapping root **h₁mer-* (e.g. Εὐρυσίλαος, Chantraine 2009:376; cf. conflation in Ved. *vr̥nóti* 'cover, shut, protect, ward off' LIV²:227–8). Thus, by virtue of ἔρυμαι's 'cover' meaning, ἐρύκω inherited the sense 'confine' (cf. Lat. *arceō* 'enclose, shut > confine, hinder, ward off'; **h₂erk-* > *arx* 'Schloss' and Hitt. *harzi* 'holds' Watkins 1970:67).

In sum, I suggest that the poet chose ἐρύκω precisely because its meaning of confinement, along with derivationally inherited associations of covering and concealing, satisfied the semantic correspondence needed for etymological word-play. Accordingly, just as ἀνηρέψαντο pairs etymologically with Ἄρπυιαι, so too was ἔρυκε Καλυψώ intended as an etymological figure informed by a native feel for the type of "detention" involved.

Title: Ares πολισσός (Homeric Hymn 8.2): A New Interpretation

Name: Laura Massetti

The *Eighth Homeric Hymn* celebrates the war-god Ares and has long been recognized as an intruder in the collection of the Homeric Hymns (Gelzer 1987). Several stylistic traits speak in favor of a late age of composition (West 1970). For instance, the opening of the hymn features an accumulative set of epithets, among which the *hapax eiremenon* πολισσός* 'guarding the cities' (LSJ s.v.), cf.

Ἄρες ὑπερμενέτα, βρισάρματε, χρυσεοπήληξ,

ὀβριμόθυμε, φέρασπι, πολισσόε, χαλκοκορυστά

“Ares haughty in spirit, heavy on chariot, golden-helmeted; grim-hearted, shieldbearer, *city-savior*, bronze-armored [...]” (West 2003)

In the paper, I endeavor to show that *πολισσόος** (v. 2) should be interpreted as ‘stirring up the city’ or ‘rousing the city’ (τὴν πόλιν σοῶν*) and not, as currently assumed, ‘saving the city / guarding the cities’ (τὴν πόλιν σῶζων*). I make the case that the epithets attributed to Ares in the very opening of the poem rely upon ancient phraseological models: Ares is depicted as a warlike, dangerous god, although the hymn progressively shifts the focus on him as a planetary god who also provides peace and protection to the men. Furthermore, since *πολισσόος** might be ultimately based on an ancient model, I would like to discuss the case of a formal parallel evidenced in the Old Indic tradition, which is linguistically related to the Greek one.

More specifically, I argue that:

- (a) As a phraseological commentary to the first three lines of the poem clearly shows, most of the epithets attributed to Ares in the very opening of *HH* 8 rely upon ancient phraseological *matrices*, take, for instance, *ὑπερμενέτης**, based on *ὑπερμενής* (*Il.* 2.116+); *ὄβριμόθυμος* (Ares in Panyassis fr. 16.1 Matthews), reminiscent of *ὄβριμος Ἄρης* (*Il.* 5.845+). In this connection, I propose that ‘Ares *πολισσόος**’ may be modeled on *Ἄρης λαοσσόος* ‘Ares, rouser of armies’ (*Il.* 17.399). This assumption is corroborated by a comparison with Proclus 7.3–4 (*Hymn to Athena*), in which West (1970) identified a variety of stylistic traits similar to those of *HH* 8. In Proclus’s hymn, Athena is called *δορυσσόε* ‘wielding the spear’ (v. 4), which is reminiscent of Hom. *Ἀθηναίη λαοσσόος* (*Il.* 13.128, *Od.* 22.210).
- (b) From the formal point of view, Gk. *πολισσόος** perfectly matches a collocation evidenced in RV 6.18.8d, i.e. [(to) put in motion (*cyautná-* ‘shaking’) – city (*purām* ‘of the strongholds’)]. Ved. [*cyautná-* – *purām*] exhibits the very same lexemes as Gk. *πολισσόος**, namely: a derivative of Ved. *cyav* ‘shake, put in motion’ (IE **k̑ey-*, Gk. *κινέω*, *σεύω*, cf. García Ramón 1994) and *pūr-* ‘stronghold’ (cf. IE **p̑h₁-*, cf. Gk. *πόλις*, cf. Strunk 1969).

Despite the formal match, the Greek compound and the Vedic collocation have different meanings: ‘stirring / rousing up the city’ vs. ‘shaking of the city.’ In addition, given the late putative age of composition of *HH*. 8, the two phraseological structures are likely to have originated independently. Nevertheless, it is possible that both Gk. *πολισσόος* and Ved. [*cyautná-* – *purām*] came into existence through similar ‘phraseological dynamics’. In particular, *πολισσόος** ‘stirring up the city’ was remade on a model *λαοσσόος* ‘rousing the armies’, while Old Indic [*purām cyautná-*] ‘shaking (: putting in motion) of the strongholds’ exists beside a collocation [rousing up – men / people], attested in at least three variants in the *Rigveda*: [(*pra*)*cyav* – *nár-* / *jána-* / *kṛṣṭi-acc.*] ‘to rouse the men / people / folk’.

At any rate, the Vedic collocation [shak(ing) – (of) the city] finds a perfect semantic match in Gk. [shake (*κινέω* : **ki-neu-*) – city_{acc.} (*πόλις*)], documented in Euripides’s *Supplikes* 752, cf. *ἐπεὶ παραγμὸς πόλιν ἐκίνησεν* *δορός* “while the tumult of war (lit. of the spear) shook the city”. This Euripidean collocation can thus be added to the rich dossier of phraseological matches that Ved. *cyav* and Gk. *κινέω* have in common (cf. García Ramón 1993).

Title: Non-Conventional, Non-Formulaic, and Recent Linguistic Features in Homeric Epics
Name: Sara Kaczko

2020 is an important anniversary for Homeric and Greek linguistics: 50 years ago, P. Wathelet (1970) drew attention to some non-formulaic “late” developments in Homer, such as the lack of 3rd compensatory lengthening in, e.g., *μονωθεῖς*, *ξένος* (vs. *μουνω-* < **μον.ῶ-*, *ξεῖνο-* < *ξέν.ῶ-*), explaining them as Euboean elements. Over time, the exceptional archaeological finds at Lefkandi (Euboea), some remarks by Wathelet 1981 and Peters 1987, a systematic analysis by M. West (1988), and the ensuing lively debate with contributions by Cassio 1988 and [forthcoming], Forssman 1992, Janko 1992, Ruijgh 1995, Hackstein 2010, led to new observations and also new perspectives on some issues already analyzed in a seminal work by Wackernagel 1916. As a result, many experts on the Homeric and Greek language had come to the conclusion that a number of relatively uncommon and largely

non-formulaic features of Homeric Greek reflect the cultural influence of Central and Western Greece, in particular of Euboea, Attica, Boeotia.

An important role of Euboea in the latest phases of the composition of the Homeric poems is now accepted by many scholars, for linguistic and cultural reasons (see the finds at Lefkandi, the hexameters on Nestor's and Hakesandros' cups), but it may not be the whole story: many innovations, including the lack of 3rd compensatory lengthening, in the Homeric diction may theoretically have originated in more than one dialect area, and more than one area was culturally advanced during the "Dark Ages", Euboea of course, but also Boeotia and Attica. Scholars have become therefore not only increasingly interested in the relationship between the language of archaic Greek epic and, in particular, the dialects and (possibly) poetic traditions of Euboea and Boeotia, but also in some features and regions unthinkable, in the past, with regard to Homeric Greek: see West's provocative observation: "no one speaks of Dorisms in Homer, because they fit no one's theories, but what of this one [scil. ἔσσειται]? (and what of τειν = σοί?)".

Indeed, pronouns like these seem prominent among elements that seem difficult or impossible to explain in terms of the generally accepted theory of the phases of Homeric diction: τειν, but also τειο, ἀμός and others have parallels only in Boeotian, Doric, and West Greek, occur in lines that often seem suspiciously recent, and are, at any rate, non-formulaic. This talk will therefore discuss a few pronominal forms, such as ἐέ, ἐοῖ, εὐ, ἡμῖν, ἡμας and σφας, arguing that some might be artificial secondary creations, but that some are relatively late arrivals in an almost fixed diction owing to the cultural influence of Central and Western Greece (including Attica).

Session 3: Blurring the Boundaries: Interactions Between the Living and Dead in the Roman World (Joint AIA-SCS Panel)

Title: Mapping Funerary Monuments in the Periphery of Imperial Rome

Name: Dorian Borbonus

In the periphery of Rome, the "world of the dead" and the "world of the living" were famously both distinct and intermeshed at the same time (Erasmio 2001). On the one hand, burial was relegated to outside the pomerium on religious grounds; on the other, funerary monuments were regularly visited, their epitaphs commonly address passing travelers directly, and burial took place within the city at least occasionally (Volpe 2017). The boundaries between the living and the dead were thus permeable and they also changed over time as the pomerium was successively expanded (Patterson 2000).

The relationship between the world of the living and the dead is also shaped by the placement of funerary monuments. It has been observed, for example, that the placement of tomb monuments maximized their visibility in the late Republican period, followed by an increasing "internalization" during the imperial period (von Hesberg 1992). This reconstruction is plausible, but it also postulates that one normative practice gave way to another – in this case self-representation to internalization. There are also counterexamples that do not fit the pattern: for example, Augustan columbarium tombs are predominantly oriented towards the interior and reverse the public face of tomb monuments long before the alleged internalization process started (Borbonus 2014).

Atypical cases like this indicate that actual behavior is more nuanced than rules and generalizations suggest, but simply emphasizing variability and context instead can also lead to an impasse. The challenge is to chart a course between excessive attention to context and overly broad generalizations. One way to differentiate our understanding of Rome's funerary periphery is to map it at different scales. On the macroscopic level, the locations of all known or documented monuments around the city provide a panoramic view on an urban scale. The resulting distribution confirms a correlation with extra-urban roads, but it also shows different trends over time, such as the increasing clustering of dense funerary zones. These necropoleis indicate a tendency to separate burial functions from the surrounding landscape and thus consign interactions between the living and the dead to designated areas.

On a more detailed level, the micro-topographical development of these necropoleis often spans several centuries. Old monuments stood in close juxtaposition with new constructions and access to specific burials could lead through serpentine paths. The development of these cemeteries was clearly ruled by numerous factors, at least some of which

were specific to individual sites. Local conditions could affect the development in unpredictable ways, for example by the burial of entire monuments in mudslides or the gradual rise of the ground level through repeated flooding.

In general, the two mapping scales recognize the global patterns and the unique situations that characterize the use of Rome's periphery for burial and commemoration.

Title: Death, Pollution, and Roman Social Life

Name: Allison Emmerson

That the dead were polluting—i.e., that corpses posed a danger of making the living somehow unclean, offensive to both the living community and the gods—is thought to be among the most essential Roman beliefs about death. Over the past century, scholars of both literary and material culture have contended that a fear of death pollution was a primary force driving funerary ritual, from the treatment of the corpse immediately after death to the rites performed at the end of the period of mourning, a perspective that has grown even more entrenched in recent decades (e.g., Lindsay 2000; Graham 2011; Lennon 2014; Bond 2016; Paturet 2017). Nevertheless, such an understanding tends to overlook an important point: our earliest references to death pollution emerged only in Late Antiquity (Serv. *Ad Aen.* 3.64, 4.507, 6.216). This paper problematizes the evidence for a widespread belief in contagious, miasmatic death pollution in the Republican and Imperial periods. I argue that the idea of polluting death emerges not from the ancient texts themselves, but from a modern reconstruction that combines those texts without critically evaluating chronological, geographic, or social variation, nor questioning the intentions of authors or requirements of genre. By reexamining the texts outside that traditional narrative, I find a new pattern underlying funerary practices, in which behavior was dictated not by a fear of pollution emanating from dead bodies, but by the obligations and emotions that death imposed on mourners. Importantly, such responses were neither externally-dictated or dogmatic, but internal, changeable, and dependent above all on individual interpretation. Not only does this understanding accord better with the ancient evidence, but also it allows for space and flexibility, acknowledging all that we do not know—and cannot know—of how Romans grappled with the complexity of death.

Title: Not Set in Stone: Provisions for Roman Grave Reuse

Name: Liana Brent

In Roman law, the crime of tomb violation prohibited damage to the monument or memory of an individual, as well as unwanted disturbances or unauthorized additions to existing burials (de Visscher 1963; Kaser 1978; Caldelli et al. 2004; Thomas 2004; Paturet 2014). From the time that human remains were deposited into a grave, a tomb became a religious space (*locus religiosus*) that was legally defined, although its protection mainly concerned the integrity of the tomb structure or monument (Duday and Van Andringa 2017). This paper argues that the use of a legal definition of tomb violation in Roman funerary archaeology has led to the treatment of burials as time capsules, whose inherent worth derives from their sealed, intact nature. Those burials that have been looted, damaged, disturbed or reused are routinely edited out of excavation reports, and their post-depositional histories are viewed as unwanted interventions because these burials were supposed to be sealed in perpetuity.

The invocation of time capsules in archeological literature uses figurative language to explain the exceptional circumstances of preservation that safeguard against the effects of unwanted tampering. Consideration of the archaeological evidence, however, reveals that Roman burial receptacles and tomb structures were often provisioned to be opened and reused at later points. This phenomenon has rarely been acknowledged because the frequency and extent of Roman grave reuse have never been studied systematically at the inter-site or regional levels. A preliminary exploration of different types of burial containers, including sarcophagi, cremation urns, and even simple pit burials, demonstrates that the boundaries between the living and the dead were often more porous than has ever been considered. The living came into contact with human remains at different points in the 'lifespan' of a grave, and these interactions should not be discredited as mere disturbances.

By bringing together the archaeological evidence for grave opening and reuse practices in different types of funerary receptacles, I challenge conventional notions about tomb violation in the archaeological record. My exploration draws on evidence from Roman cemeteries that are not usually considered alongside each other, which include semi-urban and rural cemeteries, monumental and non-monumental sites, as well as elite and non-elite burials.

Throughout this paper, I advocate for a new understanding of Roman mortuary landscapes in which the boundaries between the living and the dead were routinely blurred in the adaptive use and successive reuse of tombs and burials. As a result, any attempt to write histories of Roman funerary practices needs to carefully discern how legal definitions of tomb violation can influence our interpretation of the archaeological record.

Title: Transgressing the Dead in Ancient and Renaissance Rome

Name: Mario Erasmo

Corpse abuse in ancient Rome, or more properly, the corpse abuse of (in)famous individuals (Marius' ashes scattered by Sulla; Pompey's decapitation and corpse abuse; and Sejanus' corpse dragged by a hook then tossed into the Tiber) is frequently an epilogue to personal or political enmity. Corpses are vulnerable to abuse ranging from verbal and physical assault, mutilation, and non-disposal. Funerary rituals surrounding disposal magnify the effects of abuse against "life-like" corpses, including the prothesis that imitates the position of one in repose and the laying out of a body for cremation or burial in a supine posture. Etruscan sarcophagi with effigies of the deceased reclining and seemingly social extend the metaphor of life to the dead. Do transgressive acts against the dead extend or negate this metaphor of a permeable boundary between life and death?

This paper examines transgressions against the dead, in particular focusing on the treatment of the corpses of Agrippina the Younger and the so-called Tulliola. Tacitus (*Annals* 14.9), and Suetonius (*Nero* 34), offer varying accounts of Nero's inspection of his mother's corpse prior to disposal, but a similar feature of the narratives is Nero's sexualized viewing of Agrippina's body. Parallels of the transgression of an ancient Roman woman's corpse extend to the Renaissance. In 1485, the body of a perfectly preserved woman incorrectly identified as Tulliola, Cicero's daughter, was discovered in a sarcophagus unearthed along the Via Appia Antica and exhibited outside Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitoline Hill. For several days curious spectators lined up for an opportunity to view and touch the pagan corpse until Pope Innocent VIII Cybo had the body secretly removed and anonymously disposed. The abuse suffered by a potentially nude Tulliola at her "second prothesis" over one thousand years after her first, is as transgressive as Agrippina's, yet with more viewers/abusers at what was the first modern exhibition of an ancient corpse.

Session 4: Imperial Virgil (Organized by the Vergilian Society)

Title: Aeneas, Hercules, and Augustus: the Ambiguous Heroes of Virgil's Aeneid

Name: Patricia Craig

Virgil intends Aeneas to become the "Roman Hercules," for he depicts a hero hounded by Juno's wrath and repeatedly uses the word *labor* for each fresh trial the demi-god faces, the first instance being in line 10 (Galinsky 1972, p. 132). Galinsky argues that because Aeneas was the peculiar property of noble Roman families like the Julians, Augustus became a new Hercules by association, a clear nod by Virgil toward Augustus' eventual deification (p. 138). The parallel drawn among Aeneas, Hercules, and Augustus is not, however, straightforward praise for Augustus. As several scholars point out, the story of Cacus' defeat, narrated by King Evander in book eight, raises questions about Virgil's intent in associating the three men. For example, Ferenczi (1999) argues that Hercules is so enraged against Cacus that he has no claim to moral superiority over the monster, which makes him less a model of *virtus* than either Aeneas or Augustus in Virgil's eyes. The premise is sound, but whereas Ferenczi claims that the characterization of Hercules undermines the parallel between him and Aeneas (p. 334), I will argue that Virgil deliberately chose an ambiguous hero to juxtapose with Aeneas, so that Aeneas' wrathful defeat of Turnus would call into question his moral superiority over his enemy, just as Hercules' conquest of Cacus does. In fact, Virgil characterizes not only Cacus and Turnus as bestial (see Galinsky, p. 144) but also Hercules and Aeneas. Underscoring the ambiguity of the Cacus episode, Secci (2013) claims that Virgil acknowledges the difficulty of creating Rome's foundation story from the traditional myth of Aeneas when he depicts Evander as a myth-maker who deliberately ignores the crux of the traditional labor, taking Geryon's cattle, and instead embellishes a secondary story, the defeat of Cacus (Secci, p. 196). By making a lesser-known myth the central aetiological myth, Evander and Virgil subtly undermine the heroism not only of Hercules but of the new Hercules, which in turn raises questions about Augustus' greatness. Virgil again emphasizes a secondary aspect of a Herculean labor when he characterizes Aeneas' ascent from the underworld as the true Herculean task (*hic labor est*, 6.129); the traditional labor was to descend and retrieve Cerberus. Aeneas' impressive triumph over death foreshadows that of Augustus,

but what sort of triumph is it that returns through the gate of false dreams (*Aen.* 6.896-98)? A few other instances of the word *labor* in the *Aeneid* raise similar questions. Hence, by associating Aeneas with Hercules, both in the Cacus episode and in his repeated usage of *labor*, Virgil deliberately underscores the ambiguity of Aeneas' character: he is both the godlike, dutiful founder of Rome and an emotional man alternately swayed by love, regret, and wrath. Virgil draws a parallel between Aeneas and Hercules not only as praise for Augustus, the self-proclaimed new founder of Rome (Suetonius, *Vita Augusti* 7), but also as a subtle warning to his readers that a demi-god like Aeneas or Hercules can bring indiscriminate destruction to friend and foe.

Title: Imperial Venus Venatrix in the Aeneid
Author: David West

In this paper, I argue that Venus's concern in the *Aeneid* for the survival of Ascanius's line and the Trojan people arises not simply from her status as a concerned mother (Wlosok 1967, Austin 1971, Highet 1972), but principally from her drive for the honor that will accrue to her as mother of the imperial Roman descendants of the Trojans. Moreover, while scholars usually concentrate on the power struggle between Jupiter and Juno (e.g. Feeney 1991) or the imperial ambitions of Jupiter (Hejduk 2009), I will demonstrate that the poem displays a recurring pattern in which Venus is pitted against Juno in a continual struggle by proxy for the honor associated with empire. Vergil also construes Venus as a violent imperialist by portraying her as *venatrix*, associating her with the poem's violent hunting images (Dunkle 1973, Wilhelm 1987), but in particular with those in Book 12 that concern Turnus; Venus is shown attempting to destroy the Latins in Book 10 by fomenting love for Pallas in Aeneas, a love that Putnam (1995) has persuasively argued lies behind the rage that seals Turnus's fate.

Just as Venus gained a total triumph over Juno in terms of the honor gained from the recognition of her superior beauty in the judgment of Paris, so in the *Aeneid* she strives to outmaneuver Juno to establish Trojan (she hopes) over Punic or Latin *imperium* and thereby maintain her status as the more honored of the two goddesses. Juno foments a storm that blows the Trojans off course, after which the first divinity to express concern for Aeneas's *honor* and *sceptra* is not Jupiter, but Venus (1.253). Juno makes Venus a sly offer of joint rule, but in a narrative passage evidently focalized through Venus, she is at pains to counter what she recognizes as a trick to turn away her son from his *regnum* in Italy (4.105-06; cf. the deceptive Venus at 10.42-43; cf. Venus vs. Juturna/Juno [12.783-87; cf. 12.798-99]).

The epiphany of Venus as a Spartan or Thracian *venatrix* (1.314-320) already suggests that she is bent on the violent destruction of those who represent an obstacle to the attainment of her son's *regnum*. Vergil has engaged in etymological wordplay (cf. *venor* in Vaan 2008; Weiden-Boyd 2014) to suggest that it is of the essence of Venus to be a hunter. In Book 12, Venus *venatrix* is echoed by the *venantes* who wound the Punic lion Turnus (12.4-8), identified with Dido, herself a Venus victim; another simile has Turnus as a stag pursued by a *venator canis* (12.749-51). The hunter by proxy is Aeneas, whose arms had been provided to him by Venus along with an express mention of Turnus (8.614).

Venus uses her powers of love to pursue *imperium*. Venus endows Pallas with her special favor to make him more beautiful to Aeneas, as the morning star simile suggests (8.589-91; Jenkyns 1998: 548; cf. Wlosok 1967: 80-81, Gransden 1976, Fratantuono and Smith 2018) in conjunction with the poet's associations of Pallas with Dido (cf. Putnam 1995). But Venus does not use her favor to save Pallas; consequently, Aeneas, with a rage born of love, mercilessly mows down countless Latins. Thus Jupiter's comment that Venus is doing everything on the battlefield and not Trojan virtue (10.606-10), usually interpreted as ironic (Harrison 1991, Hejduk 2009: 303), should be read as a metapoetic signpost that Venus's influence is indeed at work. Venus further pursues Latin annihilation by planting a suggestion in Aeneas's mind to destroy the city of Latinus (12.554-56). Aeneas reneges on his earlier promise that the Latins would not be subject to the Trojans (12.568; Tarrant 2012: 235). Vergil's depiction of Venus as goddess of love who aims to establish an exclusively Trojan *regnum* in Italy offers another perspective from which to view the appropriateness of Vergil's invocation of Erato in the second proem to recount the war and violence of the poem's second half.

Title: Virgil's Teachings: Competitive Ecphrasis in Stat. *Silv.* 4.2
Name: Adalberto Magnavacca

This paper aims to explore anew Stat. *Silv.* 4.2, a meaningful example of a well-debated topic: the relationship between the encomiastic poetry of Statius' *Silvae* and Virgilian epic poem.

Critics have long recognized the deep influence exerted by the epic *genre*, primarily the Virgilian one, on Statius' *Silvae* (GIBSON: 2006; VAN DAM: 2006). Stat. *Silv.* 4.2 represents a very meaningful case study in this respect (see the treatment devoted to this poem by MALAMUD: 2001; 2007; NEWLANDS: 2002): while dealing with the description of the banquet hosted by emperor Domitian in his palace on the Palatine, Statius is given the opportunity to confront Homer and Virgil, the two epic poets *par excellence* (Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.8-10):

... non, si pariter mihi vertice laeto

nectat odoratas et Smyrna et Mantua lauros,

digna loquar.

The *Unsagbarkeitstopos* quoted above – itself a blatant adaptation of the “many mouth motif” employed by Statius at the very end of his epic poem (see Stat. *Theb.* 12.797-799 with POLLMANN 2004; see also CURTIUS: 1948; HINDS: 1998, 34-47 and MERLI: 2013, 85-88) – is applied here to link Statius' poem with the two illustrious predecessors through the metapoetic image of the laurel crown (KAMBYLIS: 1965), but acts also as a meaningful anticipation of what Statius himself is going to remember at the end of the poem (Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.63-67): the poetic victory at the Alban Games in 90 CE. In this way, the figure of Virgil can be considered a suitable poetic *Doppelgänger* of the emperor: in the past Domitian gave Statius a golden crown for his poetic merits (Statius was proudly conscious of his status of ‘poet laureate’: see Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.227-229), while in the present Statius is evocating the image of a laurel crown (possibly) assigned by Virgil and Homer in order to broaden his poetic skills in order to praise Domitian's banquet.

According to this interpretation, I will argue that the adjective *odoratas* (*Silv.* 4.2.9) can be retained (it is printed by COURTNEY 1992 and defended by VAN DAM 1992, but the majority of recent editors prefers to print *adoratas*: see COLEMAN: 1988; LIBERMAN: 2010; SHACKLETON BAILEY: 2015), due to its particular link with the (poetic) Underworld: in Verg. *Aen.* 6.658 *inter odoratum lauri nemus*, in fact, we read of a ‘fragrant laurel grove’, where seers and poets (Verg. *Aen.* 6.662 *quique pii uates et Phoebos digna locuti*) are hosted. This particular connection with the Underworld is exploited elsewhere by Statius to express the magisterial influence played on him by Virgil (GOLDSCHMIDT-GRAZIOSI 2018): in *Silv.* 4.4.54-55, in fact, he portrays himself as a singing poet near the tomb of his master (*et magni tumulis accanto magistris*), a gesture that likens Virgil to Statius' father (*Silv.* 5.3.36, where Statius is *acclinis tumulo quo molle quiescis*), himself a school-teacher and responsible for Statius' education.

Having acknowledged the importance of Virgil both as an imperial character and a father-like figure, I will analyze anew the palace ecphrasis (*Silv.* 4.2.18-37), trying to emphasize the points where Virgil and Homer are alluded to. Starting from the very beginning of the presentation (*Silv.* 4.2.17, a quasi-quotation from Verg. *Aen.* 7.170) I will try to cast light on the intertextual strategies displayed by Statius in order to enhance the differences between Domitian's palace and the one of the epic traditions (on this point see already KREUZ: 2015, 228-254): thus, we can discover new allusions to Hom. *Od.* 4.71-75 (Menelaus' palace) in *Silv.* 4.2.20-22, to Hom. *Od.* 7.84-102 (Alcinous' palace) in Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.26-29, and to Verg. *Aen.* 1.726 (Dido's palace) in Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.31 (on this last point see CANCIK: 1965, 76). In all these cases, the texts alluded to are declared insufficient to fulfill the encomium for Domitian's palace and, according to this, of Domitian himself (after all, the palace is ‘lesser only than its owner’, *tantum domino minor*: *Silv.* 4.2.25): by merging in one poem the encomium for the palace and the one for its master (Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.38-56; on this encomiastic feature see NEWLANDS: 2013), Statius is able to create a new type of encomiastic poetry from the magisterial role played by his *magnus magister*, Virgil.

Title: Imperial Tityrus: Virgil in Calpurnius Siculus
Name: Vergil Parson

The reasons why Calpurnius Siculus sets out to rival Virgil include his effort to gain imperial patronage. This rivalry has recently been examined in light of its consequences for the pastoral genre (Paschalis 2016; Karakasis 2017). This paper argues that Calpurnius sees Virgil not primarily as a generic predecessor but as the biographical Virgil who materially benefited as a poet of empire.

There has been welcome work on Calpurnius' engagement with Virgil's poetics (Baraz 2015; Scarborough 2017). Taking a different tack, I examine the persona of Virgil that Calpurnius constructs. Calpurnius knew of Virgil's financial and social success, which poured from the hands of the emperor. Through his mouthpiece Corydon, Calpurnius makes clear that such success is a poet's motivation. He had complained that poetry brings nothing to ward off hunger (*Ecl.* 4.26-7), but now in the current golden age, poets find patrons (4.30-33). After finishing his praise of Caesar, Corydon/Calpurnius hints that he could compose grander poems if he had a house or lands (4.152-5), saying that too often jealous poverty had plucked his ear and admonished him to tend sheepfolds (4.156-7). Calpurnius thus reverses the ear-plucking scene in Virgil's sixth *Eclogue* in which Apollo, by enjoining Virgil to write pastoral, thereby dignifies the supposedly low genre.

Yet for Calpurnius, while pastoral may be dismissed as wretched, Virgil himself is grand. Thus Calpurnius' Meliboeus tells Corydon that he "seeks after great things" if he wants to be Tityrus, that is Virgil (4.64-5). Tityrus could outplay the lyre with a reed pipe (4.65-6). He was a *deus* (4.70). For Calpurnius, the status of the poet is not equivalent to that of the poet's genre. This is an innovation, I argue, for pastoral, which usually plays with an equivalence or analogy between herdsman and poet (Gutzwiller 1991; Alpers 1996). Calpurnius drives a wedge between these two figures, and his Tityrus is not simply the bucolic Virgil, but Virgil throughout his entire career. Instead of a cipher for a competing conception of the pastoral genre, Calpurnius' Tityrus is the emblem of a poet who was successful through his association with the emperor.

Corydon hymns Caesar on the pipes of Tityrus, and the motif of the passing of the pipes is well-studied (Hubbard 1998). What has not been sufficiently noted is that Tityrus' pipes are the second set that Corydon uses. When the character first appears, he carries pipes made by Ladon (1.17-18). With these pipes, I suggest, he would sing about his love woes. After Corydon encounters a hymn to Caesar inscribed by Faunus, he abandons his original pipes and an erotic pastoral mode in exchange for an imperial, panegyric style indicated by Tityrus' pipes. Pastoral is a lowly genre for Calpurnius, so the pipes of Tityrus do not signify a lofty version of pastoral but an elevated instance by a supreme poet.

Calpurnius uses his innovation of separating the herdsman figure from the historical poet to show himself to be a better imperial poet than Virgil. In Calpurnius' last eclogue, Corydon returns from Rome and gives an elaborate architectural ekphrasis. Describing an amphitheater, Corydon expresses his own awe and inspires awe in his listeners. This long, detailed description (7.23-72) contrasts with the sparse description of Rome given by Virgil's Tityrus in his *Eclogue* 1 (1.19-25). Tityrus was unable to describe Rome because of a failed pastoral epistemology. Characters in pastoral must "think with" their bucolic world, so Tityrus confesses that he had thought of Rome by natural analogies. Rome is to lesser cities as dogs are to pups, for example (1.22). Rome, however, is qualitatively different from the pastoral world, and pastoral characters cannot do it justice within the genre. Virgil's Tityrus,

because he stays in character for the whole of the *Eclogue* book, cannot exhaustively praise Rome or her ruler. Calpurnius, by splitting herdsman and poet, can and therefore is the better imperial poet.

Title: Broch Reads Virgil
Name: Stephanie Quinn

The purpose of this paper is to use Hermann Broch's great twentieth-century novel, *The Death of Virgil* (Steiner, 149; Lützel, 1) in interpreting the *Aeneid*. Classicists are aware of the novel more through compendia of tradition or reception than for understanding Virgil's work. Broch worked during upheavals on an imperial scale, as did

Virgil. Broch's Virgil questions his life's work on both artistic and historical grounds. The novel's difficult style creates perpetual suspension and contradiction, as does the epic. My experience of the novel has enhanced my reading of the *Aeneid* (Pogorzelski, 17).

Some people saw millennial significance in the early 1900's, the turning of a new age (Heizmann, 188). Coincident with this period were the 2000-year anniversaries, in 1930 and 1937, of the births of Virgil and Augustus, poet and founder of the Roman Empire, also perceived in its time as a turning point (Farrell and Nelis, 4-5). For many, ancient Rome was inspiration, model, and justification. Others saw the moment and parallels more with apprehension than enthusiasm. Virgil was a touchstone for both perspectives (Cox, 327).

A novelist, theorist and activist, Broch inscribed Virgil's place in this historical dynamic of fraught imperial vision. Begun in 1938 when Broch, age 52, was imprisoned by the Nazis during the Anschluss into Vienna, and published in 1945 when Broch was a refugee, the novel, in about 500 pages of hyper-Joycean prose, tracks Virgil's last day of life. It begins as Virgil and Augustus arrive in Brindisi; in fevered hallucinations, Virgil agonizes on his life's work, perhaps to destroy the *Aeneid*. The novel has been said to anticipate major strands of Virgil criticism, emphasizing the epic's multiple voices, its moral ambiguities, and the poet's artistic doubts (Thomas, 261; Cox, 335).

Broch, like Virgil, experienced war and the will to empire first-hand. The Roman Republic died and something new was born, for better or worse (Alston, 1). The Hapsburgs fell, and Hitler and Mussolini rose, questionably in the beginning for better or worse (Origo, 61-63). In those two historic collapses, traditional moorings collapsed as well, including confidence in what had seemed fixed truths—Roman republican values and methods; Enlightenment liberalism (Johnson 1976, 136; Schorski 141, 303). In their place were not only personal hardship or danger but also societal depravity in deed and word (Alston, 135-147). An artist's choices about what to say or whether even to speak were viscerally pertinent, when others' words were weapons with existential consequences.

Broch's novel activates Virgil's and his own historical and artistic crises with an immediacy surely driven by Broch's own experience 2,000 years after Virgil. Broch's non-classically Latinate prose has engaged me experientially with Virgil and his epic, the anguish of a serious soul questioning his work beyond the talent that the world adored and would use for its own purposes—for better or worse: "Nothing availed the poet, he could right no wrongs; he is needed only if he extols the world, never if he portrays it as it is. Only falsehood wins renown, not understanding! And could one assume that the *Aeneid* would be vouchsafed another or better influence? Oh yes, people would praise it because only the agreeable things would be abstracted from it, . . . there was neither danger nor hope that the exhortations would be heeded. . ." (*Death of Virgil*, 11-12, 15).

Broch took the novel form to its limits as Vergil did Homeric epic. How to represent a world upside down other than by upending language and form (Gruen, 395; Crawford, 138-153)? This novel barely tells a story; this poem so radically imitates its model as to enshrine and obliterate it in simultaneous contradiction (Johnson 1981, 52, 53; Lützel 9). Artistic strangeness and the simultaneity of contrary views on reality and truth mark both times and both works (Thomas, 15). Broch's novel has strengthened my reading of the *Aeneid*'s historical immediacy and artistic radicalism.

Session 5: Classics and Archaeology for the General Reader: A Workshop with NEH Public Scholars (Joint AIA-SCS Workshop)

No Abstracts

Session 6: Lightning Talks #1: Latin and Greek Literature **Title: The Timaeus and Creation in Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*** **Name: Michael A.D. Moore**

Cicero in discussing Platonic physics in *De Natura Deorum*, focuses on the idea of creation. In contrast to Plato, who I argue, reasons from a creator to creation, Cicero chooses to argue from creation to creator, and this informs his method in moving from the sensible world to the intelligible world by appeal to analogies of the sensible world.

Title: Another Homeric Word: $\tau\theta\alpha\beta\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\omega$ ‘store up’ (*Od.* 13.106)

Name: Alexander Nikolaev

The meaning and etymology of Greek $\tau\theta\alpha\beta\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\omega$ are unknown. The purpose of this paper is to review the attestations and propose a novel linguistic analysis, starting not with alleged Indo-European cognates, but rather with familiar grammatical rules of Greek. It is argued that the meaning is ‘to stick in, to deposit’ and the cognate is Latin *figere* ‘insert, fix’.

Title: Cicero demonstrates a transmission error at *De divinatione* 1.14-15

Name: David Perry

Cicero’s *De divinatione* 1.14-15 is evidence, albeit fictional, for ancient errors of transposition. Quintus Cicero recites from memory his brother’s translation of Aratus’ *Phaenomena* 913-55; Quintus misplaces some lines from their Greek-manuscript order, which Cicero had likely kept. Cicero’s characterization of Quintus and emphasis on Quintus’ memory may make this a wry comment on faulty memories of poetry.

Title: Latinization, multilingualism and language shift in the Western provinces

Name: Simona Stoyanova

LatinNow uses sociolinguistics, epigraphy and archaeology to write a social history of the north-western Roman provinces with a particular focus on the spread of Latin, bi- and multi-lingualism, the fate of local languages, levels of literacy and the complex nexus between language-identity-culture. We are exploiting digital resources to explore the factors that correlate with these linguistic and cultural changes.

Title: An Unexpected Meaning of *Epistasthai* in Plato?

Name: Emily Hulme Kozey

Scholars have observed that *epistasthai* is used multiple times in Herodotus to mean “to suppose,” where the subject’s conviction is shown immediately to be misguided (e.g., Powell 1938). Ancient philosophy specialists (Vlastos 1957; Burnyeat 2011) have resisted seeing this as a possible meaning in philosophical writers including Plato, but I propose *Phaedo* 96c as a candidate passage with this sense.

Session 7: Greek Religious Texts

Title: Gods Set in Stone: *Theoi* Headings in Greek Legal Inscriptions

Name: Rebecca Van Hove

As a recent study of the intellectual history of the idea of the law of god states, “there is nothing self-evident about ‘divine law’” (Brague 2007, 11). Law, as one form of expression of the normative domain, and the divine, a concept which throughout history has often been assigned the power of exerting a normative function too, might be considered two cultural systems which compete for power. Yet in the societies of the ancient world, these two concepts related to each other in more complex and varying ways than any simple opposition might suggest. This study examines the relationship between the divine and the law in ancient Greece. It focuses in particular on a source relatively neglected in this debate, despite its centrality to the subject, which are the inscribed laws and decrees themselves, and in particular the *theoi* headings found on a large number of these inscriptions.

The term *theoi* (‘gods’) appears regularly, yet sporadically, as a heading on different types of inscriptions. By the Hellenistic period it had become quite standardised, but in the archaic and classical period it occurred variously in different formats. The heading has remained an enigma: which gods or entities are being referenced? How should the heading and its function be understood? How does it relate to the inscribed law or decree which follows? What exact *role* are these gods here assigned? Despite their centrality to the subject of the relationship between law and

religion in ancient Greece, these headings have received almost no systematic attention, with Paul Traywick's 1968 and Robert Pounder's 1975 PhD theses constituting their only detailed study.

Based on an in-depth and systematic analysis of the occurrence of *theoi* headings in archaic and classical Greece, this paper argues that the heading should be understood both as text and as material object. As text, analysis of the earliest cases of the heading demonstrate variety which is meaningful: we have inscriptions where instead of the plural a singular *theos* is invoked (e.g. IG V.2 I, SEG.9.3), or where the *theoi* are further specified (e.g. IG II²107, IG I³101). We can examine the *type* of text inscribed on those stelae where the *theoi* heading is found to uncover a correlation between its occurrence and the content of the inscription.

Secondly, this paper illustrates how the heading at the same time also functioned as integral part of a public visual monument: taking into account these stelae's prominent sites of display (Liddell 2003, Mack 2018), the paper illustrates how the *theoi* heading, which often appears atop the inscription in large letters, would be the very first element audience members would have seen. Furthermore, the paper argues for a recognition of the importance of the physical materiality and graphic presentation of the heading by paying attention to its notable variety in form. Sometimes the heading is presented on its own, at other times together with other headings. At times the word *theoi* forms part of the remainder of the text, but more usually it is made to stand out on its own line, sometimes in larger, widespread letters, either on the inscribed surface itself or - remarkably - as part of the moulding above it, interacting with imagery.

This paper argues that whether the heading should be understood as, e.g., an invocation, tool of sacralisation, or apotropaic curse matters significantly: these interpretations reveal the relationship between human and divine agency in ancient conceptualisations of the law. The heading's unspecificity (no article, no specific deity, no attribute) tells us something about the kind of role for the divine envisioned here. By analysing this variety in the *theoi* heading's earliest occurrences, as well as exploring its materiality as part of a visual object, this paper explores how epigraphic practice can contribute to an understanding of the complex conceptualisations of the relationship between the law and the divine in archaic and early classical Greece.

Title: A Re-reading of Empedocles' Fr. 115 DK

Name: Chiara R. Ciampa

This paper addresses the debated interpretation of Empedocles' fr. 115 DK, proposing a new semantic reading of the fragment on the basis of linguistic and hermeneutical reflections.

Empedocles' fr. 115 portrays the troubled journey of the *daimones* who, because of an ancient decree of the gods that punishes guilty actions, endure as their penalty a cycle of earthly reincarnations across different forms of life. Scholars habitually hold the *daimones* to be 'fallen gods' who originally belonged to the community of the blessed and lost their primeval condition of bliss by staining their hands with bloodshed (Wright 1981, Primavesi 2008). The Hesiodic parallel of the banishment of the gods from their blessed community for having broken the oath of the river Styx (*Th.* 782-806) usually supports this mainstream interpretation.

I propose seeing the law mentioned in fr. 115 DK as a decree made by the gods but governing the lives of humans (as much as the cosmos), rather than something that governs the life of the gods (and decides whether or not any god will be exiled). Consequently, like ancient Platonic sources, I take the *daimones* mentioned in fr. 115 DK to be the souls of humans undergoing the process of transmigration that keeps them far 'from the blessed souls' (v.6: ἀπό μακάρων) already purified, rather than 'decayed gods' banished from their 'blessed community' and forced to lose their divine citizenship. Firstly, Empedocles' ambitious cosmological program transforms the purification function of the afterlife into the shared experience of living on earth (Trépanier 2017, Ciampa forthcoming), and two intratextual arguments suggest reframing fr. 115 DK as the universal account of the destiny awaiting the souls after death. Secondly, contemporary literature, as represented by Pindar, represents a significant linguistic and ideological intertext for the appropriation of the non-Homeric eschatological idea of transmigration and its ethical implications. Finally, the alleged inference that gods could commit a crime, as the mainstream interpretation of fr. 115 DK implicitly claims, would clash with the non-anthropomorphic theological view expressed elsewhere by Empedocles and shared with other Presocratics.

The ‘ancient decree of the gods’ (v.1: θεῶν ψήφισμα παλαιόν) to which Empedocles refers in fr. 115 DK is usually interpreted as a law regulating the community of the gods, but I will show that linguistic parallels (especially Aesch. *Ag.* 1282-4) point in a different direction, suggesting instead that what is at stake in this passage is a divine, and therefore universal, rule that applies to humans. Empedocles himself addresses the cosmic principle that regulates the cycle of aggregation and separation of elements as ‘broad oath’ (fr. 30, 3 DK)(Sedley 2007). Textual evidence supports a different translation for the prepositional phrase ‘from the blessed’ (v. 6: ἀπόμακάρων) indicating the distance from the souls already purified rather than the departure from the community of the gods. An interesting intertext hermeneutically relevant to Empedocles’ fr. 115 DK is Pindar’ *Olympian 2*, 53-80, in which the non-Homeric eschatological outcome of some souls reincarnating in other bodies makes an appearance. Similarly, Pindar’s fr. 133 SM presents meaningful linguistic affinities with Empedocles’ fr. 115 DK. As a concluding theological remark, the mainstream assumption that the *daimones* of fr. 115 DK were gods downgraded to the condition of humans for having committed a crime, would contradict the Empedoclean non-anthropomorphic conception of the divine according to which the gods themselves could hardly be depicted as murderers (fr. 132 DK)(Barnes 1967, Broadie 1999).

The re-reading of fr. 115 DK here suggested on the basis of intratextual and intertextual arguments grounds Empedocles’ innovative envisioning of the cosmos within the cultural and intellectual environment to which he belongs and that he shared with other contemporaries, including Pindar in particular. The paper, through the lens of eschatology, ultimately aims at loosening the habitual compartmentalization between disciplines, proposing a more flexible approach that recognises the interconnections between what modern scholarship demarcates as literature and philosophy.

Title: Reconsidering Hellenistic Theologoumena: Between Callimachus and Euhemerus
Name: Monica Park

This paper takes another look at the two passages of Callimachus that are most cited with reference to Euhemerus—from Callimachus’ *First Iamb* and *Hymn to Zeus*—and asks what kind of issues are at stake here for this paradigmatic poet of early Ptolemaic Alexandria. Most scholars of Hellenistic poetry seem now to agree that Callimachus’ references to his (near) contemporary Euhemerus, which were once frequently interpreted as a straightforward critique of the latter’s *Sacred Register* or *Sacred Inscription* (*Hiera Anagraphē*), should instead be examined in the light of other contemporary political and theological debates, and with regard for Callimachus’ own poetic and theological self-fashioning (Stephens 2003; Kirichenko 2012; Michalopoulos 2012; cf. Winiarczyk 2013). However, Euhemerus’ vision of divine origins was but one voice among a chorus of competing *theologoumena* (“discourses about the gods”), spurred in part by recent developments in Greek/Greco-Egyptian cultic practice, namely, the worship of kings (and queens) as gods (on the struggle to represent this development appropriately cf. Roubekas 2015, responding to Versnel 2011).

Based on the fragmentary evidence of later authors, I begin from the premise that such a development occasioned more literary and philosophical commentary and critique in the early Hellenistic period than we usually allow. I then argue that Callimachus’ particular appropriation of the voices of Euhemerus and other participants in this discourse, especially in the *Hymn to Zeus*, culminates in what one might call a “sum of talk,” adapting a phrase from Nigel Nicholson on the “intertextual” relationship between epinician and the more diffuse genre of the “hero-athlete narrative” (Nicholson 2016: 13, 16). While the juxtaposition in the *Hymn to Zeus* is not one between privileged poetic form and oral traditions (as in Pindaric epinician), there is nevertheless an insistence on a new kind—or new *form*—of wisdom about matters divine as a response to an imagined community of chat. What was at stake for Callimachus was not only the confrontation between Greece and Egypt, new and old *theologoumena*, sophisticated critique of the gods and more recent philosophical developments, but also, perhaps most importantly, the successful modeling of a competitive *sophia* about divine genealogies and theological doubt at the interface of mortal and divine—and the resolution of that doubt in a hermeneutic strategy that works by “dialogic composition” and “an atomistic treatment of sources” (borrowing from Dohrmann 2016: 34). Drawing on Dohrmann and her interpretation of Smith (1982), I make a final argument that the dialogic world of the *First Iamb* and the *Hymn to Zeus* is shaped not only by literary and generic concerns (e.g. Bing 1988), but also as a response to canonical closure.

Title: Turning hierophany into text: Pausanias on Lebadeia and the oracle of Trophonius
Name: Jody Ellyn Cundy

Scholarship on Pausanias' presentation of the rituals associated with the consultation of the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadeia (9.39.1-40.4) has mainly focused on cultic *realia*. Bonnechere (2003) elucidates elements of myth and cult related to the mantic hero/god, while Pirenne-Delforge (2008) undermines the interpretation of the consultation ritual as mystery cult initiation. This paper is less concerned with cultic *realia*, and more focused on relationship between religious experience and its rendering in Pausanias' text (cf. Elsner 2001, Rüpke 2014). The description of Lebadeia incorporates various literary strategies to attest to the continued numinosity of Lebadeia in the imperial present of the periegete's visit (cf. Baleriaux 2017). His explicit statement about the inquirer's affective response to the ritual *katabasis* at the heart of the oracular consultation, namely paralytic terror and disorientation (κάτοχόν τε ἔτι τῷ δείματι καὶ ἀγνώτῳ ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν πέλας, 9.39.13), corresponds to Platt's characterization of epiphany as the physical manifestation of divine presence that is "experienced phenomenologically as a sensory extravaganza" and as the "ultimate form of *thauma*, a 'wonder'" (Platt 2011). Pausanias employs a variety of literary strategies to commemorate the ephemeral phenomenon of Trophonius' divine revelations in textual form. These strategies include autopsy claims and documentary evidence for authentication, *aitia* for hierophanies to delineate sacred space and divine agency, proxy viewing through *ekphrasis*, paradoxographic compilation, and comparative analogy.

Pausanias devotes eighteen full paragraphs to the description of Boeotian Lebadeia and the oracle of Trophonius. The first two paragraphs concern topographical description and situate Lebadeia relative to neighboring Orchomenos. He also describes two prominent features of the landscape, namely the river Hercyna, which bisects the city, and Mount Prophitas Elias, at the tail end of the Heliconian range, which rises above it (9.39.1-2). The next two sections describe the art and architecture in the *alsos* along the river and the sacred precincts further up the slope (3-4). With the exceptions of a technical *ekphrasis* on the materials, size and shape of the *manteion* proper (9-10) and a digression on the fate of one impious and infamous inquirer (12), the entirety of the chapter's remaining sections details the ritual procedures related to consultation of the oracle (5-14). This is in fact one of the longest and most detailed descriptions of rituals in the whole of the *Periegesis*, and the fullest account of the *realia* of consultation procedure to survive from antiquity. Pausanias closes his treatment of the oracle with an aitiology for the discovery of both the oracle's location and its particular rites that frames both the *manteion* and the rituals as hierophanies (40.1-2). A catalogue of Daedalic *xoana* comprises the two paragraphs that immediately follow (3-4). This brief catalogue precedes the topographical break that closes the description, 'Next to Lebadeia comes Chaeronea' (Λεβαδέων δὲ ἔχονται Χαιρωνεῖς, 5).

Deprived of an explanatory preface or summarizing coda, scholars of the *Periegesis* generally rely on programmatic statements interspersed throughout the voluminous work to act as interpretive linchpins (e.g. Hutton 2005). But the *Periegesis* remains an under-theorized text. Much of the literary program is implicit and left to the reader to construe from miscellaneous clues in aggregate. Nevertheless, examination of a sample passage that is not obviously programmatic offers insights into the literary program and cultural work of the *Periegesis Hellados* when read as species of *mise-en-abîme* or microcosm of text as a whole. Close reading of Pausanias' description of Lebadeia suggests a coherent religious epistemic bearing witness to the continued potency of local, traditional cult practices and sacred spaces (cf. Whitmarsh 2010, Frateantino 2009). We might describe the proselytizing function of the *Periegesis Hellados* as the discursive 're-enchantment' of Greece in the second century AD.

Session 8: Voicing the Past

Title: Aetolia Shall Rise Again? Phlegon Peri Thaumasion 3 as Anti-Roman Alternative History

Name: Kelly Shannon-Henderson

This paper focuses on a fictional story, preserved in the *Peri Thaumasion* by 2nd-century AD paradoxographer Phlegon of Tralles, of Rome's surrender after its war against Antiochus, and assesses its value as Greek "resistance literature" against Roman rule. The story offers an alternative history written from the perspective of conquered Greeks, in which the Romans are intimidated by dire prophecies of avenging invaders from the East into abandoning their conquest of the Greek world. The story was open to a variety of possible interpretations and had different

valences of meaning for Greek audiences under Roman rule reading in a variety of historical and political situations between its likely date of initial composition shortly after 188 BC and Phlegon's inclusion of it in his work in the AD 110s.

Phlegon recounts a fictionalized, alternative version of events in Aetolia in 191 BC, just after the forces of the consul M'. Acilius Glabrio had defeated Antiochus at the Battle of Thermopylae. Because the details of Glabrio's movements given in Phlegon seem accurate, in that they closely parallel what is described in Livy (36.3.7-14), the story that served as Phlegon's source was probably composed shortly after the Peace of Apamea in 188 BC that ended the conflict (Martelli 1982: 251; Porqueddu Salvioli 1982: 4-6; Gruen 1984: 328). But in Phlegon's story, a narrative of successful Roman conquest is subverted by prophecies of doom. First Bouplagos, a soldier for Antiochus who has fallen on the battlefield, rises from the dead and delivers a prophecy to the Roman soldiers plundering the corpses that Zeus will send upon them an avenging army to "put a stop to your dominion, and pay you back for the things you have done" (*Mir.* 3.5). The frightened Romans then consult the Oracle at Delphi, and on its advice "they completely g[i]ve up the intention of making war upon any of the peoples dwelling in Europe" (*Mir.* 3.7) and make a compensatory sacrifice. But the prophecies are not yet over: "The *strategos* Publius" goes mad and delivers extensive predictions, in prose and verse, that Rome will be invaded and punished by an unspecified Eastern foe (*Mir.* 3.8-10). His body is then devoured by a red wolf, but his severed head continues to deliver prophecies (*Mir.* 3.9-14). The Romans are frightened into abandoning their war and returning home, and, the story claims, "All the things that Publius said would occur came to pass" (*Mir.* 3.15). Adding to the uncanniness is the fact that "Publius" may be meant to evoke P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (cf. Crawford 2000: 148), who was involved in the campaign (e.g. Livy 37.34-37, 37.45) but most certainly did not die in this way.

The text is striking for its counterfactual history: the Romans clearly did not give up their conquest of the Greek East, nor was Rome's most famous second-century military hero devoured by a wolf. This paper will assess the value of these "inaccuracies," and seek to understand the story's continued popularity despite them. To what extent is this a rare example of a "vast, vanished anti-Roman historiography" (Shannon-Henderson 2019; cf. Fuchs 1938: 5-7; Martelli 1978: 130-31; Martelli 1982: 251; Ferrary 1988: 263-64; Donaire Vázquez 1990: 356-57; Seibert 1995: 237-38) now lost to us? I will also assess how it might have been re-interpreted across the centuries. It would have had special relevance a century after its composition, in 88 BC, when Mithridates' threat to Rome's Eastern provinces inspired a range of apocalyptic literature in Greek (e.g. *Oracula Sibyllina* 3.350-366). The prophecy of conquerors from the East would have continued to resonate more than three centuries later, in Phlegon's time, when Trajan had recently added the provinces of Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Assyria to the empire but the Parthian threat still loomed on the Eastern frontier.

Title: Evaluating Criteria for Fictitious Lacunae

Name: Martin P. Shedd

This paper evaluates stylistic criteria employed to prove that certain lacunae in historical works are intentionally fabricated gaps by investigating the applicability of these criteria to other sections of the same works and to contemporary historical writings.

Recent scholarship on the lacunose texts of the *Historia Augusta* and Ammianus Marcellinus's *Res Gestae* has suggested that the authors of both works falsified the extent of their project, creating the illusion of missing material. For the *Historia Augusta*, references both to lives preceeding that of Hadrian and to material filling the gap between the death of Gordian III (244 A.D.) and the capture of Valerian (260 A.D.) have been dismissed as fictions of a clever author (Meckler 1996; Birley 1976 and Den Hengst 1981). R. Rees (2014) has recently employed parallel reasoning to argue that Ammianus likewise never wrote the books that supposedly preceded the surviving materials. Two major criteria that these scholars apply to the works are that authors capitalize on the first opportunities for digressions and ration their factual material economically. Violations of these principles in passages relating to the lacunae prompt these scholars to question their veracity.

Although both criteria have merit as organization principles, it is unclear whether Late Antique authors of history in general—and Ammianus and the *HA* in particular—actually follow them in their works, a supposition that has gone unproven. This paper will look briefly at digressions and repetition of information in Ammianus, the *HA*, and

Orosius's roughly contemporary history to determine whether the passages scrutinized for evidence of falsification are indeed unusual in the context of historiographic writing.

For one example, Rees cites the digression on the decline of civil life in Rome in Ammianus 14.6.2 as evidence of forgery on the supposition that the author would not duplicate such a sustained commentary and would naturally have included this digression to comment on a tyrant prior to Gallus, had any such tyrant been mentioned. A broader look at Ammianus, however, shows that he is not averse to repeating talking points and that he times his moralizing digressions not by earliest opportunity, but by a broader sense of pacing and relevance to the historical arcs. At 22.4, for instance, descriptions of the decadence of the palace staff and military serve to elevate Ammianus's favorite emperor, Julian, when they could easily have been employed instead to disparage Constantius II. Similarly, the digression on Phrynichus's fine for composing a tragedy on recent history (28.1) could easily have served for tragedies prior to the spree of false accusations under the *praefectus annonae* Maximinus.

Birley, among others, notes that information about the emperor Philip appears scattered throughout the biographies, arguing that economy should prevent using this information more than once. The *HA*, however, contains repeated points of fact, particularly in the three biographies that immediately precede the reign of Philip, undermining the principle of economy.

The same patterns can be found in Orosius, who carefully spaces out his digressions for rhetorical significance and does indeed repeat certain arguments across books. He delays a digression on the anti-Christian jealousy of modern readers of history until the fourth of seven books, despite the relevance of the theme to the entire work. Had books one through three been lost, this would be grounds to argue that Orosius omitted his books of Greek history and intentionally feigned completion thereof, if we accept similar arguments for Ammianus. Furthermore, Orosius repeats the lesson to be drawn from understanding God's powers of creation and the role of peace at the beginnings of books two and seven, neither employing the digression at the first possible moment nor deploying it with strict economy.

In reality, further losses in all three works would incorrectly reinforce the presumptions produced by the criteria of economy and first opportunity. We must remember that an absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.

Title: Author vs. Narrator: Voices and Agendas in *Dictys Cretensis*
Name: Marc Bonaventura

This paper will examine whether there is a pro-Greek bias in Dictys Cretensis' *Ephemeris Belli Troiani*, as many assert (Spence 2010: 134; Griffin 1908: 46-7; cf. Merkle 1994: 184), with a focus on distinguishing between the agendas of the author and the narrator.

In a narrative text, 'the narrator cannot automatically be equated with the author; rather, it is a creation of the author' (de Jong 2014: 17). In Dictys' *Ephemeris*, the narrator is the fictional persona of Dictys, whereas the author is the Latin translator Lucius Septimius, but also the anonymous composer of the original Greek *Ephemeris*, to which Septimius' translation adheres rather closely (cf. *PTebt.* 2.268; *POxy.* 31.2539, 73.4943, 73.4944). Conflict between the narrator and author of a text has been identified in Greek and Roman novels approximately contemporaneous with the original Greek *Ephemeris* (late 1st or early 2nd cent. AD), including Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* (Morgan 2003), Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (Winkler 1985), and Petronius' *Satyricon* (Conte 1996). In Dictys' case, however, although Merkle has traced the gradual Greek descent into barbarism in the text (Merkle 1994: 187-91; Merkle 1996: 567-71; Merkle 1999: 159-61), he does not analyse this phenomenon with reference to the narrator's apparent pro-Greek bias, nor does he distinguish between narrator and author.

Accordingly, this paper will argue that although the narrator of Dictys' *Ephemeris* expresses a consistent pro-Greek bias, the author consciously undermines this bias by including events which illustrate the gradual moral decline of the Greeks. First, it will outline the moralising agenda of the narrator ('Dictys'). For instance, he denounces Alexander's abduction of Helen as an *indignissimum facinus* (1.3), condemns Pandarus' wounding of Menelaus during his duel with Alexander (*pessimo exemplo*, 2.40), and expresses disgust when the Trojans launch a surprise attack (*barbari... nihil aliud quam turbata atque insidiosa cupientes*, 3.10). Dictys' bias, however, is most evident in

his use of the term *mos*, through which he asserts Greek cultural superiority. While the Greeks observe *patrius mos* (2.2; 6.4), *regius mos* (2.6; 2.52), and *mos militiae* (2.36), the Trojans have inferior customs (*pessimo more*, 2.40; cf. 3.10). References to the customary habits (*solitus mos*) of the Trojans can refer to their desire to mutilate enemy corpses (4.12), or their tendency to launch cowardly attacks (3.17), and when Dictys condemns the Trojans for wounding Patroclus' genitalia (*exemplum pessimum*, 3.11), he adds that such behaviour is unheard of among the Greeks (*numquam antea a Graecis solitum*, 3.11).

The focus will then switch from Dictys' 'fundamentally moralistic intentions' (Lumiansky 1969: 200) to the objective facts of the narrative, which present a different picture, one in which the Greeks commit acts of barbarous violence and treachery. For example, they murder Polydorus before the walls of Troy (2.27), hurl Trojan corpses into the river (3.14), and Achilles cuts off the hands of a captured son of Priam (3.15). Greek atrocities reach a crescendo during the sack of Troy, which involves the slaughter of parents and children before their loved ones (5.12), Menelaus torturing and mutilating Deiphobus (5.12), and the Trojans being butchered like cattle (5.13). In addition, treachery and division repeatedly plague the Greeks. Diomedes and Ulysses successfully plot to murder Palamedes out of jealousy (2.15), many Greeks refuse to mourn Achilles due to suspicion that he was a traitor (4.13), and when Ajax dies under suspicious circumstances, a full-scale sedition erupts as the Greeks recall Palamedes' earlier fate (5.15).

After examining how the author's selection of events for narration, which depict the Greeks gradually descending into barbarity, contradicts the narrator's unwavering belief in the Greeks' cultural superiority, the paper will conclude by suggesting that the author's decision to emphasise the moral decline of the Greeks is not due to favouritism or contempt for a particular race, but should be regarded as an ethical statement, demonstrating the destructive consequences of a prolonged war on a civilised society.

Title: The Homeric Life of Vergil in the *Vita Vergilii* (VSD)

Name: Marcos B. Gouvêa

Since Lefkowitz (1981, 2012²), scholarship on ancient lives of poets has maintained that those biographies are fictions based on the poems themselves. In recent works, scholars have stressed that Vergil's own self-presentation deeply influences such later constructions (Peirano 2012, 2013, and especially Laird 2016). In this paper I examine these issues in Aelius Donatus' 4th c. version of the *Vita Vergilii* by Suetonius (*VSD*). I show that the *VSD* constructs two separate 'lives' of Vergil, the first keyed to the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* (*VSD* 1-29), and second to the *Aeneid* (30-46). Each represents a distinct way of constructing a life of Vergil from his poetry. Moreover, I propose that the differences between these constructions result from the differences in the personas Vergil presents in these works.

The persona presented in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* offers the basis of the biography of Vergil in the *VSD*. Vergil himself intentionally establishes a sense of progress and growth as an author in his poems, giving rise to the notion of a poetic career (Farrell 2002). He frequently draws the process of composition into view in both the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*. Thus in *Ecl.* 6, Vergil invites the reader to see him in the role of Tityrus, rejecting *reges et proelia* for bucolic verse. In the *sphragis* of *G.* 4.559-66, Vergil gives a storyline to his writing, including his name, previous works, where he was when he wrote them, and when. His progress in life tracks with the progress of his poetry and status.

It is this 'career' persona who serves as the model for the life of Vergil as presented in *VSD* 1-29. Anecdotes illustrating his life before coming to Rome are drawn almost exclusively from his early work, as if the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* as earlier works were also privileged accounts of his early life. Vergil's father tends woodlands and bees (*VSD* 1, *G.* 4); Corydon's interest in Alexis in *Ecl.* 2 reflects Vergil's in a certain Alexander (*VSD* 9), Vergil's brother Flaccus is mourned in *Ecl.* 5 under the name of Daphnis (*VSD* 14). This biographical reading of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* conflates traits of Vergil with traits of his characters. But Vergil is himself presumed to have inscribed events of his life in the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*. The *VSD* merely reverses the process.

The treatment of the *Aeneid* however, integrates poem and poet quite differently. Before, the *VSD* worked backwards from a Vergil who wrote the events of his life into the poems. Now events from the period where Vergil wrote the *Aeneid* begin to take on the characteristics of the epic. Sometimes an anecdote resembles a scene from an epic: Vergil recites heroic poetry before Augustus and Octavia as Aeneas before Dido, or Odysseus before Alcinous and Arete (*VSD* 32). Other stories appear to conflate the epic with the poet itself. Vergil plans to finish his days studying philosophy. But his unexpected death leaves his life's course incomplete, just like the *Aeneid* (*VSD* 35). Similarly, Vergil's deathbed request to burn the *Aeneid* means that save for the intervention of Varius, the poet and poem would be coterminous, perishing together (*VSD* 38-39).

The change in how the *VSD* relates Vergil's life to his poems corresponds to the much less overt discussion of authorship and career in the *Aeneid*. Vergil's epic persona is comparatively submerged. The authorial voice is not absent—apostrophes are not uncommon—but the narrator's persona is no longer the vehicle for discussing models, traditions and the other characteristic issues associated with career. Vergil adopts a Homeric reticence towards any direct mention of fellow poets or traditions. And in turn the account of his *Aeneid*-life in the *VSD* is correspondingly more like the lives of Homer: inventing episodes for a life in harmony with the epic, rather than shaping a life around a strong authorial persona.

Session 9: Tragic Tradition

Title: Catalogues and Popular Politics in Aeschylus' *Persae*

Name: Ben Radcliffe

In the aftermath of the defeat at Salamis, characters in Aeschylus' *Persae* struggle to process the implications of the disaster for the political order of the Persian state. The question is addressed in the two catalogues that the Chorus recites of the Persian soldiers who fight and perish in the battle, one before (20-64) and one after (955-1001) the Messenger announces the defeat. I argue that stylistic modulations between the catalogues enact a political dispute between the Chorus and the royal family about how to frame the stakes of the disaster. In the first catalogue, the soldiers are classified by rank and listed in the order of their geographical origin within the empire; in the second, the names of the dead are listed with few epithets and in a random order. By representing the casualties in the second catalogue as bare names, the Chorus attempts to memorialize the dead as a collection of suffering, generic humanity unqualified by the social taxonomies of the empire. This conception of the army, I argue, mobilizes a broader set of questions concerning the political relation between the state (embodied by Xerxes) and the Persian people.

Lamentation is a politically fraught activity in *Persae*. The defeat at Salamis represents, within the drama, a profound rupture in the continuity of Persian imperial expansion (Saïd 1981, 1988; Grethlein 2010: 75-104; Sampson). The members of the royal family (Atossa, Darius, and Xerxes) attempt to mend the rupture and affirm the legitimacy of their family's rule. They therefore lament Salamis as a tragedy for Xerxes personally but otherwise as an accident that does not fundamentally affect the calculus of imperial power. The Chorus of Elders, as Shenker (1994) observes, adopts a more critical attitude toward the dynasts, asserting that Xerxes' recklessness has damaged the bonds between the state and the Persian people.

The Chorus' capacity for overt criticism is limited by their professions of loyalty to the royal family (24, 58). They find an alternate medium to express their discontent, however, in the formal properties of catalogues. Their first catalogue is delivered in the *parodos*, before the news of the disaster has arrived. It qualifies the individual commanders by their place in the military hierarchy and by their origins within the geographical divisions of the empire, thereby prioritizing their function as subjects to the Persian state. The link between state power and categorization, I argue, can be traced to the genres of list-making with which the catalogues in *Persae* are most frequently compared: catalogues of ships and troops in the *Iliad* (Heiden; Elmer 2013: 86-104) and the inscribed lists of war-casualties in 5th c. BCE Athens (Loroux 1981: 33; Ebbott).

The Chorus' second catalogue deviates from this tradition and from the style of their previous catalogue. It is formally anarchic: the names of the dead are not categorized by their place of origin or rank in the army, and the order of the list is apparently random. By removing organizational signposts and epithets, the Chorus represents the dead soldiers—and by extension, the Persian people—as a generic collectivity without any intrinsic relation to the

Persian state. The possibility of such a stark disjuncture between the people and the state underscores the Chorus' fears about the disintegration of the empire in the wake of Salamis (e.g., 584-97). But the Chorus, I argue, is also committing an act of reluctant protest against their destructive sovereign. Their alleatory list of the dead suggests that the *laos* is in essence a pure collection of names unsanctioned by the state's classificatory schemes. Indeed, the Chorus' formal techniques of naming and listing complement contemporary theories of popular resistance to state power (Badiou, Rancière). In a text that has been seen as narratively static (Michelini 1982: 72), this crucial development in the relation between the Chorus, the king, and the dead occurs on the level of poetic form.

Title: The Critical Reception of Sophocles in the Ancient Scholia

Name: Clinton Douglas Kinkade

In this talk, I argue that early readers of Sophocles saw persuasiveness, logical plot construction, and emotional impact as particularly Sophoclean qualities. As evidence, I use the ancient tragic scholia, where these terms from ancient literary criticism cluster together frequently and significantly in the scholia to Sophocles. In particular, the clusters of terms in the scholia to *Electra* show that some of Sophocles's ancient readers had specific criteria for evaluating and praising his poetry distinctly from Aeschylus's and Euripides's, a rare justification for his preeminence in the canon.

Discussions of Sophocles's ancient reception have focused on texts like Aristophanes's *Frogs*, the anonymous *Vita*, and a wealth of ancient testimonia. These sources present Sophocles as almost universally adored (unlike the more qualified reputations of Aeschylus and Euripides), but they give little detail about what made his poetry so valuable and distinct from his peers'. The scholia, however, reveal traces of what aspects some of his audiences considered notable. Although Easterling (2006, 2014, 2015), Jouanna (2001), Turano (2011), and others have used the scholia to reveal the scholarly interests of these commentators, scholars have not yet explored how the commentators viewed Sophocles as a unique artist. To answer this, I show how certain evaluative criteria predominate in the scholia to Sophocles, both in terms of their frequency and in the variety of ways that the commentators express them. For example, my analysis shows that *πιθανός* ("persuasive" or "plausible") appears 57 times in all the Sophoclean scholia, but only 13 times in Euripides's and three times in Aeschylus's, though each corpus is of roughly equal size. The terms that cluster so powerfully in Sophocles' scholia tend to address persuasiveness, logical plot construction, and emotional impact, suggesting that the underlying concepts, and not the individual words, were noteworthy to these commentators. Using the scholia to *Electra* as a case study for closer analysis, I show that these different concepts also often appear together and influence one another within the same scholion; this indicates that they all form part of a general method of reading and evaluating Sophocles's poetry, one that is not found in the scholia to the other two tragedians.

This pattern of commentary on Sophocles's plays reveals that his ancient readers saw certain poetic qualities as belonging particularly to his works. Scholarship such as Falkner (2002) has shown the benefits of using the scholia to understand the relationship between ancient commentator and text. Similarly, the scholia discussed here provide a window into the criteria that this audience employed to appraise Sophocles and distinguish his poetry from that of his Athenian competitors. This allows us to add nuance to the more lofty and uncritical impression of Sophocles we have so long inherited from Aristophanes and others.

Title: Maternal Malfunctions: Niobe and Latona in Seneca's *Medea*

Name: Katherine R. De Boer

This paper argues that Seneca's *Medea* draws on Ovid's Niobe narrative (*Met.* 6.146-312) to reframe the parental identities of both mother and father: Medea is characterized simultaneously as failed mother (Niobe) and avenging supermother (Latona), while Jason takes on Niobe's maternal qualities. Studies of Ovidian intertextuality in the *Medea* have generally focused on the "Medeae" of the *Metamorphoses* and *Heroides* (Martina, Hinds 24-33, Trinacty 93-123), though several critics have also noticed echoes of Ovid's Procne and Althaea (Jakobi 51, Guastella 2001, McAuley 217-218). Yet Medea herself alludes to another Ovidian mother: regretfully comparing herself to Niobe, she wishes for a larger "throng" of offspring to murder (*utinam superbae turba Tantalidos meo | exisset utero*, 954-955), concluding "I have been barren for revenge" (*sterilis in poenas fui*, 956). The comparison suggests a shared utilitarian model of maternity: like Niobe, Medea views her children as instruments, the "raw

material” (*materiam*, 914) for her revenge against Jason. Medea’s allusion, however, also highlights her likeness to Latona, Niobe’s adversary—as she concludes, “I have given birth to two” (*peperi duos*, 957; cf. *illa duorum...parens*, *Met.* 6.191). There are other significant parallels between Medea and Latona: Medea’s role as recurring exile, ejected from one home after another (*exul*, 486; cf. *exuli exulium imperas*, 459), echoes the tale of Latona’s wandering in search of a birthplace for her children (cf. *exsul*, *Met.* 6.189). Further, while Niobe claimed divinity for herself based on her extraordinary fertility, her hubris ultimately served to showcase the power of her rival (*manifestam numinis iram*, *Met.* 6.314). Medea’s dominance is similarly asserted in her final confrontation with Jason, when she speaks from the roof, her elevated position suggesting her godlike power and aligning her with the divine avengers of the Niobe-narrative, rather than their human victim.

Further, Jason himself comes to occupy the role of Niobe at the play’s conclusion. Finding one son dead at Medea’s hands, he begs her to spare the other (*iam parce nato*, 1004), concluding “one is enough for punishment” (*unus est poenae satis*, 1008). He therefore echoes Ovid’s Niobe when she tries to shield her last surviving daughter, begging “leave me one” (*unam...relinque*, *Met.* 6.299). Frécaut (130) describes this act as Niobe’s “première et seule preuve d’un véritable amour maternel.” The allusion figures Jason as maternal, both father and mother, and indicates his strong affective ties to his sons. Yet the parallel with Niobe also suggests Jason’s culpability for his children’s deaths, as is implied when Medea addresses him as *superbe* (1007), echoing her earlier reference to “the proud Tantalid” (*superbae...Tantalidos*, 954). Jason’s children are his “reason for living” (*haec causa vitae est*, 547), but, as with Niobe, they are also his weak point—as Medea observes (*vulneri patuit locus*, 550). Many critics view Seneca’s Jason as a sympathetic character because of his claim that he abandoned Medea to save their sons (437-439; see e.g. Zwierlein 40-45, Nussbaum 229-230, Guastella 2000: 156, Rimell 15), but his likeness to Niobe destabilizes his self-presentation as victim, suggesting that he too has committed hubris by disregarding an opponent’s potential for retributive violence.

I conclude that Seneca uses these shifting allusions to Niobe and Latona to explore the interdependence of Medea’s motherhood and her revenge. Though some critics argue that the play dramatizes Medea’s rejection of her maternal identity (e.g. Gill, Schiesaro 209-210, Guastella 2001), recent scholarship has suggested that she rather reclaims and redefines motherhood through her filicide (Rimell, Trinacty 94-126, McAuley 201-227). McAuley makes this point in terms of Medea’s Niobe reference, describing her as “a Niobe who triumphs...by claiming a mother’s power not only to give birth but to dole out death” (227). I argue instead that Medea succeeds by occupying the roles of both Niobe and Latona, simultaneously playing the part of the mortal mother who loses her children and the divine mother who destroys them.

Title: Fear, Hope, and Resignation in Seneca’s *Troades*
Name: Michelle Currie

This paper builds on previous analyses of emotions that bridge Senecan philosophy and tragedy (e.g., Staley 1975 and 1982, Schiesaro 1997 and 2003, Rodríguez Cidre 2000, Guastella 2001, Galán 2003, Budzowska 2012: 123-40) by offering a case study of hope and fear in *Troades*. In general, the play uses a “cyclical and symmetrical” organization featuring hopeful and fearful episodes in alternating fashion to juxtapose these emotions (Keulen 2001: 12; cf. Draper 1990, González Vázquez 1996). I focus here on how Hecuba and Andromache confront these emotions and attempt to control their fear. These characters are one of the ‘doublets’ of *Troades* (Lawall 1982: 250): they are both female leading Trojans grieving for their dead husbands and facing a child’s imminent death. But they are opposites in how they react to their shared situation (Corsaro 1991: 64). I argue that Seneca uses the women to model different ways of controlling fear and judges the efficacy of each method: Hecuba eschews hope and uses resignation to constrain her fear, while Andromache maintains hope, which renders her susceptible to fear but also limits its potency.

In Stoic philosophy, hope and fear are connected (Wacht 1998: 532ff., Citti 2004: 52-53). They are both directed at the future, but anticipate either good or bad things respectively (Graver 1997: 53-59). Stoics claimed that in order to avoid experiencing fear, one must abandon hope (Sen. *Ep.* 5.7). Fear can only exist when one has hope of avoiding future adversities; without such hope, fear becomes resignation as one is reconciled to what must be endured. Though less ideal than true understanding and acceptance of anticipated events, resignation offers one method of avoiding the worst problems of fear.

Hope creates great misery, as it allows for fear to develop. There are, however, both positive and negative varieties of hope (Dingel 2015: 501-503). While only the *sapiens* experiences the truly acceptable type of hope, the other hope too may provide limited benefits. Seneca suggests that people may “temper fear with hope” (*Ep.* 13.12) to limit fear’s negative effects. Though Stoics believed emotions should ideally be eliminated, Seneca does allow for using one emotion to control another in certain extraordinary circumstances when other therapies fail (*Ira* 1.10.1, 3.1.2). As fear causes more significant problems than hope, the latter is preferable in practical terms. Though hope makes fear possible in the first place, it also offers an imperfect therapy for moderating fear’s effects.

Hecuba and Andromache each adopt a different therapy for their fear, with varied results. Hecuba avoids hope and instead expresses resignation with her fate rather than fearing it. She has acclimated to the Trojans’ situation and maintains her resigned demeanor even in the face of her allotment to Ulysses and Polyxena’s death. She does not deny or try to avoid what she knows is coming, but instead acknowledges that fear will not improve her situation. She still suffers much grief, but she largely avoids the more grievous emotion of fear and enjoys some degree of emotional resilience. In a similar situation, Andromache illustrates how hope exposes one to fear yet also mitigates its effects. She refers to Astyanax as “the lone hope of the Trojans” (462), envisioning him rising up as the avenger of the Trojans and becoming a great leader for their reestablished people. This hope renders Andromache susceptible to fear, as she now worries about her son’s survival. While her hope for Astyanax’s future inspires her fears for him, it also eases some of her other sufferings. But overall, Seneca portrays her therapy as even less effective than resignation for dealing with fear.

Ultimately, Seneca’s tragedy echoes the sentiments of his philosophy: avoiding emotions like fear entirely is ideal. But for those who cannot, alternative therapies can provide limited relief in exceptional circumstances. Using two parallel characters to explore the therapeutic options of hope and resignation lets Seneca more effectively compare these possibilities.

Title: BLACK MEDEAS in Germany: Hans Henny Jahnn's and Paul Heyse's Medea
Name: Hans Peter Obermayer

The publications of theatre scholar Kevin J. Wetmore, Jr., *Athenian Sun in an African Sky* (2002), *Black Dionysus* (2003) and *Black Medea* (2013) have sharpened our awareness of the significance of ancient myths and tragedies for contemporary African, African American and Caribbean Theatre. Especially the Medea material in the 'Africanized' form of the "Black Medea" played a central role again and again.

The perspective of an "Afrocentric Classicism" may have been the reason why Wetmore and his predecessors marginalized or forgot important literary texts of the 'Old World'. Before Countee Cullen had completed his famous "African" Medea adaptation for the founder of the Negro People's Theatre, Rose McClendon in 1934 (see Corti 190-93, Wetmore 2003, 145-46), there were already two very different variants of a "Black Medea" in Germany. Hans Henny Jahnn's wild, expressionist tragedy *Medea* premiered in Berlin in 1926, Paul Heyse, the Nobel Prize winner for literature 1910, published his novella *Medea* already in 1896.

The aim of my lecture is to present, to compare and to interpret these two texts, which, to my knowledge, have not yet translated into English:

While in Heyse's novella the fate of a "modern" Medea (the "colored" tailor Wally) is told in order to prove that "even today in the breast of a poor woman abysses open up that are deeper than hell" (Heyse 292), and which allow her to commit atrocities similar to those of Medea in Euripides (annihilation of the rival, infanticide), Jahnn basically moves in the narrative of the Greek model, but with radical changes and additions:

He designed the displaced Medea as an aged, ugly "Negress" (as Jahnn calls her in the *Dramatis personae*), her two sons accordingly as "Afro-Greeks". The central theme of the tragedy, "Jason's betrayal of love", is extended by the aspects "incest" and "homosexuality". The children of Medea are adolescents, the older son is a bedfellow (*eromenos*) of his eternally young and erotomaniac father Jason, the younger one longs for physical union with his brother, paired with death longing or willingness to die: "You may kill me if you only love me" (Jahnn 50). In

addition, the portrayal of Medea's acts of violence in Jahn's version in unbridled expressionist manner exceeds all earlier adaptations.

The analysis of the traditionally narrated novella will show how unreflectedly Heyse adopted the stereotypes and role attributions of his time towards "people of colour" as "members of a people at a lower cultural level" (Heyse 297): The background to this racist view was the political and socio-cultural discourse in the German Empire, which first had to find its new role as a colonial power in Africa (since 1884).

Jahn's motif of depicting Medea as an African, on the other hand, arose from his enlightened, more modern image of man: he repeatedly emphasized the "being human" of races of different colors ("it is human blood in the Negroes, capable") and succinctly stated: "What were barbarians for the Greeks are negroes, Malay, Chinese for us Europeans today" (Jahn in Weber 101). Responsible for this comparatively 'modern' attitude, according to my thesis, were autobiographical experiences of the author, who - analogous to his Medea - also experienced himself as an outsider due to his sexual orientation and his subjectively experienced ugliness.

An overview of the performance history and reception of Jahn's rarely played *Medea* will conclude the lecture. For unlike Wetmore's erroneous postulation (2003, 145: "The play has enjoyed a number of revivals, always with actresses of color in the lead role"), Jahn's Medea was always embodied on German stages by white actresses in black face. Three productions are briefly introduced in their specific characteristics: The premiere at the Staatstheater Berlin 1926 (directed by Jürgen Fehling, Agnes Straub as Medea), Münchener Kammerspiele 1981 (directed by Ernst Wendt, Doris Schade as Medea) and Schauspiel Köln 1988 (directed by Manfred Karge, Lore Brunner as Medea).

SECOND SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS

Session 10: Meeting of the Society for Ancient Greek Philosophy

Title: Eris in the Guise of Stasis in Aristotle's Politics

Name: John Mulhern

In this paper I establish the influence of Hesiod on Aristotle's advice in the middle books of the Politics for resolving the continuing internal conflict in the Greek cities. One might expect Aristotle to address eris in the Politics, since the Greek cities suffered from almost continuous internal conflict and were signally unsuccessful in ameliorating it. But Aristotle does not use the word eris in the Politics. In fact, it occurs only five times in the entire corpus, including twice in fragments, and always in an archaic context, usually poetic. One of these occurrences, the one in the Rhetoric, is an allusion to the poet Hesiod. In this allusion to Works and Days, the emotions phthonos (envy) and zēlos (emulation) are associated with eris. After Hesiod, one of these emotions, phthonos, came to be associated instead mainly with stasis, and Aristotle apparently followed this linguistic development in the Politics, where stasis has assumed the role of the archaic eris. I shall begin with a short treatment of eris in Works and Days. I shall argue that, in Hesiod, the emotions associated with eris—phthonos and zēlos—are cognitive; they are not merely irrational but involve judgement, which can be affected by reasoned argument. In the Rhetoric, Aristotle treats phthonos and zēlos in his systematic discussion in Book II; only in Book III does he connect eris with them. Once this connection is recognized, the place of phthonos in the discussion of stasis in the Politics becomes apparent along with Hesiod's influence, and dealing with stasis by reasoned argument comes into focus as a possibility for the first time in classical Greek thought. This possibility was not lost with Aristotle, since his understanding of the political importance of allaying phthonos can be seen in Greek literature as late, for example, as chapters 10, 11, 14, and 21 of Plutarch's Publicola. This line of development and Hesiod's place in it have received little attention in recent scholarship despite the revival of interest in Aristotle's pertinent works. Fortenbaugh's often cited Aristotle on Emotion, first published in 1975 as a contribution to understanding the Rhetoric, Politics, and other works, is silent with respect to Hesiod. The proceedings of the 1987 Symposium Aristotelicum on the Politics and the 1990 Symposium Aristotelicum on the Rhetoric likewise include no reference to Hesiod. Schütrumpf's extensive Anmerkungen identify Aristotle's citations of Works and Days while leaving Hesiod's anticipation of Aristotle's treatment of emotion untouched.

Title: Zeno Peripateticus? Cicero's Rhetorical Philosophy in *De Officiis*
Name: Michael Vazquez

Thanks to a resurgence of scholarly work on Cicero in recent years, it is no longer viable to interpret his philosophical texts as mere transcripts of Hellenistic debates. As an adherent to the skeptical brand of Academic philosophy, and as an accomplished orator, Cicero's authorship in his philosophical works presents numerous interpretive challenges. In this paper I would like to offer a novel interpretation of Cicero's *De Officiis* that is sensitive to his philosophical and rhetorical ambitions.

Broadly speaking, interpretations of Cicero's Stoicizing tendencies in this text can be divided into two camps. On the one hand, some take Cicero's use of Panaetius, and Stoicism more generally, as a straightforward endorsement of the Stoic viewpoint on *καθήκοντα/officia*. For example, Christopher Gill writes that "in *De Officiis* as a whole, Cicero adopts Stoic ideas wholeheartedly as the basis of his exposition, and in Book 3 especially, he adopts what is, in effect, a rigorous version of the Stoic position, as distinct from the Antiochean one." (Christopher Gill, "Antiochus' theory of oikeiosis," 244 & 244 n 78). On the other hand, some interpreters insist that Cicero's adoption of a Stoic line throughout *De Officiis* must be understood in the context of some broader persuasive strategy (e.g. as Charles Brittain suggests in "Cicero's sceptical methods: The example of the *De Finibus*," 14 n 5). While I think the latter tack is correct, it has yet to be filled out in such a way that links up with Cicero's philosophical agenda across his corpus. It is undoubtedly true that Cicero's use of Stoic notions must be interpreted in light of his *rhetorical* aim of conveying moral advice, both to his son and to a larger Roman audience, in a clear, intelligible, and compelling manner. But I contend that this persuasive agenda is closely linked to Cicero's theoretical vacillation, manifested across his *philosophica*, between the ethical position of the Stoa and that of the Academic and Peripatetic *veteres* (i.e. the broadly Antiochean position outlined in Book 5 of *De Finibus*, and referenced elsewhere across his corpus). My claim is that we can come to a more satisfactory understanding of the philosophical significance of *De Officiis* by highlighting the connection between Cicero's program of rhetorical philosophy and the ethical views to which he was most sympathetic. On my interpretation, the Stoic line taken by Cicero in *De Officiis* is his final attempt to represent the Stoic position as one that is substantially (even if not terminologically) identical to that of the *veteres*. And yet this does not stop Cicero from employing the novel terminology of the Stoics towards rhetorical ends, which explains his constant refrain throughout *De Officiis* to the Stoic thesis attributed to Zeno that 'only the honorable is good', even though the nearby Peripatetic view that 'the honorable is the greatest good' suffices, by his own admission, for Cicero's purpose (*Off.*, 3.11, trans. Griffin).

Before setting out this interpretation of *De Officiis* in more detail, I will discuss some preliminaries about Cicero's philosophical methodology, including his ideal of 'rhetorical philosophy' and Panaetius' relation to this ideal. My reading of *De Officiis* is consonant with recent efforts to read Cicero's philosophical project in the light of his social and political context. In particular, I have been influenced by Englert's suggestion that Cicero strove to 'bring philosophy into the life, that is, into the forum' (Walter Englert, "Bringing Philosophy to the Light: Cicero's 'Paradoxa Stoicorum'," *Apeiron* 23 (4):117 - 142 (1990)). This governing program is captured well by Englert's analysis of *Cicero's Paradoxa Stoicorum*.

Title: Stoic Philosophy and Its Parts in Two Analogies
Name: Robin Weiss

This essay addresses the disputed nature of the relationship among philosophy's parts in Stoicism. It argues against the common view that the relationship among philosophy's parts is best understood in terms of logical relationships (Ierodiakondou 1993, Mansfield 2003, Annas 2007), and instead argues that this relationship more usefully understood on analogy with that of the functionally distinct parts of a living organism. The essay presents a sustained analysis of two of the analogies the Stoics use to explain the relationship among philosophy's parts (a garden and an egg). The analysis yields two conclusions: First, ethics is a *technē* that pursues the end of philosophy as a whole and is in no way inferior to physics in this respect. Second, physics and ethics are not to be understood as contributing equally essential components of the end. It is concluded that the importance usually accorded to physics, with respect to ethics, and to philosophy as a whole, is most likely overstated, and that the relationship between ethics and physics is best characterized by the claim that ethics is supported by, but not therefore *dependent on* physics.

Session 11: The Future of Archaeology and Classics in American Academia (Joint AIA-SCS Workshop)

No abstracts

Session 12: Metaphor in Early Greek Poetry

Title: Emotion Metaphors in Early Greek Poetry

Name: Fabian Horn

The current most prolific and influential metaphor theory is the cognitive linguistic approach (and conceptual metaphor theory) following the seminal work of George Lakoff and his collaborators (esp. Lakoff and Johnson, 1980 and Lakoff and Turner, 1989). Their approach established metaphor as a fundamental pattern of human thought, cognition, and language (rather than a mere figure of speech) which makes it possible for human beings to think and speak about abstract and often phenomenologically inaccessible concepts by employing images drawn from more concrete and relatable source domains. One such abstract target domain where metaphors are expected to occur regularly is the field of emotions, a claim which has been tested with regard to several different modern languages (e.g. Athanasiadou and Tabakowska, 1998 and Kövecses, 2000).

This paper proposes to examine the emotion metaphors of our extant early Ancient Greek sources, briefly addressing the principles of metonymical expression before considering both general metaphorical mechanisms such as ontological metaphor (personification/reification) and orientational metaphor (metaphorical use of directionality, often framed as movement) as well as more specific metaphorical conceptualizations drawing on embodied ideas: Despite having no grounding in physical reality, immediately relatable and familiar notions such as temperature (warmth – cold), consistency (hard – soft, solid – liquid – gaseous), or physical processes (contraction – expansion) along with bodily sensations drawn from other fields of experience (e.g. taste, cf. Horn, 2016; for the general principle vide Speed et al. 2019) are frequently used to express complex emotional experiences which would be difficult or impossible to convey literally. The following examples from Homeric epic for the emotions of fear and mercy use an orientational metaphor and the conceptual metaphor hard is pitiless respectively:

Il. 15.280: τάρβησαν, πᾶσιν δὲ παραί ποσὶ κάππεσε θυμός.

they were all terrified, and their spirit dropped beside their feet.

Od. 5.190–1: (...) οὐδέ μοι αὐτῆ
θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι σιδήρεος, ἄλλθ ἐλέημων.
(...) the heart in my breast is not made of iron but is disposed to pity.

To date, there has been no systematic application of the cognitive linguistic theory of metaphors to the Ancient Greek material, even though there have been individual studies demonstrating the general validity of the approach (cf. e.g. Cairns, 2016a, 2016b; Horn, 2016; Forte, 2018). With regard to the study of emotion metaphors, the cognitive linguistic approach provides a theoretical framework which makes it possible to relate individual metaphors, which are usually studied separately, to one another when they draw on shared underlying conceptualizations. While the metaphors occurring in any single domain of experience are usually not fully consistent but merely illustrating individual aspects, this paper aims to demonstrate that with emotion metaphors in Ancient Greek, there is at least a coherent system of conceptual metaphors often making use of opposite but coordinate conceptualizations (such as the aforementioned warm – cold opposition, cf. Zink, 1961). At the same time, it will be argued that the lack of consistency exhibited by the expressions concerning the bodily reactions of emotions, which has caused confusion for interpreters before and led to peculiar interpretations, can be explained if phrases referring to conceptually flexible ‘physical organs’ such as θυμός or φρήν/φρένες, are treated as metaphorical images rather than biological realities.

Title: Does Greek Pain Have Teeth?

Name: Pura Nieto Hernández

Since pain is a private, subjective, and poorly delineated experience, its conceptualization across languages is complex. Subjects experiencing pain have trouble describing it in language that is comprehensible to others, as recent literature in medicine and cognitive linguistics attests. Not surprisingly, metonymic and metaphorical language abounds in this domain, since it facilitates the communication of what pain is (SEMINO 2010). In contemporary English, for example, terms such as *burning*, *piercing* or *biting* are commonly used to describe pain. We also speak of it as a *monster* or *attacking enemy* that is *killing* us and we can today “*wage a war* against cancer,” “*kill the infection*” or “*contain the attack* of the epidemic.” This constellation of images all respond to the conceptual metaphor Physical states are independent entities (BOURKE 2014: 479). In the case of the particular entities that cause the physical/emotional state of pain, they are also malevolent agents: *vicious*, *cruel*, *torturing*. They can act of their own volition and escape human control. Conceptual metaphors are embedded, like the speakers who use them, in a time and place; they change as the worldly experience of speakers change. It is important then to consider the time and social environment in which they develop and exist in a language and society.

This paper examines the conceptualization of pain in the language of archaic Greek poetry. More precisely, it concentrates on the terms for the target domain pain whose non-figurative uses are related to the source domains bite, eat, devour. The terms ὀδύνη and ὠδῖς, both of them in all likelihood arising from **h₁ed* - to 'eat' (cf. ὀδοῦς), are the starting point. Is pain considered an entity able to *bite*, or to *eat* the flesh? Is it capable of *consuming* or *devouring* the speakers? Can it be *killed*? Are these terms used differently for physical and emotional pain that affects not the flesh but the heart or soul? The independence and agency of this entity is clear in the famous simile for Agamemnon's wound in *Iliad* 11.268-272:

ὄξεϊται δ' ὀδύναι δῦνον μένος Ἀτρεΐδαο.
ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ὠδίνουσαν ἔχη βέλος ὄξυ γυναιῖκα

δριμύ, τό τε προΐεισι μογοστόκοι Εἰλείθυια (270)
Ἥρης θυγατέρες πικρὰς ὠδῖνας ἔχουσαι,
ὥς ὄξεϊ' ὀδύναι δῦνον μένος Ἀτρεΐδαο.

The use of δύω in this passage, apart from producing an apophony (-δύναι/δῦνον, operative despite the different quantity), literally *enters* Agamemnon. The close occurrence of ὀδύναι and ὠδῖνες continues the sound-play which becomes also etymological. The striking contrast between commander and laboring woman has attracted intense critical attention (MIRTO 2011), but my point here is that the image produced by the adjective ὄξεϊται for Agamemnon's ὀδύναι (used in Homer only here and in *Il.* 16. 528) anticipates the sharp and bitter shaft that takes hold of the woman: ὄξυς perfectly suits βέλος. We see here a sort of contamination: the pain can be sharp as a shaft. The source domain bite is close to the effect produced by a piercing instrument: teeth can also pierce and penetrate the flesh. This type of interference occurs in all languages (HOLMES 2007).

This paper concludes by considering other Greek terms that fall in the source domain bite, such as those connected to the root of βιβρώσκω (θυμοβόρος, γυιοβόρος) and δάκνω (δάκε δὲ φρένας Ἔκτορι μῦθος, *Il.* 5.493, cf. Hes. *Th.* 567; δακέθυμος, θυμοδακής).

Title: Is Life a Journey, a Chase, or a Race? Metaphors of Death and Life in the Homeric Poems

Name: Alexander Forte

This paper analyzes personified metaphors of Death in the Homeric poems, arguing for their grounding in cross-cultural continuities of embodiment and for their subtle poetic function within the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Due to death's phenomenological elusiveness, it is paradoxically construed through conceptual metaphors and metonymies that emerge from lived bodily experience (Crespo-Fernández 2006). Recent and forthcoming research in Classics-

oriented cognitive linguistics (Horn 2018, Zanker 2019) has accounted for and analyzed several of these embodied metaphors as they appear in the Homeric poems.

This paper focuses on the personified metaphor of death as a pursuer (Lakoff and Turner 1989, 46), arguing that the Homeric poems use this metaphor in purposeful and contextually sensitive ways. In Homeric poetry to die is “to be caught (by death),” as if during one’s life one is constantly pursued by an invisible assailant until the moment of death (*Il.* 12.172, 21.281; *Od.* 5.312, 24.34, cf. Clarke 1999, 231–3). Death itself is something from which one must “escape,” and this notion is deeply embedded within the formulaic system of Homeric poetry (*Il.* 12.113, 15.287, 21.565; *Od.* 2.352, 5.387, 17.547, 19.558, 22.66, 23.332). When Death “seizes” the eyes of the dying hero (...τὸν δὲ κατ’ ὄσσε / ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταυή [*Il.* 5.82–3, 16.333–4, 20.476–7]), this metaphorically represents the end of life through somatosensory experience (closure is touch) in a way that emphasizes a loss of bodily control (surprising [someone] is a sudden seizure).

The core of this paper will analyze how the metaphor of death as a pursuing agent is found in a more elaborate form, life is a chase. This metaphor explains why death in the Homeric poems only “seizes” the eyes of heroes who have just been “seized” by a pursuing foe in the narrative. Of the three heroes whose eyes are “seized” by death, Hypsenor is run-down by Eurypylus (...φεύγοντα μεταδρομάδην ἔλασ’ ὄμιον, *Il.* 5.80), Cleobulus is taken alive by Oilean Ajax before dying (ζῶν ἔλε, *Il.* 16.331), and Echeclus is killed by Achilles, who earlier vowed to chase whomever he could catch (νῦν δ’ ἄλλους Τρώων ἐπιείσομαι, ὃν κε κιχίω, *Il.* 20.454).

The paper concludes by treating a complex, enculturated, and elaborate version of this metaphor, life is a stadion-race, in which one’s finishing-place in a footrace is proportional to the length of one’s life. In a very specific Homeric twist, this one-off metaphor blends the temporal length of a hero’s life with the spatial distance from Troy that he reaches before dying. Recognition of this metaphor sheds new light on the footrace in the funeral games of *Iliad* 23 (Odysseus wins the race and dies in old age at home in Ithaca; Oilean Ajax finishes second and dies at sea in adulthood; and Antilochus is third and dies at Troy in his youth).

Title: Metaphor in the Speech of Achilles

Name: Andreas Thomas Zanker

Proponents of conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) – and of cognitive approaches in general – have focused primarily on systematic aspects of Homeric language found throughout the epics, for instance metaphors for the mind (e.g. Cairns 2014), death (e.g. Horn 2018), surprise (e.g. Forte 2018), and time (e.g. Zanker 2019). This has been crucial for the demonstration of the pervasiveness of conceptual metaphor within the corpus, but the approach has yet to be tested on an individual block of text spoken by a Homeric hero.

In this paper, I shall consider the (first) Speech of Achilles in *Iliad* 9 (308-429) through the lens of CMT. There was intense metrical, stylistic, and lexical analysis of this speech in anglophone scholarship in the late 20th century (see originally Parry 1956; on the debate, see Martin 1989), the main point being to prove or disprove the thesis that Achilles is using language in a special way. I do not seek to supplant these contributions, but simply to view the text from a new perspective. I shall build on Martin 1989 in particular in arguing that CMT has something to contribute to our understanding of what is special about Achilles’ charged delivery.

In the first place, I shall simply demonstrate the existence in Achilles’ speech of conceptual metaphors well attested throughout the rest of the *Iliad*; we find, for example, metaphors for thinking as building, the mind as a container, time as movement, life as a journey, self-control as object-possession, words as instruments, etc. I shall also demonstrate how metaphor is embedded in Homeric grammar as well as the lexicon – for instance, in the use of the locative dative for the expression of time-at-which (ἡματί κε τριτάτῳ, *Iliad* 9.363) and the accusative of extension in order to describe movement through time (ἄπνους νύκτας ἵαυον, *Iliad* 9.325).

I shall then move on to describe more idiosyncratic uses of metaphor within Achilles’ speech. Martin 1989 has assembled an important list of collocations unique to this piece of text, several of which build on standard metaphors but apply them in a fresh way; we find, for example, the expression ἡματα δ’ αἱματόεντα διέπρησσον (*Iliad* 9.326), which makes use of the accusative of extension but gives the metaphor a new twist – these days are “bloody” by

metonymy (they “contain” acts of violence). As has been noted by many (e.g. Schmitt 1967), however, the passage also likely reveals a primordial metaphor that depicts fame as a living being, κλέος ἄφθιτον (*Iliad* 9.413). Examples of each end of the CMT spectrum (a creative extension and an inherited phrase) are found in the speech.

Finally, I shall argue that Achilles attempts to undermine the metaphors by which others live. For example, Achilles rates his ψυχή, which he is currently risking (παραβαλλόμενος, *Iliad* 9.322) by fighting, as an object of greater worth the riches of Troy (οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ψυχῆς ἀντάξιον, *Iliad* 9.401); once it departs, it can never come back (*Iliad* 9.408). This idea challenges the standard operational metaphor that serves as the prime incentive for the hero to fight, whereby material rewards are equated with τιμή; compare e.g. the Speech of Sarpedon (*Iliad* 12.310-328).

In other situations, Achilles subverts the metaphors that others apply; for example, as Martin 1989 notes, Odysseus had reminded Achilles to set aside his χόλον θυμαλγέα (*Iliad* 9.260), but Achilles demands that Agamemnon make good the θυμαλγέα λώβην (*Iliad* 9.387) that he has done him. On the other hand, Achilles repeats metaphors he had himself used in Book 1, for instance his description of Agamemnon as αἰὲν ἀναιδέϊν ἐπειμμένος (*Iliad* 9.372), which echoes his attack on the king of Mycena: ὦ μοι, ἀναιδέϊν ἐπειμέμε (*Iliad* 1.149); the αἰὲν in the Book 9 passage may be meaningful. This particular metaphor is moreover an ironic variation on the standard ἐπειμμένοι ἄλκην (e.g. *Iliad* 7.164) – Achilles is giving his own version of the diction.

Session 13: Readers and Reading: Current Debates

Title: Responsive Reading

Name: Irene Peirano Garrison

Classical philology has traditionally operated under a positivistic and historicist model of reading as a process of recovery of the original, be that configured as an original source, original thought or wording. Such an approach has been buttressed by philology’s long-standing claim to being an emic mode of reading, originating in Greco-Roman antiquity and therefore holding the greatest promise of intimacy with the classical world.

However, even assuming continuity between ancient and modern versions of philology, which is in itself an increasingly contested narrative (Zetzel, 2015), readers in antiquity practiced a broad array of reading practices far beyond the philological ones, the impact of which are just beginning to be understood (e.g. Johnson, 2010; Frampton, 2019). Reception theory and reader-response criticism in Classics have stressed in different ways the polysemous nature of texts, highlighting the crucial role of readers and reading communities across time and space in the production of meaning (e.g. Martindale, 1993; Greenwood, 2016). The discussion, however, has been largely aimed at pinpointing the controlling source of the moral and interpretative issues raised by texts (is Aeneas’ killing of Turnus justified? Does the decision rest with the readers — whether the original reader or every subsequent reader— or the author?). While ethical and evaluative readings of literature certainly are about both in ancient and in modern criticism, a very important aspect of reception in Greco-Roman culture of the Imperial period is the textuality of its reading practices. By this I mean not only that literary works are more often encountered as text—read, that is, but also that the activity of reading is explicitly framed as encompassing writing, as seen in a wide variety of creative and largely textually mediated responses to canonical authors in which texts are treated by readers as amenable to ethical and evaluative response in the context of education (Cribiore, 2005), elite circulation (Gurd, 2011), book and literary production (Starr, 1987). This response could be framed as “readerly”, through performative practices that encourage readers to become one with the author, but it could also be framed as “writerly”: reading in this culture, that is, was a process intimately connected with the rewriting of texts, an activity framed as response.

Ovid, an author often mined as a source for reading practices (Farrell, 1998; Martelli, 2013), discusses this issue, for example, in *Ars Amatoria* book 1, in the context of instructing his male readers in erotic letter writing. Here Ovid presents replying (*respondere*) as a condition of reading: as long as your lover reads the letter, she will at least desire to respond (*AA1.481 Quae voluit legisse, volet rescribere lectis*). To give just one other example, in the rhetorical tradition, response (*rescribere*) indicates texts that take the form of a retort to the author, a form of *in utramque partem disputare* which sets the reader rhetorically at odds with the author (e.g. Seneca the Elder, *Contr. 3 praef.* 15; 10.5.20).

This paper will engage with responsive reading practices from antiquity which imagine the author as either writing for an audience who is assumed to “talk back” or alternatively mine the model text for moments that can be construed or recreated through the lenses of epistolography, as is the case for the *Heroides*. I argue that this responsive model of reading can prove generative for re-imagining the relational aspect of reading in the 21st century. For the emphasis on response emphasizes not only the openness of traditions and their inherently dialogic structure, but also the element of “forthcomingness” —a timely engagement with authors —that texts generate and rely on in readers.

Title: Bad Readers: Anecdote, Affect and Audience in Ancient Virgilian Literary Criticism
Name: Talitha E. Z. Kearey

Ancient literary critics are, for many modern scholars, fundamentally ‘bad’ readers. It is often observed that ancient literary scholarship – ranging from commentaries or scholia to technical treatises, from author-biographies to encyclopaedias – seems to lag far behind the theoretical sophistication perceivable in ancient literature itself. Ancient scholarship is generally characterised as ‘bad reading’ in one (or both) of two ways: on the one hand, it is drily typologising, intent on cataloguing minute details, splitting hairs and resolutely not seeing the wood for the trees; on the other, it is wildly speculative, reliant on baseless allegory and given to digressions and counterintuitive interpretative moves. Modern Classical scholarship has an uncomfortable relationship with such critical modes (cf. Too 1999). It tends either to hail them as distant, partial ancestors of current reading practices – especially in the cases of allegory, a clear form of ‘symptomatic’ reading (Best & Marcus 2009:4), and of rhetorical classifications, which remain basic building-blocks of Classical literary scholarship today – or to discard them as fanciful or wholly uncritical (Felski 2012: ‘critique does not tolerate rivals’; Sedgwick 2003:150), substituting rupture and antithesis for the sense of a continued critical tradition.

This paper will not attempt to unify this ancient critical tradition or redeem it for present practice. My investigation here is more diagnostic than therapeutic. Mindful of the heterogenous nature of ancient criticism itself, I examine points where ancient literary scholarship seems to chafe at its own formal and methodological constraints, incorporating other modes of reading that differ markedly from its usual rhetorical, allegorical or historicising approaches. I argue that ancient criticism distances itself from these modes even as it includes them, marking them as forms of ‘bad reading’ while simultaneously exploiting the access they provide to otherwise proscribed forms of literary experience and readerly relation to the text. That is, the presence of these alternative ways of reading in ancient criticism both manifests the ‘desire to read differently’ that this panel explores, and (at least in part) fulfils it. This paper identifies a productive tension within ancient scholarship: do these alternative modes of reading directly challenge the hegemonic mode(s) of literary criticism dominant in antiquity, or are they finally co-opted by their contexts and redeployed within familiar forms of critique?

My investigation revolves around commentaries on Virgil’s poems and the biographies prepended to them. I argue that these pieces of criticism make room for expressly affective and embodied modes of reading, in contrast to their usual practices, but that they confine them almost entirely to anecdotes of Virgil’s own poetic recitations: Virgil interrupted mid-sentence (Servius *ad G.* 1.299, *Vita Suetonii-Donati* 43), Virgil and Maecenas reading the *Georgics* to Augustus at Atella (*VSD* 27), Virgil reciting the *Aeneid* to Augustus and Octavia (Serv. *ad Aen.* 4.323, 6.861, *VSD* 32). These imagined scenes of (vocal, embodied, collective, historical) *performance* move away from (solitary, placeless, timeless) *reading* to enable encounters with the text to be refigured as emotional, unruly, disruptive, affective: emperors weep, mothers faint, hecklers insert their own creative responses, and the emotions within the text spill over via ‘mimetic contagion’ to the audience (Whitmarsh 2002, Germany 2016, Ziogas 2018). Virgil’s presence and (particularly) his voice emerge as a key mediator of this affective turn (note *ingenti adfectu... pronuntiasse... uoce optima*, Serv. *ad Aen.* 4.323; *tanta pronuntiatione*, *ad Aen.* 6.861), and as such a central source of discomfort for the critics who transmit these anecdotes. Descriptions of Virgil’s voice supplement conventional poetic ‘sweetness’ (*VSD* 28-9, *Vit. Foc.* 54) with the extraordinary term *lenocinium* (‘pimp-business’, *VSD* 28) – a word more familiar from vitriol against failed oratorical masculinity (e.g. Quint. 4.2.118, 5.12.2, 12.1.30; cf. Gunderson 2000, Connolly 2007), but which here refocuses attention on Virgil’s manipulation of affect and emotion. By inviting their readers to imagine Virgil in an explicitly eroticised performance context, I argue, these anecdotes open up space within literary criticism for a different approach to literary pleasure and readerly attachment.

Title: *sunt mihi multae curae*: Self-Writing and the Emotional Reader
Name: Catherine Conybeare

Autobiography—perhaps better termed “self-narration” or “self-writing” to circumvent anachronistic genre conventions (Zak 2012)—lays a particular burden of engagement on the reader. The self within the text calls to the self, or selves, outside the text, expecting, commanding, pleading for a moment of encounter. Part of the point of constructing the text as a first-person narration is arguably to invite emotional identification of reader with writer (Cowley 2015). Commenting on the most famous of his own works of self-narration, Augustine of Hippo was quite explicit about his desire for affective impact:

The thirteen books of my confessions about both my failings and my virtues praise god, just and good, and rouse (*excitant*) human understanding and affection towards him. As far as I am concerned, they did this in me while they were being written, and they still do it when they are read. What other people feel about them, they should see for themselves... (*retractationes*2.6.1)

At least in the modern era (Augustine’s *Confessions* were less popular in the middle ages), the project of “rous[ing] human understanding and affection” could hardly have been more successful—though the “him” that is the object of that affection is just as likely to be Augustine as his god (Conybeare 2016). Of all ancient works, at least in Latin, this may be the one with which readers identify most immediately and intensely (Vance 1973). The death of Augustine’s closest childhood friend (*conf.* 4.4.7-9.14), or the dismissal of his lover of many years (*conf.* 6.15.25), or the beatific moment that he achieves with his mother at Ostia (*conf.* 9.10.23-26): each of these episodes, and many more, are objects of passionate engagement.

I have spent much of my professional life working on, and often identifying with, Augustine. But the brief of this panel invites the question: what does it mean *as a woman* to identify with this man, however remarkable, however engaging? What strange occlusions and transpositions and re-identifications must take place in the reading process for that identification to be viable? To what degree must I indulge in the masculinization of the self that often seems to be the pre-condition for entry to a professional conversation? And what is lost in that process?

To begin to answer that question, in my contribution to this panel I would like to juxtapose Augustine’s *Confessions* with another, less well-known example of self-writing in Latin: the *Liber Manualis* of the Carolingian noblewoman Dhuoda (Jaffe 1997; Romig 2017). Composed between November 841 and February 843, the *Liber Manualis* was the result of a particular exigency: Dhuoda’s husband had sent her elder son, William, to serve in the household of a political rival, effectively as a hostage; he had then taken their baby (whose name she does not even know at the time of writing) and left her alone in Uzès. Dhuoda writes the *Liber Manualis* and dedicates it to William expressly as a stand-in for her own loving, guiding presence—“Norma ex me, Forma in te, Manualis tam ex me quam in te, ex me collectus, in te receptus.” She is defiantly, fiercely present in her own text. For all the divisions of place and time and social convention, the shock of unconditional recognition that I felt on reading this work—recognition of the anxious maternal desire to supply guidance and sustenance for her distant child, and above all, to remain present to him—made me realize how starved I was for Latin sources that spoke to my own maternal identity. In this paper, I shall reflect on that reading experience and the passionate engagement that it evoked, juxtaposing it with the very different—though still powerful—affective experience of reading the *Confessions*.

Session 14: Pedagogy

Title: Latin Programs in North America: Current Data and Future Decisions

Name: Blanche Conger McCune

(submitted as lightning talk abstract)

Latin programs: what are each of us *doing*? what is *working*? This talk will present data collected from a survey of North American college and university Latin program directors and instructors, to be conducted September-October 2019, in the context of current pedagogical research. Surveyed topics include textbooks, methods, recruitment, integration of secondary Latin students, retention, and upper-level preparedness.

Title: Facilitating Incidental and Intentional Learning using the Hedera Personalized Language Learning Environment

Name: Ivy J. Livingston

As Christopher Francese notes in the introduction to the Dickinson Core Vocabularies <<http://dcc.dickinson.edu/vocab/core-vocabulary>>, teachers of Latin and Greek have long recognized that novice students will benefit greatly from first learning the most frequently occurring words in the language. More recently, research on second language acquisition shown that vocabulary, rather than grammar, is the most difficult aspect of reading for language learners (Day and Bamford 1998:78). But how should one go about learning those most common words?

In his summary of the research, Folse (2004:39-45) concludes that both intentional learning (e.g. from definition lists or flashcards) and incidental learning (e.g. from repeated encounters in the course of reading) are effective, with intentional learning being most efficient for initial familiarization and incidental learning being necessary to develop a sense for how words are used, to learn collocations, and to prevent loss. But in order to learn new language items from context and/or to deepen knowledge of vocabulary and grammar already encountered, learners must be able to read relatively quickly and easily, without frequent recourse to dictionaries. It has been estimated that at least 90% of the words in a reading should be already known to the student.

In developing Hedera: A Personalized Language Learning Environment, the project team wanted to be able to calculate the readability of a Latin or ancient Greek text from any source with a high degree of precision for any individual learner, taking into account that students do not typically learn, for example, *ab* (place from which) and *ab* (personal agent) at the same time. To achieve this, it was necessary to develop a system that would enable users to go beyond digital lemmatization that associates forms with the headwords of a given dictionary. To give a more specific example: a student learning Latin from the Cambridge Latin Course might have learned nearly 1000 words by the end of the third volume, including *iratus* (defined as an adjective “angry”) but not the verb *irascor*. If *iratus* is lemmatized as a form of *irascor*, then we cannot capture the fact that our hypothetical student would actually understand the sentence *Abiit iratus*.

In this session, I will show how Hedera (1) enables teachers to customize the lemmatization of texts and (2) allows learners to track not only what words they know (even if the word is not considered a headword in the standard dictionaries), but also how well they know each word. I will then demonstrate how these two strands work together to determine with greater accuracy whether a text will be readable enough to support incidental learning and the reinforcement of known words. Hedera also facilitates intentional learning by listing unknown words and exporting them for learning on paper or with digital flashcards, giving learners the option to gain a basic familiarity with any unknown words before beginning the text. Finally, I will show how Hedera’s reading environment also tailors support to the individual learner.

Title: Mapping Cicero’s Letters: Digital Visualizations in the Liberal Arts Classroom

Name: Micah Young Myers

This presentation explores pedagogical applications of digital mapping technology. It reports on “Mapping Cicero’s Letters,” a project undertaken in an undergraduate Classics course in which students use the web application Carto to create visualizations from geo-spatial information in Cicero’s letters. This project exemplifies how digital visualization projects can teach important technical skills, while engaging students in detailed analyses of Roman mobility, geography, and history. We also consider some challenges of using evolving digital technologies in the college classroom. “Mapping Cicero’s Letters” is inspired by the many excellent research and pedagogical projects that apply GIS technology to the study of the ancient Mediterranean (especially Ancient World Mapping Center, Pleiades, and Pelagios). Our project is distinguished by its special focus on not just visualizing geographical coordinates, but also representing movement between places.

The “Mapping Cicero’s Letters” project approaches epistles as travel texts, in so far as they move from author to addressee and contain references to journeys that the letters’ correspondents undertake. The data for “Mapping

Cicero's Letters" was created in 2016 and 2018 by forty-six undergraduates enrolled in two iterations of a course on ancient travel and geography; the project will continue in future offerings of the course. The course expects no previous background in Classics or in technology. Participants range from first-year students who have never taken a Classics course to senior majors. The project is taught collaboratively by the course instructor, an instructional technologist, and a student-researcher. Students, working in pairs, create their own digital visualizations based on the geo-spatial information in twenty letters. In addition, they contribute to a collective dataset from which we create combined visualizations of hundreds of letters.

To complete the project, students learn a variety of skills ranging from close reading of texts to SQL, a database management language. To make their visualizations, students read through their assigned letters in translation, identifying information about locations of the authors and addressees and making note of any references to travel. On the technical side, students learn: (1) to use Carto, a web-based mapping and location intelligence platform; (2) to find geographical coordinates using the Pleiades gazetteer; (3) to create properly formatted tabular data; and (4) to use SQL and the style sheet language CSS to manipulate their data and customize their visualizations. At the end of the project students write brief reports and give presentations of their work.

The results of the project to this point are that all students have succeeded in creating visualizations despite facing challenges. In particular, students' baseline experience with technology varies greatly. Further, Carto, like many applications, has bugs that occasionally present issues. Carto also released a new version of its application between the first and second iterations of the project, which required the instructors to learn new methods and adapt their teaching. We find, however, that these challenges encourage students and instructors alike to develop resiliency, troubleshoot problems, and refine work until visualizations function properly.

The presentation offers three main conclusions. First, we emphasize that the project is being carried out successfully at a liberal arts college that does not have technological resources as extensive as some major universities. Therefore, our accomplishments with the project offer an example of how the "digital turn" can come to Classics classrooms in a variety of higher education contexts. Second, we discuss how employing student-researchers is critical to the project, allowing us to profit from the technological skills of select students and to encourage peer learning. Third, we demonstrate that data visualization technology offers novel ways for students to learn about the ancient Mediterranean. Our use of technology introduces students to new skills useful for their study of Classics and beyond. Using technology also has the potential to attract students who already have technical skills to enroll in the course and to view the discipline of Classics in a new manner.

Session 15: Literary Texture in Augustine and Gregory

Title: Optatus Gildonianus: Exposure and Concealment in Augustine's Anti-Donatist Rhetoric

Name: Madeline E. Monk

Augustine made it his mission to refute every piece of Donatist writing he was able to acquire in the decade leading up to the 411 Council of Carthage. Throughout this period, he repeatedly emphasizes his need to counter Donatist arguments as often as possible, despite possible redundancy, in order to ensure that his arguments circulate widely (*Un. De Bapt.* 1.1) and that he cannot be accused of failing to address any Donatist argument (*C. Cresc.* 3.1.1).

Augustine's epistolary entrapment of the Donatists and the techniques he uses to turn a largely one-sided conversation into a debate have been extensively discussed by scholars (Ebbeler 2016, Miles 2008), but his claim that he is fully addressing every Donatist argument has been taken at face value. This paper uses Augustine's rhetoric around the Donatist bishop Optatus of Thamugadi to challenge that claim and argue that some of his strongest rhetoric conceals factual weakness and a deliberate obfuscation of the Donatist position.

Augustine's rhetoric about Optatus was so influential that Frensdorff claims Optatus was bent on accomplishing violent revolution along with Gildo (1952: 208-9). Shaw, however, points out that there is no real evidence to support these claims (2011: 134-5). My analysis proceeds from Shaw's observation to elucidate the reasons that Optatus made such a tempting rhetorical target despite the lack of evidence for his alleged sedition. The Maximianist schism was a moment of weakness for the Donatists, which Augustine exploited gleefully and often. Optatus coerced two Maximianist bishops back into the fold, making him a key target. His association with Gildo also allowed Augustine

to position the predominately African Donatist church as a source of sedition and civil strife for his Mediterranean audience, which Augustine became increasingly invested in addressing as he moved from promoting internal conciliation to advocating for government intervention. Indeed, one of Augustine's tactics is conflating Optatus with Gildo as much as he can, referring to him as *Optatus Gildonianus* multiple times (*C. Ep. Parm.* 2.2.4, 2.22.42, 3.2.4; *C. Litt. Petil.* 1.10.11) and repeating several variations of the phrase *comes est deus* (*C. Litt. Petil.* 2.23.53, 2.28.65, 2.33.78, 2.37.88), which he claims was originally uttered by a Donatist (*C. Litt. Petil.* 1.9.10).

There are, however, indications in Augustine's works that the Donatists were not as ashamed of Optatus as Augustine wants his audience to believe. This paper reconstructs as much of the Donatists' portrayal of Optatus as possible and demonstrates a place where Augustine, known for his voluminous rhetoric and point-by-point refutation, seems to prefer silence. In a letter from 402, Augustine comments that if the Donatists call Optatus a martyr, they must be calling Gildo Christ (*Ep.* 76.3), revealing that some Donatists consider Optatus a martyr. In his response to Augustine's Book 2, Petilian implies that Augustine is to some extent responsible for Optatus's bad reputation (*C. Litt. Petil.* 3.40.48). Cresconius seems to challenge Augustine's claim that Optatus used violence to bring dissident bishops back into the fold (*C. Cresc.* 4.25.32). The Donatist perspective is often lost to silence, both because of the loss of sources and their general refusal to engage Augustine in debate. Examining Augustine's Optatus, however, ultimately provides some insight into the Donatist side of the debate leading up to the Council of 411 and demonstrates how Augustine manipulates narrative to silence his opponents.

Title: Maps of Misreading: The Presence of Horace's Vergil in Augustine's Horace
Name: Eric J. Hutchinson

While Augustine's appropriation of Vergil has received moderate scholarly attention (e.g. Bennett 1988; MacCormack 1998; Shanzer 2012), his reading of Horace has had almost none (but cf. the brief overview in Hagedahl 1967 and some scattered references in Courcelle 1968; Horace is unnamed in a list of Augustine's "influences" in Marrou 1938). This paper is a small attempt to redress this imbalance through the analysis of an allusion to Horace, *Carmina* 1.3.20 (his propempticon to Vergil's ship), in *Confessiones* 1.13.20, previously unnoticed and unremarked in, for example, Hagedahl 1967, Alfonsi 1976, O'Donnell 1992, and Clark 1995.

The allusion is indicated by Horace's phrase *siccis oculis* in Augustine's lament over his youth wasted on literature: "I was enduring my death apart from you with dry eyes (*siccis oculis*)." The reader can be certain that Augustine refers to *Carm.* 1.3, because the phrase *siccis oculis* is found nowhere else in extant Latin literature before Horace or between Horace and Augustine besides Pliny, *Epistulae* 3.16, and Ps.-Quintilian, *Declamationes* 10.16, and, as my argument will demonstrate, these are irrelevant. Augustine knew the poem: he refers to it in the account of his grief over the death of his friend in *Conf.* 4.6.11 (*dimidium animae suae*), discussed extensively in Pucci 1991. That phrase, of course, originally referred to Horace's friendship with Vergil (*animae dimidium meae*, *Carm.* 1.3.8) and provided a motive for Vergil's ship to return him safely from his voyage--a voyage that has itself been read as an allegory of Vergil's undertaking in the *Aeneid* (see, among others, Santirocco 1986 and Clark 2004; the ancient commentator Ps.-Acron had already noted similarities between Horace's poem and the *Aeneid*.)

Why is this Vergilian context significant? It is significant because it is precisely Vergil's *Aeneid* that is the subject of Augustine's reflection on the occasion of his first allusion to *Carm.* 1.3 in *Conf.* 1.13.20. The paragraph begins with Augustine's inquiry as to why he did not like Greek literature in comparison to Latin (see Hunink 2009) and ends with a lament that he wept over the "wanderings" (*errores*) of Aeneas and the death of Dido while contemplating his own "wanderings" or "errors" (*errores*) "with dry eyes" (*siccis oculis*). It is of course true that Horace and Vergil both vaguely fit the background of *Conf.* 1.13.20 in so far as each attempts to work out the proper relation between Greek and Latin literature. But if that were all, the exercise of discussing the allusion would be banal. Instead, and more interestingly, Augustine is castigating his youthful love affair with Latin literature with a carefully chosen rod drawn from that same Latin literature: for Horace's poem, while beginning (like *Conf.*) as a prayer, transmogrifies into a complaint about man's impious daring that leads him to wander where he should not--that is, on the sea--without fear of death, beholding monsters "with dry eyes" (*siccis oculis*). Like the first sin in Genesis, man's rushing headlong over forbidden boundaries (*per vetitum nefas*, *Carm.* 1.3.26) leads to death (32-3). Augustine's allusion to Horace's poem about Vergil's (poem about Aeneas') wandering serves, then, to metaphorize Augustine's own wandering away from God that was enabled by the very Vergil whom Horace praises in the ode. An analysis of this

allusion, then, will yield a textured picture of various and contradictory moments of reading, as Augustine responds to Horace's response to Vergil, in the midst of his own response to Vergil through Horace, a move that is, in its turn, at once both pro-Horatian (because of Horace's polemic against man's audaciousness in transgressing his proper boundaries) and counter-Horatian (because of Horace's praise of Vergil). Thus this paper will contribute to the wider study of the ways in which Augustine creatively reuses the classical past for contemporary ends.

Title: Gregory of Nazianzus and Apollinaris of Laodicea: Callimachean Polemic in the 4th c. CE

Name: Alex Poulos

In this paper, I draw attention to Gregory of Nazianzus' 16 line elegiac *carm.* 1.1.11 (*De incarnatione*) to show how Gregory both presents himself as a pure Callimachean stylist and paints his theological opponent, Apollinaris of Laodicea, as a bombastic Homerides. Like much of Gregory's poetry, *carm.* 1.1.11 is only beginning to receive scholarly attention. Both John McGuckin and Peter Gilbert have rendered the poem into English (McGuckin 1995 and Gilbert 2001), each rightly contextualizing the poem within the Apollinarian controversies of the 380s. Scholars of Hellenistic poetry have observed Gregory's use of the rare Callimachean adjective ὀλιγόστιχος ("with few lines") (Hollis 2002 and Harder 2012 ad fr. 1.9). I show how other Callimachean elements in the poem, like juxtaposed prosodic variants (for the term, see Hopkinson 1982) and etymological word play, fit in with Gregory's larger project of depicting himself as a Callimachean poet pure both in style and theological insight. Analysis of *carm.* 1.1.11 is timely due to Andrew Faulkner's forthcoming reevaluation of the authorship of the *Metaphrasis psalorum*. This hexametric work is ascribed to Gregory's theological rival, Apollinaris, but after Golega's monograph of 1960, most scholars have considered the work to be pseudonymous and date from the fifth century. If Faulkner is right that the *Metaphrasis* is authentic, then we have poetic works from both sides of the dispute, and, tantalizingly, it would seem Gregory was right to depict Apollinaris as a Homericizing poet. Gonnelli 1995 has observed several archaizing tendencies in the *Metaphrasis*: a much lower incidence of the feminine caesura (62%; cf. 57% in Homer, compared with about 80% in Gregory and Nonnus, and 74% in Callimachus), and 14 lines without a 3rd foot caesura (a practice that Callimachus, Gregory, and Nonnus avoid). Gregory's short poem is thus an important witness to the textualization of a Late Antique theological dispute, a dispute in which Homer and Callimachus find new heirs and purity of style is as significant as purity of theological insight.

Session 16: Greek Historiography

Title: Why Herodotus is Worth Copying: The Scholia on Book 1

Name: Simone A. Oppen

The scholia to Herodotus remain neglected (as discussed by Eleanor Dickey, 2007: 53-54), despite a general resurgence of interest in scholia (witness D. J. Mastronarde's 2017 studies on the scholia to Euripides and the English translation of the scholia to the *Iliad* forthcoming from Cambridge University Press). The Herodotean scholia are comprised primarily, though not exclusively, of glosses (as noted by David Asheri, 1991: 241 and A. B. Lloyd, 1993: 211). Largely through close reading of the published scholia to Book 1 of the *Histories*, this paper makes the case that the interplay of glosses and other material preserved by the scholia illustrates a way of reading Herodotus distinct from that suggested by the Λέξεις Ἡρόδου (two glossaries, one arranged by order of appearance in the *Histories*, the other alphabetically) and other ancient scholarship focused on the historian's dialect (such as the *Περὶ Ἰάδου* of Moschopoulos).

Significant differences between the glosses in the Λέξεις Ἡρόδου and those in the scholia emerge early in Book 1. After glossing several words absent from the Λέξεις Ἡρόδου (ἀνακῶς, σπερχθείς, ἄτην, ἦα, and περιημεκτέων as indicated by H. B. Rosén's index, 1997: 456-67), the scholiast (or scholiasts) apostrophize the Lydian king Croesus:

σὺ μὲν ὦ Κροῖσε τῶν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίῳ θαρρήσας κατὰ τοῦ Κύρου ἐξώρμησας· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος τὸν μέγιστον προφήτην Δανιὴλ μετακαλεσάμενος καὶ ἐρωτήσας καὶ μαθὼν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὅτι σε καὶ ἠττήσει καὶ αἰχμάλωτον λήψεται, τὸν πρὸς σὲ συνεκρότησε πόλεμον, καὶ ὁ μὲν σοὶ δοθεὶς χρησμὸς ἐψεύσθη, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δανιὴλ προφητεία ἠλήθευσε.

You, oh Croesus, having trusted in the Delphic oracle, set out against Cyrus. But Cyrus, having summoned the greatest prophet Daniel and inquiring and learning from him that he would defeat you and take you captive, waged war against you. And the oracle given to you was mistaken, whereas the prophecy of Daniel spoke truth.

(Greek text from Asheri, 1991: 242; translation my own in consultation with Asheri's.)

This apostrophe suggests that the scholiast (or scholiasts) read, at a minimum, both Herodotus and the Hebrew Bible and sought to rationalize the two. Similar rationalizations, in the fullest collection of scholia to Herodotus gathered by Rosén, next occur at Book 1.153 and Book 2.44.5.

Later scholia on Book 1, however, indicate a more pervasive interest in the ancient Near East and again preserve material distinct from that in the Λέξεις Ἡρόδοτου. The scholia to 1.71.2 gloss ἀναξυρίς not as trousers (*LSJ* s.v. ἀναξυρίδες), but as a leather sandal first introduced by the Persians since earlier Greeks wore footwear of linen or wool (πρῶτοι δὲ Πέρσαι καταδεδείχασι τοιαῦτα, οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες τὸ πρὶν πεδίλοις ἐχρῶντο, ἃ οὐ σκύτινα, ἀλλὰ λίνεα ἢ εἴρινα). At 1.99.1 the scholia remark that customs established by Deioces are observed by Turks even now (τοῦτο καὶ νῦν φυλάττεται παρὰ τῶν Τούρκων; cf. scholia ad 1.135). The scholia to 1.125 connect the names Persian and Achaemenid to children born from intermarriage. These glosses are not idle but, together with material such as the apostrophe above, provide evidence that the scholiasts sought to guide future readers in using the text of the *Histories* as a source of knowledge about the ancient Near East relevant to their own historical moments.

In sum, this paper illuminates a part of the intellectual environment surrounding late antique and Byzantine readership of Herodotus. In so doing it makes a small contribution to our knowledge of the history of Herodotean readership. Parts of this history—whose lack was noted already by Felix Jacoby (1913: 504-5)—have been written by S. R. West (2011) and Olga Tribulato (2016). And yet their important work, focused respectively on the papyri of Herodotus and ancient Greek lexicography and grammar, has not specifically addressed the scholia preserved by the manuscript tradition, as this paper begins to do. Thus, this paper helps us to better understand some of the reasons why Herodotus' monumental text remained relevant enough to readerly communities to merit copying.

Title: Persuasion and Imperial Strategy in Cleon's Speech (Thucydides 3.36-39)

Name: Emma N. Warhover

In Book 3 of Thucydides' *History*, Thucydides uses Cleon's speech in the Mytilenean debate to covertly introduce his belief that Athens' democratic government was unable to effectively govern its empire. Cleon compares Athens' political system with that of Mytilene, and implies that Mytilene is better organized. This characterization is shocking because Mytilene's oligarchic government has revolted against Athenian hegemony, and even more shocking because it comes from Cleon, a leader in the Athenian democracy who is advocating that the Mytileneans be horribly punished. I argue that Thucydides shows Cleon favoring Mytilenean oligarchy in order to present his own position on Athens' internal conflict over how to reconcile empire and democracy: if the Athenians truly desire to keep their empire in a death grip, Thucydides implies, they must acquire traits more usually associated with oligarchy.

Cleon's hypocrisy has been recognized before, by Colin Macleod (1983), Antonis Tsakmakis (2006), and Edward Harris (2013), among others, but these earlier discussions focus on the speech's contradictory stance on political persuasion without as much attention to its political implications. Cleon argues against political persuasion by using the tactics of political persuasion. I agree with earlier assessments that Cleon's speech is meant to be both persuasive and disingenuous, but add that the deception displayed in the Mytilenean debate also illustrates the dilemma of a democratic and imperial Athens.

Despite his professed disdain for reasoned political discourse, Cleon expands his case against the Mytileneans with evidence that reflects the same contempt for the Athenians' lazy thinking and ignorant acceptance of good stories that Thucydides expresses elsewhere (6.1 on the size of Sicily, 6.53-60 on the tyrannicides). For example, he accuses the Athenians of being "hearers of deeds" (ἀκροαταὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων, 3.38.3) who do not so much participate in politics as treat it like a theatrical performance. Cleon refers to past and future events in an oblique reference to the long-term perspective that Thucydides aims to instill through the study of history. By bringing up these similar

themes, Thucydides draws attention to the commonalities between Cleon's ideas and his own arguments, so that Cleon builds a case that openly encourages Athens to revitalize its democracy while implying that Athens' democracy is its problem. Although Cleon as a character does not seem to realize that he is undermining his own cause by emphasizing the weaknesses in Athenian democracy, Thucydides as an author points the possibility out to the reader.

Cleon's argument against Mytilene emerges from his criticism of his overly persuasive fellow statesmen and from his assertion that the Athenians are irresponsible decision makers. When Cleon accuses his fellow Athenians of "having been persuaded by the speech of others" (λόγῳ πεισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν, 3.37.2) instead of thinking for themselves, he is building up his credibility as a plain speaker in the *ekklesia*, but in the larger context of Thucydides' work he is also undermining himself. He claims that the Mytileneans should not be pitied because they planned their revolt, given that they knew they could rely on their position as an island with a strong navy (3.39.2). Athens employs a similar strategy, as behind its walls it can behave like an island. Cleon goes on to imply that the Mytileneans are more decisive than the Athenians and that their calculated betrayal may have been morally wrong but was practically advantageous for them (3.39.3-4). The rebel Mytilenean oligarchy protects its interests and pursues its policies more effectively than the Athenian democracy does.

Cleon's speech paints the Athenians as too indecisive to maintain control over oligarchies like Mytilene. Athenians are "defeated by the pleasure of listening" (ἀκοῆς ἡδονῇ ἡσώμενοι, 3.38.7), while their allies revolt. The Athenians' willingness to listen (ἀκούειν) becomes in Cleon's speech a hint that they are willing to be ruled (ὑπακούειν).

Title: The Aesthetics of War: Symmetry and Civic Virtue in Thucydides' Sicilian Expedition

Name: Rachel Bruzzone

Thucydides worked in a time in which ideas of symmetry, balance, and appropriate proportion were fundamental in fields as diverse as mathematics, architecture and sculpture. Related notions about proportional power may also have influenced the development of political equality for male citizens (Vegetti 1983), and are certainly found in representations of the ideal *polis* (Tanner 2000, 200), including imagery of equal power-relationships on tombs for the war dead (Arrington 2011 and 2015, Muth 2008, e.g. 546). *Eutaxia*, good order, likewise had both aesthetic and civic value (e.g. Smith 2011, 95). Concepts of symmetry and balance thus serve as both artistic and political ideals.

The appeal of visions of order posed a challenge to any historian describing the disintegration of an army, an inherently "ugly," disordered event. Thucydides and many of his predecessors and contemporaries clearly did not consider war ugly, however; battle is represented as an attractive sight as early as the Homeric gods' appreciative viewing of the slaughter below them (Clay 2011, e.g. *Il.* 3.13-14, cf. Swift 2015). Thucydides encourages us to regard his Sicilian Expedition narrative (Books 6-7) as a particularly spectacular object by, among other visual cues, beginning and ending it with impressive visions of the army (6.30-1 and 7.69-71) and deeming it the λαμπρότατον event in his text (7.87.5), a word with visual connotations.

I will argue that Thucydides creates a pleasing sense of balance in these Books through the two sides' notable mirroring of each other, preserving the symmetrical harmony – and thus aesthetic appeal – of his text even as its opposite, chaos, with its attendant political implications, engulfs the Athenian characters. Some of the "symmetrical" inversions of these Books have been noted, including the reversal in the Athenian and Sicilian combatants' reactions to thunderstorms at the beginning and end of the Expedition (Paul 1987, 311; see de Romilly 1956, 140-50 and Kallet 2001 for other inversions). Others are made explicit by the historian himself: for example, he notes the Athenians' promising departure and contrastingly ill-omened attempts to return to Athens (7.75.6-7); that they left Athens intending to enslave, but soon feared enslavement themselves (7.75.7); and that Athenian failure would lead to their suffering the fate they planned for the Syracusans (7.64.1).

But the most marked mirroring involves the concept of disorder, a difficulty that gradually filters from the Syracusan to the Athenian troops. The Sicilians' early efforts are marked by profound disorganization (e.g. 6.72.3 ἀταξία, 6.98.3); Hornblower comments on "the 'Syracusan disorder' theme" (2008, 582). But in the second half of

the Expedition, the Sicilians make impressive strides in their discipline, while the Athenians lose theirs in a seemingly directly proportionate way resembling the other reversals. Thus for example the Athenians become chaotic (7.37.3 ἐθορυβοῦντο), embarking on their ships “in a great uproar” (7.40.3 διὰ πολλοῦ θορύβου), “with difficulty and in no order” (7.40.3 οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐσβάντες μόλις), echoing precisely the Sicilians’ chaotic earlier technique (7.23.3 οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐσέπλεον). The Spartan Gylippus urges his comrades to take advantage of Athenian ἀταξία (7.68.1), while Nicias fruitlessly attempts to reimpose their former order on his troops (7.77.5 εὐτακτον, 7.78.1 μὴ ἐν τάξει χωροῦν). Despite his efforts, ταραχή, which once afflicted the Sicilians (7.29.5 τῆ σφετέρᾳ ταραχῇ), reigns (7.80.3 ἐμπίπτει ταραχή). Athenians move ἀτακτότερον (7.80.4, 7.81.2), and become disordered after they panic (7.81.2 ζυνεταράχθησαν), falling into an uproar (7.81.4 ἐν πολλῷ θορύβῳ).

As noted above, by weaving the idea of overwhelming *ataxia* into his text, Thucydides implies that the conclusion of the Sicilian Expedition does not represent a simple setback decreed by the gods, bad luck, or even bad planning, but a failure permanently tarnishing the Athenian *polis* and its civic virtue. Indeed, the disorder remains, and the Athenians are plagued by it even in future successful engagements (8.10.4 θόρυβός τε ἐγένετο πολὺς καὶ ἄτακτος). In the meantime, however, Thucydides’ emphatic balancing of this story allows his text itself to remain an object of beauty and order.

Title: Xenophon and the Arginusae Trial

Name: Alex Lee

The trial of the Athenian generals after the Battle of Arginusae presents a number of difficulties, due in part to the complexity of the events themselves and especially to their seemingly contradictory representation in our two surviving narrative sources for the period, Xenophon (*Hell.* 1.7) and Diodorus (13.101–103). Since the time of Grote, scholars have abandoned Xenophon’s account in favor of Diodorus’, a move which has found its way into many current narratives of the period (e.g. Hornblower 2002; Rhodes 2006; Kagan 1987; Hamel 2015). Much of the motivation to reject Xenophon’s account stems from the actions he imparts to Theramenes at the Apatouria festival which happened to occur in the midst of the trial, during which Theramenes is said to have induced false mourners to attend the following meeting of the assembly ‘as if they were relatives of the deceased’ (ὡς δὴ συγγενεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἀπολωλότων, *Hell.* 1.7.8) in an apparent attempt to turn the Athenian people against the generals. In this paper, I consider three commonly made arguments against the historicity of Xenophon’s narrative and, in particular, Theramenes’ actions at the Apatouria festival. I demonstrate in turn why they do not stand up to scrutiny.

The first argument claims that we ought to abandon Xenophon’s account on the basis of its apparent implausibility: it was not in Theramenes’ best interest to further stoke the flames, and he would have taken on a considerable risk to do so (Andrewes 1974; Kagan 1987; Lang 1992). The risk would have been amplified, the argument continues, because real relatives of the deceased would have recognized Theramenes’ spurious mourners as such (Grote 1853; Cloché 1919). This argument starts from the flawed assumption that any action which does not live up to the standards of rationality is historically suspect. This argument is especially ironic given that its proponents also stress that the highly emotional nature of the Apatouria and surrounding trial (Grote 1853; Kagan 1987; cf. Roberts 1977). That the spurious mourners would have been recognized as such rests on the dated view of Athens as a face-to-face society (convincingly put to rest by Cohen 2000). Furthermore, as estimates of the casualty rate range from around 3,000 to 5,000 (Gish 2012), it is highly unlikely that the cover would be blown for any false mourners.

The second argument holds that if Theramenes had procured spurious mourners in the way Xenophon describes, Lysias would have mentioned this in his verbal thrashing of Theramenes in *Or.* 12 (Kagan 1987; cf. Lang 1992). Besides being an argument from silence (which alone should discredit it), it does not follow that Theramenes’ machinations would have been widely known if they in fact occurred.

The third argument claims that we should prefer Diodorus’ narrative as it represents an independent witness to the events, one unmarred by Xenophon’s confusions (Grote 1853; Andrewes 1974; Hornblower 2002; Rhodes 2006; Hamel 2015). The standard view of Diodorus’ *modus operandi* is that he chooses one source for a period and closely follows it (Stylianou 1998); here his main source is Ephorus, who himself preferred the Oxyrhynchus historian and made little to no use of Xenophon (*BNJ* 70 Parker). Recent work, however, has challenged the standard view of Diodorus’ method (Rubincam 2018) and Ephorus’ (lack of) engagement with Xenophon (Stylianou 2004). I add to

the discussion a comparison of the two accounts of the trial's aftermath (*Hell.* 1.7.35; *Diod.* 13.103.1–2), which I argue calls into question the independent status of Diodorus' account. The arguments commonly given against Xenophon's account do not hold up—but where does that leave us? I end by considering the importance of the Apatouria festival as a site for Theramenes' deceit (*apatē*).

Session 17: Greek and Roman Novel

Title: Freedom and Confinement Aboard the Ship of Lichas (*Satyricon* 100–115)

Name: Nikola Golubovic

In this paper I offer a new reading of the Ship of Lichas episode in the *Satyricon* (100–115), emphasizing (1) the role of enclosed space in the narrative and (2) significant similarities to the earlier *Cena Trimalchionis* episode. At *Sat.* 100 Encolpius, Eumolpus, and Giton board a ship and set sail, only to find out that the ship's master is Lichas, their enemy from an earlier section now lost, the very person they are trying to avoid. The episode is built around the premise of the protagonists' inability to escape this trap, and their attempts first to not be discovered, and later to resolve their differences with Lichas and his companion Tryphaena. Just as reconciliation is taking shape, a violent storm destroys the ship and everyone except the leading trio dies. In interpreting this episode, scholars have mainly focused on theatrical elements prominent in it, connecting it to mime ("mimicum naufragium" - Panayotakis, picked up by Schmelting in his commentary), or the Greek novel, and ultimately to the *Odyssey* (Courtney, Vannini). Rimell's 'corporeal' reading is especially engaging, according to which the episode is dominated by images and ideas related to the body. In a 'visceral rewriting', food and digestion take precedence over the already-present intertextual framing: the ship's inside turns from the Cyclops' cave into Cyclops' stomach, and this precarious setting is exploited by Eumolpus, whose own obsession with the corporeal is concerned only with acquiring fodder for his poetic project.

While considering these useful interpretations, in this paper I focus on the role that space itself plays in this passage, an area underexplored in scholarship. I argue not only that enclosed space provides a framework for the episode, but that the interplay between various types and levels of confinement crucially shapes the events in it. The ship's many subspaces (*super constratum puppis* 103.1, *secretissimum locum* 100.6, *aegrorum cubilia* 101.11, *scapha* 102.1, etc.), private and 'public', provide a chance for the characters to tailor their social experience as they wish. Shutting in and letting out in this episode is not only literal; the tension between the open deck and the cabin can amount to social and sexual tension and can make the difference between life and death, e.g. for the trio hiding, or for Eumolpus who survives the storm *sub diaeta magistri* (115.1). Yet every interaction is dominated by the presence of Lichas, an autocratic master of all space who is able to breach all confinements while keeping everyone from leaving his domain.

To support my claims about the importance of spatial concerns for the ship episode, I compare it to *Cena Trimalchionis*. This episode, I argue, is built around the same spatial frame, and the same issues of inclusion, seclusion, and insularity govern it (as evidenced by an even greater prominence of spatial language). Trimalchio's house is another closed, insular space, easily entered but difficult to leave. Although it can seemingly be subdivided ad infinitum, the central, as it were, open or 'public' space is the dining room. It serves as the stage for the consciously theatrical display governed by the master. Like Lichas, he is a businessman of lowly origin, holding the power to cut off traffic between the inside and the outside world completely, and to regulate social relations in his domain. Unease generated by the inability to leave the house is only resolved when – as in the case of the ship – the outer world bursts in violently. The paterfamilias dies, whether actually or metaphorically (Trimalchio's staged funeral).

These two episodes offer a paradigm for the *Satyricon* as a whole. Issues of insularity, exclusion and penetration, and sub-partitioning are not only spatial, but mirror the narrative architecture of the novel (e.g. the episodic structure). The model proposed here may be used for the study of other ancient fictional narratives, many of which display similar structures or treat the same issues in a comparable fashion.

Title: (Re)Reading the Roman Goddess Isis-Fortuna in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*
Name: Ashli J. E. Baker

In one of the most famous scenes in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, Mithras, a priest of Isis, addresses the recently rehumanized Lucius before a crowd of Isis worshippers. Describing the events of Books 1-10 as the malevolent acts of the blindness of Fortune (11.15: *Fortunae caecitas*), Mithras assures Lucius that he has now found himself in the safety of Isis, described as *Fortuna videns* (11.15). The link between Fortuna and Isis in Mithras' speech – and the implications thereof – has elicited several scholarly interpretations: from the notion that Isis and Fortuna are two aspects of the same goddess (e.g. Merkelbach 1962, Fry 1984) to the recently more dominant idea that Isis is distinct from the Blind Fortuna of Books 1-10 (e.g. Keulen et al. 2015). Despite the fact that Apuleius' novel has been shown to be deeply engaged in the “real” world of the Roman empire (e.g. Millar 1981), no study has taken sufficient account of the material world in which the Romans of Apuleius' time were living in respect to reading Fortuna and Isis in the novel. This paper, which fills this void by reconsidering the textual evidence alongside the abundant material evidence in which these goddesses are syncretized, argues that the connections between Fortuna and Isis both within the text and in the religious culture outside of the text are so strong that they should be seen as the same deity throughout, the syncretized Isis-Fortuna.

Beyond the description of Isis as *Fortuna videns* seen above, thematic consistency between the depictions of each goddess suggest that Fortuna and Isis should be seen as a single goddess. For instance, Lucius' life under Fortuna is figured as slavery (Bradley 2000, Fitzgerald 2000, Sabnis 2006; 11.15, described as *servitium* by Mithras) as is his life under Isis (11.6, when Isis demands the remainder of his life; 11.15, also described as *servitium* by Mithras). Furthermore, both Fortuna and Isis are depicted with Imperial militaristic imagery throughout (e.g. Fortuna – 1.7; Isis – 11.7, 11.15). The textual conflation of these goddesses, particularly as inflected by the theme of Imperial militarism, is most notable in Book 2, when Lucius describes several statues in the atrium of Byrrhena's house. In addition to the much-discussed statue of Diana and Actaeon, four identical winged goddesses barely balancing on spheres flank the atrium. These unnamed goddesses are described by Lucius as *palmaris deae facies* (2.4). Scholars have variously identified these goddesses, but the most persuasive suggestion – acknowledging Isis' association with the palm – is that they depict Isis-Fortuna-Victoria (Peden 1985). When Byrrhena then says to Lucius *tua sunt...cuncta quae vides* (2.5), she may not be alluding only to Actaeon's unfolding crisis, but also to the many forms of Isis-Fortuna-Victoria that will hold sway in Lucius' life.

Material and inscriptional remains from the Imperial period demonstrate that the syncretism between these deities was well established in Apuleius' time and offer an experiential, visual framework for considering the goddesses in the novel. This syncretism is attested in large-scale architectural monuments, such as the Fortuna complex at Praeneste, at the base of which was a shrine to Isis (Coarelli 1994), and in smaller instances, such as a graffito at Pompeii's temple of Isis addressed in Greek to the savior Isityche (*CIL* IV 4138, echoed in a later inscription from Praeneste (*CIL* XIV 2867)) or in the Pompeiian frescoes that depict Isis-Fortuna-Victoria and Isis-Fortuna Panthea. Finally, a significant number of bronze statuettes from Imperial Rome have been identified as syncretized forms of Isis-Fortuna and Isis-Fortuna Panthea (e.g. Giardina 2000, Pollini 2003). It has recently been suggested – based partly on Isis' deep association with magic – that these statuettes may have been used as magical amulets (Faraone 2018), further bolstering the claim that Apuleius' contemporary audience would have readily associated these goddesses, particularly in a magical context such as that offered by the text.

Title: A Letter in a Land without Letters: Longus' Intrageneric Interlocutors
Name: T. Joseph MacDonald

This paper examines a dialogue of the titular characters in Longus' *Daphnis & Chloe* as a case study in intertextuality within the genre of the Greek novel. In Book 3, Daphnis, unable to endure the separation from his beloved imposed by winter, journeys to visit Chloe and the two have a short conversation. This exchange, I argue, reworks a scene from Chariton's novel *Callirhoe* in which the hero Chaereas first bemoans the difficulties he has endured for the heroine Callirhoe and then sends her a letter detailing his sufferings. While Hunter 1994 and Whitmarsh 2011 have shown that Achilles Tatius' novel *Leucippe & Clitophon* reshapes this sequence from Chariton, Achilles Tatius is not the only reader of Chaereas' letter. Longus too adapts certain themes and even identical phrasing from his predecessor Chariton. This intertextual relationship not only marks a generic affinity

with Chariton but also underscores Longus' two key innovations within the genre: his engagement with the pastoral tradition and his protagonists' innocence.

In *Callirhoe*, when Chaereas learns that his beloved has remarried, he laments the sufferings undertaken for her (διὰ σέ, 4.3.10) and her new identities as wife and mother (γυνὴ γέγονας ἄλλου... γέγονας δὲ καὶ μήτηρ 4.3.10). In a letter to Callirhoe, Chaereas likewise details the hardships endured for her (διὰ σέ, 4.4.10) and beseeches her to recall their marriage chamber (μνήσθητι τοῦ θαλάμου, 4.4.10). Hunter 1994 and Whitmarsh 2013 have demonstrated that Chariton here reworks a letter from Ctesias' *Persica* in which a man complains that, despite saving his former lover, he has perished on her account (ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σέ ἀπώλομην, P.Oxy. 2330). While Chariton retains the sense of betrayal and rhetorical prominence of διὰ σέ from Ctesias, identity and memory become central to Chaereas' lamentations.

In *Daphnis & Chloe*, Longus looks to Chariton, but with some significant differences that mark his generic innovations. Longus' lovers, Daphnis and Chloe, are likewise separated- but by the natural cycle of the seasons, not unexpected circumstances. Moreover, while Chaereas uses letter-writing to bridge this separation, the rusticity of Longus' Lesbos affords no space for letters and Daphnis' words must be recited face-to-face. Daphnis tells Chloe that both his hibernal trek and the hunting of blackbirds that served as a pretense for that trek were on account of her (διὰ σέ ἦλθον, Χλόη ... διὰ σέ ἀπολλύω τοὺς ἀθλίους κοπίχους, 3.10.3; note too intertext with Ctesias' διὰ σέ ἀπώλομην not found in Chariton). The anaphora of διὰ σέ highlights not the hardships endured during separation but the obstacles overcome in bridging that separation. These differences showcase Longus' incorporation of pastoral qualities into his narrative, a notable generic innovation (cf. Bowie 2019).

Furthermore, Longus' emphasis on the protagonists' innocence represents another generic innovation (cf. Alvarez 2014). Daphnis and Chloe, virgins who have only just learned the name for Ἔρως, lack even the vocabulary to describe their relationship. While Chaereas bemoans Callirhoe becoming a wife and mother, Daphnis cannot answer Chloe's questions about their relation to one another (τίς οὖν σοι γένωμα; 3.10.3). Though Chaereas urges Callirhoe to recall their marriage chamber, Daphnis cannot make a similar appeal when asking Chloe to remember him (μέμνησό μου, 3.10.3). Since Longus has departed from Chariton by postponing marriage until the end of his novel, Chloe's response to his request is limited to an allusion to pledges made at the nymph's cave (μνημονεύω νῆ τὰς Νύμφας, 3.10.3).

Whitmarsh 2013, building on critiques of a formalist conception of the Greek novel genre (cf. Morales 2009), has argued for an approach to genre "that respects the diachronic fluctuations and the way in which each new novel both projects its predecessors as paradigmatic and signals its own generic innovations." This study furthers Whitmarsh's argument by demonstrating how intertextuality might establish both continuity and innovation within the genre. This paper therefore contributes not only to studies of Longus but also broader debates concerning genre and the ancient novel.

Title: A Land Without Slavery: Daphnis' Civil Status in the Pastoral Landscape of Longus **Name: Christopher Cochran**

Many scholars have recognized that Longus' novel *Daphnis and Chloe* constructs a pastoral landscape isolated from the ordinary social hierarchies of the ancient world, for example the violence of unequal sexual relationships (Winkler 1989), or the structures of formal priesthoods (Bowie 2015). Furthermore, these social hierarchies are imposed on the pastoral landscape by the incursions of characters from the city. Modern scholarship, however, has not addressed perhaps the most important social hierarchy of the city, which is conspicuously downplayed in the text's pastoral landscape: slavery. Although a careful reader would know from the beginning of the text that Daphnis is enslaved (we are told that Daphnis' adoptive father Lamon works on the estate of a wealthy man, 1.1), within the pastoral landscape the distinctions between free and enslaved persons appear to have little significance. In this paper, I argue that Longus constructs a social underworld, in which Daphnis' enslavement only becomes significant through incursions from the city. This is similar to Trimalchio's social underworld in Petronius' *Satyrica*, in which the usual hierarchical relationships between freeborn persons and freedmen are disrupted (Bodel 1993).

Prior to the final book, there is only one moment where Daphnis' slave status is substantially important to the plot: when he is attacked by young Methymneans whose ship has drifted away because Daphnis' goat ate the vine which had tied it to shore (2.12-18). The difference in wealth between Daphnis and the Methymneans has been noted (Sánchez Hernández 2015), but the importance of Daphnis' civil status in the episode has not been recognized. By applying Roman law to the trial scene which follows the Methymneans' initial attack (2.15-16), I show that the Methymneans' prosecution hinges on accepting that Daphnis is a slave. Yet the *ad hoc* rustic court, presided over by a cowherd, rejects the Methymneans' legal arguments, a decision which the Methymneans do not accept (2.17-18). The court's failure to resolve the dispute demonstrates the gulf between the urban world of the Methymneans, who expect to assert their legal rights in accordance with the rules of slavery, and the pastoral world, where those rules don't apply.

The final book of the novel crashes apart the slavery-free pastoral world with the announcement that Daphnis' δεσπότης is coming from the city to visit (4.1). The rest of the book is concerned with the implications of Daphnis' enslavement, namely his inability to marry Chloe and his vulnerability to the sexual advances of Gnathon. At the moment that his enslavement becomes a vivid reality, the tokens found with Daphnis are revealed, proving his freeborn status and putting him in the position of a slaveholder (4.21-22). This reveals a curious paradox. Under Roman law, a freeborn foundling is de jure free, but usually de facto enslaved (*Dig.* 22.6.1.2). Before book 4, Daphnis appeared to be de jure enslaved, but de facto free by the special rules of the pastoral landscape. Now it appears that Daphnis was a free person who believed that he himself was a slave, but who nevertheless enjoyed freedom.

Daphnis' shifting civil status adds a new dimension to Winkler's argument that Daphnis and Chloe's relationship is marked by increasing violence and domination as the text progresses (Winkler 1989). Daphnis enjoys two separate relationships with Chloe. The first exists in a world of equality, in which slavery does not play a significant role, a symmetrical relationship. The second exists in a world of inequality in which Daphnis' freedom is not due to the absence of slavery, but rather the presence of slave ownership, an asymmetrical relationship (on symmetry, see Konstan 2014).

Session 18: Screening Topographies of Classical Reception

Title: Reverse Archaeology: Constructing Ancient Roman Spaces on Screen

Name: Stacie Raucci

This paper will address the (re)creation of "third places" such as streets, markets, latrines, and bars in the depiction of ancient Rome in film and television in the last two decades. "Third places" is a term established by sociologist Ray Oldenburg (1989) to describe spaces that bring together people outside of home and work. The paper will examine these in-between spaces with an eye towards better understanding how onscreen space gets built and what are the subsequent effects on audiences.

The first part of the presentation will discuss the work of production designers, set decorators, and graphic artists and their approaches to ancient spaces. It will examine the processes and challenges that are particular to the recreation of historical space in general (on this topic, see Stubbs 2013; Fischer 2015; Barnwell 2017) and of ancient spaces specifically (Arciniega 2014; Morcillo, Hanesworth, and Marchena 2015; Cyrino 2018; Llewellyn-Jones 2018). Through a focus on these practitioners, it will examine *how* ancient spaces get (re)constructed and (re)imagined.

Michel de Certeau (1984: 117) states that "space is a practiced place." In this vein, recent approaches to ancient spaces have focused on the experience of their inhabitants (e.g. Dyson 2010; Laurence and Newsome 2011; Dolansky and Raucci 2018; Holleran and Claridge 2018), rather than just on the architectural elements. But given that cinematic designers must build the architectural elements from the ground up, and given that they are working in reverse from classicists, how should they create their ancient spaces and appropriately make them signifiers of time as well as space? I argue that the cinematic artisans are performing what I refer to here as reverse archaeology. Instead of analyzing artifacts that provide evidence of Roman lives, they are creating spaces from an already established narrative and building the artifacts themselves. It is now well established that the goal of these creations is not necessarily historical accuracy, but often a combination of goals, including but not limited to showing the

audience a version of ancient Rome that is already part of their imagination. There is always the question of whose and what Rome an audience sees on screen. An examination of the very construction of new ancient space should help in answering these questions.

The second part of the presentation considers the ideas mentioned above through the onscreen representation of the Roman streets, markets, latrines, and bars. In such an examination, one could start with the well-known and monumental spaces of the city, such as the near ubiquitous images of gladiatorial or chariot racing arenas. Instead, in order to better understand how daily life gets represented on screen and how a community of the audience gets formed, the paper will analyze the image of “third places.” As urban designers (e.g. Larice and Macdonald 2007) discuss how these “third places” contribute to building community, here I will discuss them as the means through which a more nuanced “Roman” identity gets constructed on screen. The set designers and other artisans act as new urban builders in the creation of a new old Rome. The construction provides the conditions of possibility for audience identification with what they are seeing on screen. Case studies will come from cinematic and TV works, such as *Gladiator* (2000), HBO-BBC *Rome* (2005-7), and *Plebs* (2013-).

Title: Visual Archaeology and Spatial Disorientation in Fellini

Name: Hunter Gardner

Federico Fellini’s commentary on his approach to Petronius’ *Satyricon* betrays a number of contradictions: scholars have observed his studied approach to the novel and its ancient cultural milieu (Solomon 2001; Sullivan 2001), as well as his claims to “disconcerting analogies” (Fellini 1970) between ancient Rome and twentieth-century Western society; such critics also repeat the director’s claims of a distanced approach to antiquity as a fundamentally unrecognizable past in which he has little or no emotional investment (cf. Paul 2009). Perhaps because of these contradictions, the metaphor of visual archaeology, Fellini’s description of his approach as similar to the way “an archaeologist reconstruct[s]... something alluding to the form of an amphora through a few potsherds” (1970, 45), has influenced multiple readings of the film (Dick 1981; Wyke 1997). The director offers us a few recognizable fragments of ancient urban topography, but not enough to allow the reconstruction of a Rome recognizable from other portraits of the city in mid-20th century films such as *Quo Vadis* (1951) and *Spartacus* (1960).

It is those fragments of Fellini’s Rome that are the subject of this paper, recognizable in terms of Petronian themes if not in their precise material and visual articulation within those cityscapes shot at Cinecittà. I argue that Encolpio’s and Gitone’s stroll through the Suburra, while confirming the film’s status as science fiction of the past (Zanelli 1970), also offers an instructive reception of Petronius’ narrative of the spatial disorientation experienced by Encolpius, Giton, and Ascyltos and described in the fragments assigned to the earlier part of the extant novel (esp. 6-9, 11-12). Scholarship on the *Satyricon* has emphasized the fundamentally deceptive and theatrical nature of characters in each of the novel’s episodes, contextualized in a world where facades do not align with the reality behind them (Zeitlin 1971; Wooten 1984; Rimell 2002). In the first part of this paper I illustrate not only how the initial wanderings and tentative reunions of Encolpius, Ascyltos, and Giton replay the hermeneutic uncertainty central to the novel, but also how spatial signifiers in these segments contribute to the disorientation of reader as well as the novel’s protagonists (cf. Slater 1990).

From there I turn to Fellini’s appropriation of the novel’s tension between façade and reality, and the spatial dislocations that help generate it (Dick 1981). Encolpio initially finds Gitone elevated and dressed as Eros onstage in Vernacchio’s theater, a nod to the theatricality that defines the relationship between the two characters in the novel; after the lovers reunite in the film an abrupt cut introduces their walk through the Suburra, where ritual and bathing spaces yield to a series of framed *cellae* viewed with detachment by the film’s protagonists. Where earlier cinema had used the widescreen effect of Cinemascope to create a totalizing view of Rome and its empire, Fellini expands the frame in ways that counter a linear presentation of the stroll with jarring discontinuity of events between (and within) individual *cellae*, where causal relationships fail to govern the sequence of images presented. On the one hand, Fellini has departed from his source material by substituting the master-signifier Rome for the less well-known municipal space on the Bay of Naples in which the novel’s early narrative is set; on the other hand, by transferring the action to a well-known but disreputable space (e.g., Prop. 4.7; Juv.11.51), the director defamiliarizes the City in a way that, I argue, replicates the confusion of the novel’s characters. If scholars have identified a polarity in filmic representations of the past, according to which Barthes’ “balcony of history” is countered by

cinema's immersive powers (Morcillo, Hanesworth, and Marchena 2015; Sobchack 1990), Fellini's artistry places us squarely on a balcony. But the same artistry reveals an intimacy with Petronius' text that alerts viewers to the paradoxes, disorientation, and problems of interpretation defining Neronian Rome.

Title: A View with (a) Room: Spatial Projections in Ancient and Screen Epic

Name: Dan Curley

The traditional material of ancient epic, honored more in the breach than in the observance, is kings and battles (to quote Vergil's famous formulation at Eclogues 6.3, *reges et proelia*). (Hinds 2000 discusses the uses and abuses of this formula.) Screen epics set in the ancient world have applied this formula faithfully across a century of cinema, from Giovanni Pastrone's *Cabiria* (1914), set during the Second Punic War, to Ridley Scott's *Exodus: Gods and Kings* (2014), a retelling of the Moses story. What enables the kings-and-battles subject matter of ancient and screen epic, and what might well be the one stable criterion for both, is spatiality — the deployment of space in physical and thematic terms to create the sweeping, spectacular atmosphere we associate with this genre.

This paper explores four different manifestations, or projections, of space in ancient and screen epic. (1) Screen space, particularly widescreen formats from the 1950s onward, which make possible sprawling vistas, whether natural or computer-generated. (See Cook 2016, Chapter 12.) (2, which dovetails with the first) The depiction of large-scale sets and, within them, large-scale events enacted by proverbial casts of thousands (which is the focus of Richards 2008; also Paul 2013). (3) The spatial reach of ancient and screen epic, which is limitless due to the former's third-person narrative and the latter's omniscient camera (helpful explorations in Clay 2011). Furthermore, this reach is both horizontal, moving anywhere within the global landscape (even, say, behind closed doors), as well as vertical, ranging as high as Olympus to as low as Tartarus (as Hinds 2002 discusses). (4) The spaciousness of the genre itself, which makes room for other genres, such as elegy and tragedy, even within the same narrative (see especially Curley 2013).

I devote time to each of these four spatial projections, with support from ancient and screen texts. (4), however, is of greatest interest to me, because it exposes tensions and synergies often overlooked in genre-definition, especially the definition of epic. My case studies include Wolfgang Petersen's *Troy* (2004) and Alejandro Amenábar's *Agora* (2009). The first is patently a screen epic that also encompasses tragic and elegiac space; while the second, a tragedy first and foremost, encompasses epic in its global view of human folly. The totalizing ambitions of both films prescribe and complicate the very conception of epic, and suggest that the genre remains as foundational and vibrant as it ever was.

Title: Lost in space: matrices of exilic wandering in the *Aeneid* and *Battlestar Galactica*

Name: Meredith Safran

In both the *Aeneid* and its contemporary descendant, the 2003-2009 television series *Battlestar Galactica*, a people uprooted from their homeland by a devastating war embarks upon a journey of exilic wandering in search of a prescribed home known only from prophecy and legend. Both narratives employ the space through which their exiled protagonists wander to reflect the experience of alienation generated by their sudden and irrevocable deracination. The inability to establish a successful re-foundation anywhere other than at the designated site is not only positively reinforced by the demands of a higher power, but also negatively reinforced by the inhospitable conditions that the exiles encounter, which then characterizes the matrix in which they wander.

While the survival of both Trojans and Colonials depends upon their respective leaders successfully interpreting and adhering to otherworldly signs in order to guide their progress, the two narratives differ in how they characterize the degree of threat presented by each people's matrix of wandering. For the Trojans, the sea is, by nature, unstable and incapable of supporting human habitation, but at least it is capable of supporting human life. The Colonials journey through the void of outer space, which lacks even a habitable atmosphere and therefore threatens collective extinction in the void beyond their ships' hulls. The quality of space thereby produced is simultaneously vast and claustrophobic, heightening the narrative tension that engages audience sympathy. The majority of *Battlestar Galactica*'s episodes take place in this perilous environment, whereas the *Aeneid* contains most of the Trojans'

encounter with the sea (apart from Book 1's spectacular storm and Palinurus' maritime demise in Book 5) into Aeneas' narration in Book 3.

Rather than offering anticipated relief for either Trojans or Colonials, the land masses that provide definition to these uninhabitable matrices further define the space of exilic wandering as hostile. Although the coastline of the Mediterranean could support human settlement, the Trojans encounter adverse conditions, including pollution (Thrace; Crete), inhabitants unwelcoming to humans (the Harpies, Circe, the Cyclopes), and a human community infected with dysfunction (Epirus). Unlike the original 1979 *Battlestar Galactica*, which also imagined an outer space full of populated planets, the post-9/11 version presents the universe as nearly devoid of habitable planets (and even the few with a breathable atmosphere are cursed) or other intelligent life forms, apart from a superhuman enemy that was literally of the refugees' own making. Such absences inflect the exilic experience of the Colonials, relative to that of the Trojans.

This difference further ramifies in each narrative's presentation of space as shaped by a comprehensible past. The audience of the *Aeneid* enjoyed a reasonably developed (albeit subject to change) sense of the synchronic and diachronic shape of the Mediterranean world, and even the characters can fit the places and peoples they encounter into a general sense of history. By contrast, the audience of *Battlestar Galactica* is no more familiar with the outer space traversed by the Colonials than the series' protagonists, for whom barren moons, gas giants, and other celestial bodies provide no sense of a past that can be comprehended within human experience; only recourse to opaque sacred scriptures provides guidance. Rather than forecasting an incipiently imperialist view of the space through which these protagonists travel and which their descendants will one day rule, as in the *Aeneid*, in *Battlestar Galactica* both characters' and viewers' inability to grasp the past of this cosmic wasteland redoubles the psychological anxiety that outer space as a physically inhospitable environment produces. This amplification of existential dread, in which the fate of not only one chosen people but the entire species depends upon safe passage through this largely unknown and indifferent matrix, highlights the significant contribution that the quality of space makes in the dynamics of adaptation within the classical tradition.

THIRD SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS

Session 19: Lesbianism Before Sexuality (Organized by the Lambda Classical Caucus)

Title: Les Guérillères: Sappho and the Lesbian Body

Name: Irene Han

In my paper, I put Sappho in dialogue with the feminist thought of Wittig and probe the dialectic between the past and present. I am particularly interested in Sappho fragments 16 and 31, in which she embodies the female voice of desire. In fragment 16, for example, Sappho sets up an opposition between the plurality and the singular "I" that speaks in this text to redefine what is the most beautiful. For her, beauty resides not in war, but in love:

Some men say an army of horse and some men say an army on foot and some men say an army of ships is
the most beautiful thing
on the black earth, but I say it is
what one loves. (trans. from A. Carson, *If not, winter*)

To a certain extent, Sappho engages in poetic warfare by usurping the language of (masculine) epic to recast it in the context of her (feminine) lyric; the idea behind this declaration is not that love is the antinomy of war nor lyric, that of epic, but that love is war and lyric can be epic. Helen is the protagonist here and offers us an exemplum: pursuing Paris, she places her beloved, Anactoria, above all else.

In her essay, "The Trojan Horse," Wittig states, "Any important literary work is like the Trojan Horse at the time it is produced. Any work with a new form operates as a war machine, because its design and its goal is to pulverize the old forms and formal conventions" (68-69). It is my view that the fragmentary nature of Sappho's poems embodies what Wittig identifies to be a "war machine," as a new and unconventional form of writing, comprised of ancient

symbols, and that Sappho anticipates the lesbian body and subjectivity, what Wittig promotes as the truest, if not, only form of feminism:

Lesbian is the only concept I know of which is beyond the categories of sex (woman and man), because the designated subject (lesbian) is not a woman, either economically, or politically, or ideologically...our survival demands that we contribute all our strength to the destruction of the class of women within which men appropriate women. This can be accomplished only by the destruction of heterosexuality as a social system which is based on the oppression of women by men and which produces the doctrine of the difference between the sexes to justify this oppression (250).

My paper builds on recent scholarship, which has brought to light the possibility that the Greeks and Romans thought of non-tribadic instances of female homoerotic desire as different in kind than other types of human desire. The work of Sandra Boehringer (*L'Homosexualité féminine dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine*, 2007) and Jen Oliver (“*Oscula iungit nec moderata satis nec sic a virgine danda: Ovid’s Callisto Episode, Female Homoeroticism, and the Study of Ancient Sexuality*,” 2015) find evidence for Greek and Roman notions of a less hierarchical female homoeroticism, fundamentally different from male-male or male-female desire, and perhaps intrinsic to the sexual identities of certain (real or fictional) women.

I argue that Wittig’s conception of the “Lesbian” illuminates and enhances the ancient text and that the first-person voice of Sappho’s poems confuses the subject/object binary and promotes a non-hierarchical, non-binary version of female homoerotic desire. In this way, by disrupting, her fragments have a revolutionary potential, in the spirit of Wittig.

Title: Rethinking Julia Balbilla: Queer Poetics on the Memnon Colossus

Name: Kelly McArdle

The epigrams of Julia Balbilla on the Memnon Colossus have received little scholarly attention since the 1990s, but are a thought-provoking case study for discussions of “lesbianism before sexuality.” In November of 130 CE, Balbilla accompanied Hadrian and his wife Sabina to Egyptian Thebes where she composed four epigrams, predominantly in Aeolic dialect, recording the group’s encounter with the colossus. Balbilla’s erotic descriptions of Sabina and her use of Sapphic language led M.L. West to argue that the two women had a homoerotic relationship, yet in the most recent discussion of Balbilla, Patricia Rosenmeyer has argued against the idea of such a relationship. In this paper, I reconsider contemporary depictions of Sabina, the reception of Sappho in the imperial period, and specific Sapphic intertexts in Balbilla’s epigrams to argue that Balbilla’s poems about Sabina are most productively read through a queer lens.

To understand the nuances of Balbilla’s Sapphic language, I first consider contemporary visual and textual representations of Sabina. Imperially sanctioned depictions in statuary and on coins presented the empress as a symbol of imperial piety, fecundity, and harmony, often likening her to the goddesses Vesta, Ceres, and Concordia (Brennan, Fejfer). Literary representations similarly focused on her title “Augusta,” her connection to goddesses (e.g. *νεάν Δήμητρα*, IG, VII, 73 and *νέα Ἥρα*, TAM, II 2, 560), and her marriage to Hadrian, rather than personal or physical attributes (Carandini). Though this information leads us to expect a certain level of deference in treatments of Sabina at this time, I will show that this is not the case.

I next examine how Sappho was received in the imperial period and whether the homoerotic undertones of her poetry would have been pertinent to Balbilla’s contemporary audience in their reading of her epigrams. From the time of Ovid up to the Oxyrynchus Papyrus, Roman authors seem to have been invested in Sappho’s sexuality, specifically presenting it as homoerotic or exhibiting anxiety over its homoerotic undertones (Auanger). The continued cultural consciousness of a homosexual Sappho necessarily speaks to Balbilla’s poetry: intertexts to Sappho would certainly have marked Balbilla’s poetry as homoerotic. Where Balbilla could have used less erotically-charged language to describe Sabina, she purposely incorporated eroticized Sapphic elements.

Balbilla’s last two epigrams (Bernard 30 and 31) describe Sabina with phrases like *κάλα τυϊδε Σάβιννα, ἐράτα μόρφα*, and *ἐράται βασιλίδι τυϊδε Σαβίννα*, epithets uniquely related to Sappho’s descriptions of beautiful women

(Brennan, Rosenmeyer). The structural similarities between Balbilla's epigram 30 and the love triangle of Sappho fr. 31, where the poetess watches a male figure interact with a female love interest from afar, are particularly striking. I draw on the poetic trope of "passive contrast figure" vs. active lover (Marcovich, Race) to argue that Balbilla casts herself as the active lover (Sappho) and Memnon as the passive contrast figure ("that man" in fr. 31). I also show how Balbilla actively excludes Hadrian from the love narrative until the end of epigram 30, undercutting his involvement with Sabina.

This paper argues that given these poetic maneuvers, Balbilla's poetry necessitates a queer reading. Such a reading recognizes threads of resistance against dominant ideologies and thereby allows us to accept and explore the sexual complications Balbilla presents, rather than attempting to explain them away. Scholarship on Balbilla has taken a firm stance against the presence of homoeroticism specifically as a response to clumsy claims of an actual lesbian relationship between poetess and empress and not as a response to the poetry itself. Nevertheless, a heteroerotic reading of Balbilla's poetry misses the mark as much as prior claims of a genuine homosexual relationship.

Title: 'I clitorize, you clitorize, they clitorize...': The Anatomy of Female Homoeroticism in the Roman Empire

Name: Rebecca Flemming

As is now reasonably well-known, several medical works of the Roman imperial period contain chapters 'on the excessively large clitoris and clitoridectomy', texts which, since they join this female anatomical surfeit with masculinized sexual desires, have been discussed in recent scholarship about 'lesbianism before sexuality', as the title of this panel so aptly phrases it (see esp. Brooten 1996; also Boehringer 2007). Omitted from the debate so far, however, is the alternative angle on the clitoris and its erotic potential provided by another medical writer, the late first-century AD physician Rufus of Ephesus in his treatise *On the Naming of the Parts of the Human Body*. This paper takes that passage as its starting point, opening up a dialogue with the more familiar pathological sequences to explore ancient clitoral sex, including between women, in more detail. It will argue that it is both patterned by and escapes from phallic models, adding further depth and complexity to the picture of Roman female homoeroticism, and in some particularly intriguing ways.

Rufus provides (109-112) a rich account of the vulva, focused topographically and lexically on the 'kleitoris' as some call the fleshy muscle in the middle of the 'cleft' which divides the genitals, they also 'say that lascivious touching of this part is "to clitorize" (kleitoriazein).' The text is unclear whether this touching is of the self, by another woman, or by a man, presumably all these possibilities are encompassed by the term. In any case, this passage stands in some contrast to the passages dealing with the diseased excess and excision of this part. Not that Rufus is particularly positive about clitorizing, but his negativity qualifies the touch not the haptic object itself, indeed his preferred term for that object is 'numphē', which also means newly-wed or young bride or rosebud. Rufus' rough contemporary, fellow-physician and citizen, Soranus of Ephesus, is specific that this small piece of genital flesh is so-called because 'it hides like a young bride' (*Gynaecology* 1.18). The contrast is thus between the clitoris as modest recipient of lasciviousness and as active wrong-doer, urging women into a male sexual role, as it does in the surviving late antique versions of Soranus' lost chapter on the 'hupermegethos numphē'. The details vary but the latinizations of Caelius Aurelianus (*Gynaecia* 2.112) and Muscio (177), as well as Paul of Aegina's abbreviated Greek (6.70), all report a suggestion that the oversized female part can become tense and erect like a man's and drive affected women towards intercourse. The language—*venus*, *coitus*, *sunousia*—is neutral and inclusive, both female and male partners are possible.

In one sense, then, Rufus offers another of those chance glimpses round the edges of the dominant sexual paradigm in the Roman world that scholars have increasingly come to value (e.g. Boehringer, 2014; Oliver, 2015). He simply acknowledges that women may enjoy touching themselves or each other: this mutual masturbatory pleasure shares its reciprocity with Juvenal's Maura and Tullia, for example, as they drunkenly 'straddle each other in turn' in *Satire* 6 (311). While the pathological passages variously enact, and indeed enforce, that paradigm. An excessively large clitoris may endow a woman with masculine sexual desires, which she will act on (in some rather vague way), but this nasty and transgressive situation is surgically remediable. It is, however, also worth considering the relationship between the shy and overly forward numphē a bit further: thinking about the locations of desire and pleasure, the figuration of sexual activity in both cases to see whether there is a single system in play after all.

Title: Sappho's Mythic Models: Figuring Lesbian Desire through Heterosexual Paradigms
Name: Rachel Lesser

Sandra Boehringer has identified the story of Kallisto and Artemis as an early Greek mythical acknowledgement of female homoeroticism, and the unique female counterpart to the multiple myths that represent male pederasty (Boehringer 2007: 71–88). Sappho, however, does not mention Kallisto in her surviving fragments; she may sing of Artemis' virginity in a hymnic fragment, but its Sapphic authorship has always been uncertain and continues to be contested (Boychenko 2017). While Sappho does not, then, to our knowledge, draw on any homoerotic female mythic models, she does invoke many "heterosexual" mythic characters. This paper shows how Sappho manipulates "heterosexual" mythic models to represent her homoerotic experience, and it considers the significance of which mythical figures Sappho chooses to invoke, and which she does not, for her self-representation and her figuration of lesbian desire in her surviving fragments.

We are able to observe Sappho clearly comparing her poetic persona to mythic models in two poems, fr. 16 and the Tithonos poem (fr. 58). In fragment 16, Sappho invokes Helen as a desiring subject and paradigm for how desire determines valuation and motivates action (Winkler 1990; DuBois 1995), and then asserts her own desire for Anaktoria. Thus she implicitly sets herself as a female desiring subject in parallel with Helen, and she makes that analogy closer by not mentioning, and therefore eliding, the male object of Helen's desire, Paris. In the Tithonos poem, Sappho, lamenting her inevitable aging, cites the paradigm of Tithonos, who grows old despite being the object of the goddess Eos' desire. Now Sappho, by taking on the ambiguously masculine role of a mortal man desired by a goddess (Stehle 1995), figures herself—even when no longer youthful—as a female's love object. In both cases, Sappho chooses to evoke heterosexual relationships that are characterized by impermanence, which is a recurring theme in her depiction of her love affairs and those of the women in her circle (fr. 94, 96, 131). And she does not choose desiring males as her mythic alter-egos.

In other fragments, Sappho names a variety of mythical mortal women who seem to fall into two categories: they are either eroticized young women (Helen, Hermione, Andromache, Medea), or else (usually bereaved) mothers (Niobe, the daughter of Pandion, Leda). With the possible exception of Hermione, the erotic myths that she chooses feature women whose heterosexual relationships, while famous for the intensity of their love, ultimately break apart. Despite the wide-spread 7th century popularity of the Odysseus and the Cyclops episode as evidenced by vase painting (Snodgrass 1998: 89–100), Sappho does not appear to engage with the Odyssey myth or Odyssean females—most significantly, with Penelope, whose relationship with Odysseus is defined by its permanence.

If there is any mythic space that seems to repeatedly draw Sappho, it is the Trojan War story. Many scholars have argued that Sappho responds directly to the Iliad in her poetry, including in her narration of Hektor and Andromache's wedding in fr. 44 (Rissman 1983, Schrenk 1994, Rosenmeyer 1997). Although Sappho only names Andromache in that epithalamium, I suggest that Sappho draws on the Homeric Andromache's anguished desiring subjectivity in her representation of desire in fragments 16 and 31. Sappho's rejection of the masculine desire for armies in fr. 16 may draw on Andromache's vain attempt in Iliad 6 to derail Hektor's desire to rejoin his comrades-in-arms and achieve martial glory. Moreover, I argue that Sappho's erotic subjectivity in Fragment 31, rather than referencing the Nausicaa scene in the *Odyssey* (Winkler 1990) or Menelaos' attitude toward Helen (D'Angour 2013), is inspired by Andromache's reaction to Hektor's death in Iliad 22.

Title: Tribad Philaenis and Lesbian Bassa: WLW in Martial
Name: Kristin Mann

Scholarship on Roman women who loved women (WLW) often focuses on the figure of the tribad, usually defined as a masculinized woman who desires to penetrate. Judith Hallett (1997) groups all woman-woman sex under this umbrella, arguing that the Romans consistently characterize women who have sex with women as literally phallic. However, Sandra Boehringer (2007) makes two important modifications to this model: women who have sex with women are not always, if ever, imagined as literally phallic, and not all such women can be considered tribads. Building on and modifying Boehringer's analysis, this paper examines two separate models for WLW that appear in Martial: the tribad Philaenis, who is masculinized and desires to penetrate, and the "lesbian" Bassa, who is feminized and desires women.

Philaenis is called “the tribad of tribads” (7.70.1: *tribadum tribas*). The verbs used of her sexual acts are all verbs that are elsewhere used of the penetrator’s role in sex: she fucks her girlfriend (7.70.2, *futuis*), anally penetrates boys (7.67.1, *pedicat*), and “pounds” eleven girls a day (7.67.3, *dolat*). Philaenis does not solely desire women, but has sex with women and boys, both of whom are acceptable objects of penetration for men in the Roman sex-gender system. She does this, Martial implies, because she desires to be a man (7.67.14-17). Contrary to Boehringer, I believe that the tribad Philaenis must be considered separately from the other Philaenis poems of Martial, and that “anti-eroticism” is not her main feature. I place the emphasis on her sexual habits and argue that Philaenis is a tribad because she has sex “like a man.”

Bassa represents a very different model. Previous scholarship has argued that Bassa is masculinized and phallic (cf. Brooten 1996, Hallet 1997, Howell 1980, Parker 1997), but this is a misinterpretation caused by our expectation that Bassa must be like Philaenis (cf. Boehringer 2007). First, unlike Philaenis, Bassa has sex by “joining twin cunts together” (1.90.7: *geminos audes committere cunnos*). Bassa does not use an enlarged clitoris or dildo here; the genitalia are “twins,” neither of them phallic (Boehringer 2007). Second, Bassa is depicted as someone with only female partners. She stays away from *mares* (1.90.1), *moechi* (1.90.2), and *vir* (1.90.4 and 10), and surrounds herself only with her own sex (1.90.4). Her desire is characterized not as the desire to penetrate, but as the desire for women to the exclusion of men. This approaches our notion of lesbian desire. Finally, and most controversially, I will argue that Bassa is not masculinized in this poem, nor is she of an uncertain sex as Boehringer argues, but rather her femininity is emphasized. Martial does call Bassa a *fututor*, a (masculine) fucker (1.90.6), but I argue that this word refers here to the desire for vaginal sex. Martial uses the masculine term not to call Bassa a man, but rather because the feminine form, *fututrix*, usually refers to a woman who fucks a penis (Adams 1982; Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2015). Counterintuitively, *fututrix* would imply the presence of a penis more than does *fututor*. Instead, throughout the poem, the narrator emphasizes Bassa’s femininity and the femininity of the company she keeps; it is the same-sex nature of Bassa’s relationships that disturbs the narrator.

In the end, both of these models come back to men: Philaenis wants to be a man; Bassa rejects men. Perhaps we are nowhere nearer to real WLW, but this talk supports the idea that we need to broaden our expectations for how WLW were thought about—and how they might have thought about themselves—in antiquity.

Session 20: Teaching with Coins: Coins as Tools for Thinking about the Ancient World (Organized by Friends of Numismatics)

Title: Learning by Teaching with Roman Coins

Name: Gwynnaeth McIntyre and Jaymie Orchard

Since 2015, the student-run, digital humanities project “From Stone to Screen” has been developing open-access teaching modules for the Roman coin collection housed in the Department of Classical, Near Eastern and Religious studies at the University of British Columbia. Designed by students for students, these modules allow students to familiarize themselves with numismatic conventions, online resources, and methodologies through peer-teaching. Students worked closely with faculty in order to situate these modules within current teaching practice. This collaboration created opportunities for academic mentoring and professional development for undergraduate and graduate students.

This paper discusses the creation of the “Visual Association in Imperial Promotion” module and provides suggestions for the development of similar peer-teaching projects. It was created in response to the student’s own learning experience from the “Introduction to Numismatics” module. Using this previous module as a template, the student then developed new content including instructor notes, lesson plan, PowerPoint slides, handouts, worksheets, and answer keys. This module increases access to a physical collection largely inaccessible to students, and also allows students to learn about the coins from their peers, enriching their university experience. As one student responded in their feedback, “For me, having a student lecture is quite exciting since it shows the kinds of opportunities available for undergraduates (like me).”

These coin modules provide a unique opportunity for students to re-contextualize what they have learned and to communicate that knowledge to their peers. It encourages students to develop their own projects, create learning

content, and expand their understanding of particular fields of interest. Giving students the opportunity to teach allows them to bring their own experiences, approaches, and methods to the study of a collection. These types of experiential learning opportunities make departmental and museum collections more accessible allowing students to forge their own connections to the ancient world.

Title: Reading Coins and Stories: Strengthening Student Literacy through Numismatic Concepts

Name: Katherine Petrole

This talk will share the successes and challenges of an educational program that introduces ancient Greece to students in grades 5-8 through connecting ancient, modern, and fictional coins from a familiar story: *Percy Jackson and the Lightning Thief* (Riordan 2005). The program is freely available as an online resource, making it accessible, replicable, and adaptable for use in museums, academic institutions, and excavations worldwide. The 2005 book and subsequent book and film series ignited an interest in Greek mythology in American students; at the Parthenon in Nashville, Tennessee, visitation to the museum spiked after the 2010 release of the film and the movie props on display remain a museum highlight for the youngest visitors to this day. As a result, the Parthenon initiated an educational program incorporating the fictional coins in *Percy Jackson and the Lightning Thief* in an effort to increase literacy and learning in students grades 5-8. Specifically, the program models numismatic concepts to show how “reading” is more than just seeing words on a page—you read an entire coin to unlock clues about the people and places it represents. In this way, the program provides a powerful learning experience that connects students with the past by using replicas and images of primary sources in order to learn about the ancient world. Students progress from group to individual thinking and learning as they see and analyze examples of fictional golden drachmas (the size of a Girl Scout cookie!), American quarters, and various ancient Greek coins from the numismatic collections of Corinth Excavations and the Athenian Agora Excavations. Through this educational experience, students will understand that reading the whole picture unlocks clues to their favorite stories, with examples to connect the past and present through numismatics.

Title: Teaching with Coins at the MFA Boston

Name: Phoebe Segal

In 2012, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston opened the first gallery devoted to ancient Greek and Roman coinage in a US art museum. Given its location within a public institution, the gallery, known as the Michael C. Ruetters Ancient Coin Gallery (“coin gallery” for short), treats the general public as its student population, welcoming those as young schoolchildren and high school students all the way up to learned scholars. This paper aims to share the strategies employed in the coin gallery with the academic community in the belief that a dialogue between those teaching with coins in museums and institutions of higher learning can only strengthen outcomes in both.

The paper begins with an introduction to the MFA’s coin collection, which dates back to the early years of the museum (founded in 1870) and numbers approximately 8,000 coins. The need for the gallery, with its state-of-the-art casework with custom-designed magnifying instruments and lighting, and the curatorial and educational goals for it will be explained. The “big idea” for the gallery – the notion that coins are miniature masterpieces and the emphasis on coins as works of Greek and Roman art and their relationship to works of art in other media – will be the central focus of the paper. The interpretive strategy of the gallery blends thematic and chronological approaches – a balancing act evident in cases entitled “Metal into Money,” “Money into Art,” as well as those devoted to portraiture and mythology, on the one hand, and cases in which the best specimens of Greek and Roman coins are exhibited, on the other hand. The use of technology in the form of iPads with the first-ever MFA app (“MFA Coins”), as well as the process of developing such an app, will shed light on the benefits of technology in teaching with coins. Finally, a summary of the overwhelmingly positive responses to the gallery will be presented.

Title: Coins as a Teaching Tool: An Experience of Integration of Numismatics and Conservation

Name: Cristiana Zaccagnino

Courses of numismatics are almost nonexistent in North American university curricula. Coins are shown in courses of classical art and history especially as illustrations of the iconography of statue types, of monuments and of the portraits of ancient rulers, but little attention is paid to the technical aspects of coin production and to the purchasing power of the denominations. Several North American University Museums own coin collections, which are also used as a teaching tool, but in the majority of cases students do not have direct access to the artifacts. A collection of ancient artifacts including coins is also owned by the Department of Classics and the Art Conservation program at my university. What makes this collection different is that it does not belong to a museum and it was acquired with an educational purpose: the ancient artifacts are to be used as a teaching tool for students from both programs. The collection is a diverse assemblage of unsorted artifacts, often fragmentary and sometimes in very poor condition, all without any information about the original context or prior treatments. Among them are more than 600 Greek and Roman coins, which have been so far neglected. Recently a new project has started which directly involves students in the study of the coin collection. Students from Classics and from Art Conservation contribute with their specific background and skills working together on the same items and teaching each other in a stimulating environment. Art Conservation students research alloy composition, manufacturing techniques, old restoration and cleaning methods, and perform conservation treatments according to current standards, while their Classics peers identify the coins, provide historical context and study their economic significance. The collaboration between the two programs makes the experience very formative since students become acquainted with the principles and methods of both disciplines.

Title: Federalism and Ancient Greek Coins

Name: Eliza Gettel

This paper examines the potential of coins for teaching about federalism in undergraduate ancient Greek history courses. The *koinon*, or ‘federal state,’ was a ubiquitous state structure of Greek history, which has received much scholarly attention recently (e.g., Beck and Funke; Mackil). However, despite the ubiquity of Greek federal states, they play a small or nonexistent role in most ancient Greek history courses at the undergraduate level. Much of the scholarship on the *koinon* is aimed at a specialist audience and requires knowledge of Greek history outside of Athens and Sparta. Coins, however, offer approachable opportunities for introducing students to questions and debates about Greek federalism.

Students, especially in American and European contexts, are used to handling federal coinages in their own life. Therefore, instructors can draw parallels between coins of ancient federal states, especially those of the Achaean League or Arcadian League, and US state quarters or euro coins to introduce the concept of federalism in ancient Greek worlds. For instance, looking at a coin of the Achaean League with a federal monogram as well as symbols related to a member polis (e.g., a dolphin for Patras) prompts students to raise questions about the balance of power between federal institutions and member states. Through such coins, therefore, students can engage in a debate that has concerned scholars of koina without having to know ancient Greek or having detailed knowledge about a specific region of the Greek mainland.

In addition to outlining some of the debates revolving around Greek federalism that coins can raise, the paper will introduce attendees to some concrete strategies and resources for teaching with ancient federal coins. It is not always possible to teach with physical coins, and so this paper will conclude with suggestions for interactive activities that bring these coins into the classroom virtually.

Session 21: Topography and Material Culture in Fifth Century Drama

Title: Perverted Return: Odious Epinician and Deadly Athletics in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*

Name: Keating McKeon

This paper argues that the first stasimon of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (463-511) constitutes a perverted victory ode, which functions as a fraught index of return resonant within the wider frame of dramatic action. In physically material terms suggestive of an athletic program, the chorus evokes the flight of a murderous *damnandus* whose very anonymity subverts the commemorative function of epinician lyric. Crucially, these furtive exercises are mapped onto a Pythian ritual space, cementing them within a context of Panhellenic athletic contest. The effect of this epinician modeling and Pythian topography is the presentation of Oedipus' Theban "homecoming" as a corrupted iteration of the epinician *nostos*.

A range of recent scholarship has considered the generic relationship between encomium and tragedy (Swift 2010; Carey 2012; Rodighiero 2012; Weiss *forthcoming*), including study of the epinician "loop of *nostos*" (Slater 1984; Kurke 2013) within a tragic context (Rehm 2002; Steiner 2010; Swift 2011). At the same time, significant attention has been given to the use of deixis in lyric poetry to enact notional travel and to suggest physical space (Felson 1999; id. 2004), including through the poetic creation of a specifically Delphic landscape (Eckerman 2014; Weiss 2016). The *OT* itself has received only passing notice for the potential implications of its status as a *nostos* drama (Easterling 2011; Finglass 2018), even as its materiality of local topography has been recognized (Taplin 2010; Cairns 2013).

My paper engages with this work to propose a dynamic continuum of athletic endeavors in the first and second stasima of Sophocles' play. By scripting the murderer's actions in densely athletic terms—boxing, footrace, chariot race, and hoplite race—and inverting the synesthetic imagery of illumination familiar from epinician lyric, the chorus offers an encomium gone wrong, while the Pythian setting so receptive to the epinician *laudandus* assumes a distinctly hostile cast. Moreover, in the chorus's isolation of a faceless character whose identity is all too well known to the audience, my paper finds a tragic critique of epinician lyric as a tool of civic reintegration for its prominent addressee. This critique is rooted in the chorus members' confused rendering of the typical victory ode's deictic journey: a condemnatory account of the murderer's flight away from Thebes is in fact the ironic narrative of Oedipus' return.

I locate the culmination of the outlaw athlete's headlong movement through space in the second stasimon, with the notoriously vexed "wrestler's throw" (πάλαισμα) of lines 879-81. Previous interpreters have produced a variety of metaphorical readings inconsonant with the deictic architecture imposed by the first stasimon (Van der Ben 1968; Winnington-Ingram 1980; Carey 1986; Sidwell 1992). In restoring the line to its full, visceral physicality, a "wrestler's throw" is made visible on stage by the moving, emoting bodies of the chorus members: it is part of a pun on the Sphinx's name; a forcefully athletic recasting of Oedipus' principal achievement; and a definitive relocation of Pythian contestation to Thebes—and to the Athenian theater space.

Title: Epiphanic Visitations: Deities on Temples and in Greek Tragedy

Name: Jessica Paga

Before the invention and regular use of the crane, actors appearing 'on high' in the Greek theater utilized the roof of the skene. In the fifth century, this roof would have been the flat ceiling of the ephemeral wooden skene, erected anew for each festival of the City Dionysia. The skene's form for much of the fifth century was likely simple: a rectangular structure with one, or sometimes two, doors, a flat roof with a trapdoor providing access to and from the interior, perhaps a window cut into the façade, and decorated with painted canvas hangings. A stairway may have provided further roof access from the rear of the structure.

As Mastronarde has shown, a rooftop location is most ideal for divine appearances and creates a physical separation between divine and mortal realms (1990). This spatial division accentuates the metaphysical distinction between gods and humans, such that mortal characters appearing on the roof, like the watchman of

Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (1-39), require explicit justification. The gods of tragedy appear in a spatially distinct locus, removed from the realm of mortals.

Accentuating this association of divine beings with roofs, I argue, is the regular appearance of gods in the pediments of temples beginning in the sixth century. The east pediment of the Old Athena Temple on the Akropolis, dated ca. 500, depicted a striding Athena vanquishing the Giants, in the first large-scale figural mythological narrative in Athens. Around the same time, the first phase of the sanctuary and theater of Dionysos Eleutherios was articulated at the base of the southern slope of the Akropolis (Papastamati-von Moock 2015), with its own small temple's pediments filled with supernatural beings like satyrs and maenads, likely flanking a central figure of the god himself (Despinis 2000). By the mid-fifth century, divine pedimental sculpture (and increasingly divine akroteria) had become commonplace in Greek sanctuary architecture. At the same time, some temple pediments also included so-called "epiphany windows," possibly designed to facilitate rituals at the roof level (Miles 1998/1999). The presence of deities on the roof of the skene draws on this visual association present in sacred structures. Particularly when the skene was designed to evoke a temple or other sacred structure, such as during the opening of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* or in Euripides' *Ion*, divine presence on the roof would have reified this connection between pedimental sculpture and dramatic epiphany.

Moreover, the chronological confluence of figural divine pediments and divine appearances in drama would have been further underscored by the increasing use of the crane for *deus ex machina* scenes throughout the second half of the fifth century. The crane, as developed for use in staging dramatic productions, would have been derived from the cranes used at building sites since the Archaic period for the construction of monumental stone buildings, primarily temples. Cranes lifted divine pedimental sculpture into place at the tops of temples, just as cranes now lifted actors playing divinities into place above the skene. This correlation deepens the association between temples, the upper surface of the skene, and divine epiphanic appearances.

Title: The Statue in the Meadow and the Garments in the River: Objects and Landscape in Euripides' *Hippolytus*
Name: Maria Combatti

In this paper I shall show how in the *Hippolytus* Euripides utilizes objects and landscape to give a keen sense of the characters' suffering and elicit the audience's reaction to it.

Scholars of the play have studied the relationship between landscape imagery and the characters' dramatic experience (e.g., Segal 1965 and 1979; Zeitlin 1996). Matthew Wright has observed that Euripides' plays rely on an idealized landscape that reflects the characters' own identity and situations (Wright 2005). Whereas these studies have concentrated on the characters' emotions, I explore how landscape and objects, both real and imagined, trigger the affective exchange between characters and spectators by analyzing them within the framework of the enactivist theory of cognition (Thompson 2007; Grethlein and Huitink 2017) and the new materialism (Bennet, 2010; Mueller, 2016; Telò and Mueller 2018). On the one hand, the proponents of the enactivist theory suggest that perception (e.g., audience perception) is embodied (i.e. dependent upon the physical body), embedded (i.e. bound to a physical context), and enactive (i.e. dependent on interactions with the environment). On the other hand, the new materialism has produced a new attention to the ontology of objects (their vitality, agency, and sensory allure) and has converged with the affective turn, a new conception of emotions as material intensities that circulate between human and other beings, both animate and inanimate, and that in the dramatic space draw the audience in their circuit (Worman 2018).

Drawing on such insights, I argue that in the *Hippolytus* objects and landscape represent a material energy source that produces affects, encouraging the audience to vividly perceive the characters' suffering. In the prologue, Aphrodite addresses the audience, identifying her universal power on "all people who dwell between the tide of Pontus and the pillars of Atlas" (3). Then, she introduces the protagonists: Hippolytus, who stays continually with Artemis in the "greenwood" (17), and Phaedra, who has fallen in love with Hippolytus and dedicated a temple to Cypris "close to the rock of Pallas (i.e. Athenian Acropolis) that looks across the land of Troezen" (30). This imagery maps the dramatic action onto landscape, enabling the audience to sense the characters' suffering by entertaining a perceptual experience of topographical spaces. Also, the mention of the rock of Pallas arouses the

spectators' perceptual awareness of the real setting of the play, which was performed in the theater of Dionysus located at the foot of the Acropolis. Hippolytus appears on stage, where, as editors suggest, a statue of Artemis was placed symmetrically with that of Aphrodite (Barrett 1964). The young man offers a garland to the statue of Artemis (73-86), while worshipping Aphrodite's statue from afar (102). The two statues thus are vibrant props which mirror Hippolytus' solipsistic devotion to Artemis.

In the *parodos*, Euripides' language draws the audience to visualize the distant countryside of Troezen, where the chorus receives the news of Phaedra's sickness, while one of them is washing the "royal garments" in the river (121-128). The image of the wet garments evokes sensorial phenomena that enable the spectators to undergo an embodied experience of the described scene. A sense of wetness is also elicited by the description of Phaedra's death, which is represented with the image of her "being waterlogged" (ὕπεραντλος οὔσα) with her misfortune (767). Phaedra's death, which is attributed to Hippolytus, leads Theseus to condemn his son to exile, "beyond the tide of Pontus and the pillars of Atlas" (1053). This landscape image, by recalling the prologue, enables the audience to fully perceive Aphrodite's power, by which Hippolytus dies when he is dragged by a wave on the sea shore (1201-1239).

Through this reading of the *Hippolytus* I suggest that objects and landscape take on an uncanny agency that exteriorizes and orients the characters' experience, orchestrating a perceptual surrounding for the audience and allowing us contemporary readers to grasp the vivid sense of the dramatic event through vibrant materialities and specific topographies.

Name: The Bed, the Hearth, the Statue, and the Veil. Material Objects, Marriage and emotions in Euripides' *Alcestis*

Title: Stauroula Valtadorou

Euripides' *Alcestis* (438 BC) has generated great interest among classicists of the 20th and 21st centuries. One of the issues that has attracted scholarly attention is how the marital relationship of Admetus and Alcestis is portrayed in the play. Some scholars argue for the total absence of love between the royal couple (Beye 1959; Smith 1960; von Kurz 1962; Sicking 1967; Conacher 1984; Schein 1988; Dova 2013), while others deny erotic but not marital love (Burnett 1965; Lesky 1966; Iakov 2012). Only a few allow for the possibility that *Alcestis* might actually have something to do with *erôs* (Kaimio 2002; Visvardi 2017). In this paper I argue that *both* marital *and* erotic love play a substantial role in this drama. I intend to show this by examining some significant material references that have been studied so far only separately and not with the view of addressing the underdiscussed matter of marital *erôs* (Franco 1984; Masaracchia 1992; Stieber 1998; McClure 2016; Beltrametti 2016; Bassi 2018).

More specifically, throughout the drama, the *dramatis personae* either refer or allude to the following material objects: 1) the hearth, that constitutes the place where Alcestis prays for the future marriage of her children (162–169), 2) the bed, where the queen unceasingly weeps for her imminent death (175–188), 3) the statue, that Admetus promises to put on their bed after her death (348–354), and 4) the veil, that the queen presumably wears when she re-enters the scene with Herakles (1020–1125). With the exception of the veil that probably covered, at least partially, the mask of the resurrected Alcestis (*pace* Masaracchia 1992 and Beltrametti 2016), these imagined, out-of-sight props never appear on stage, yet they bear fundamental cultural and emotional associations both for the audience members and the dramatic characters. What is of interest is that these material references can actually refine our understanding of how the institution of marriage and the relation between the couple is depicted in *Alcestis*, given that most of these *realia* are related to marriage and the various wedding ceremonies.

Due to limitations of time and space, I shall focus my full attention on two of these objects: the bed and the statue. I shall argue that Alcestis' address to the personified bed (177–182) does not reveal her resentment, but rather her sexual jealousy and her love for Admetus. The palpable progression in her emotional outburst, which seems to be somehow correlated with this particular object, will also be discussed: Alcestis bursts into tears (183–184) only after she thinks of the imaginary second wife of Admetus as the future owner of their bed (181–182), (NB the difference between ἰδάκρυσε in line 176 and ὀφθαλμοτέγκτοι πλημμυρίδι in line 184). Similarly, I shall maintain that Admetus' reference to the statue he will put on their bed (348–354) does not betray any perversion on his part or his conjugal indifference, as has been argued, but rather recalls expressions of love and desire found in tragedy (cf. A. *Agamemnon* 208, 414–422; Eur. *Andromeda* and *Protesilaus*). The import of the bed and its association with

erotic love is further accentuated, when Admetus recalls the happy memories of their first sexual encounter, measuring them against his presently empty bed (915–925, 945).

Therefore, this paper shall address the above-mentioned materialities of *Alcestis*, while reflecting upon the ways they refine our understanding of this marital relation and of the dramatic action. The conclusion will also draw together the representation of this legally married, possibly erotically connected couple within the context of Euripidean tragedy. Does the fourth position of this drama in the tetralogy dictate this less destructive manifestation of *erôs*? Or could *Alcestis* perhaps provide us with evidence that heterosexual *erôs* can, in some cases, be celebrated as such in Euripidean tragedy?

Title: How To Do Things Without Maps | New Cartographies & the Cyclops

Name: Nolan Epstein

Mapping a Greek drama is practically impossible. The problem with making a clear representation of explicit and implicit references in a play is that this genre—more so than others—is constantly gesturing to outside locales and returning to the (fictional) deictic context. If one tries to visualize the sequence of place-references in a drama, as I do to begin the paper, the result is a tangled web—paths everywhere, constantly doubling back to touch home-base. The dramatists were masters at using all forms of deixis to guide their audience’s minds seamlessly back to the fictional *hic-et-nunc* even while drawing on imagery from all corners of the ancient world. An audience followed a play’s geography like tethered ping-pong balls, snapping back to the center as soon as being shot outwards. Instead of wrestling with how to fit complex itineraries onto modern borders, coastlines, and Cartesian grids, we ought to uncover a mode of visualizing dramatic topographies that better approximates a world that was (so Purves, 2010) proto-cartographic. If, as Suksi (in Hawes, 2018) argues, the idea of the map was crucial to the tragedian’s conception of his poetic function, “Thus, it is not only in early prose narratives, but in Attic tragedy also that we see the appropriation of the divine cartographic vision of epic and an independence from the Muses for the project of mapping the world” (220), then we must develop map-making techniques better suited to the ancient context and to the dramatic interplay of real and imaginative topographies.

Recently, classicists have taken to cartography. We have maps of Callimachus’ *Aitia* (Asper in Acosta-Hughes et al., 2011), the Homeric Hymns, Herodotus, and Thucydides (in Barker et al., 2016), and Homer’s Catalogue of Ships (Jasnow et al., 2018). Yet all these maps use aerial views that, familiar to GPS-users, were foreign to ancients. Striving to respect Greece’s cartographic context, the second half of this paper will explain how to construct plots of absolute distances between places in Euripides’ *Cyclops* (a short, and so instructive, satyr-play). Such plots resemble musical staves: each place, like each note, has its own line while gaps between lines respect geographic magnitudes. Plotting a text in this way is visually un-cluttered and easy-to-read. We can display information that cannot be crammed into world maps: line numbers along the x-axis tracking the play’s progression; color-coding for time/tense; connections between points representing continuous/discontinuous itineraries; and, diagrams of the persistent back-and-forth between the setting (i.e., Polyphemus’ Aetnean cave) and the outside world.

I next present the several advantages of visualizing the *Cyclops* with this tool. Advantages include: i.) the ability to zoom from proximate to distant orientations on the dramatic topography (e.g., we can effortlessly compare the shapes of localized itineraries around Sicily to larger orderings such as Odysseus’ wide-ranging list of Poseidon’s cult sites throughout Greece, 285-312); ii.) the capacity to see how different characters strategically deploy geographic rhetoric, such as how Odysseus (in the passage cited above) uses an intricate itinerary to bring Sicily notionally closer to mainland Greece, how Polyphemus (316-346) resists Odysseus by compressing his world-view to achieve a closed-off conception of Sicily’s place in Greek geography, or how the Satyrs capture the divine expansiveness of Dionysius’ wanderings (1-26); iii.) the capability to contrast visualizations of this Sicilian play (the only one of its kind to survive) with representations of other ancient texts pertaining to the island (e.g., Pindar’s odes, the *Odyssey*). I conclude that these advantages facilitate understanding of how Euripides tried (or did not try) to treat Sicily as a real locale with a tangible and contiguous topography with which audiences may or may not have been familiar. Taking this innovative approach, modern readers may readily follow the imaginative movements of the dramatic action, thereby coming closer to the real effects that Euripides’ play had on his audience’s spatial experiences and memories.

Title: Enacting a House for Eumenides in the *Oresteia*
Name: Jocelyn Moore

For two-and-a-half plays of the *Oresteia* the set-building, *skēnē*, enacts a defined material identity as three prominent physical houses: first of Agamemnon, then of Apollo, and finally of Athena. Each occupies a different location and topography. But in the final shift to Orestes' trial at the Areopagus (*Eum.* 566), the *skēnē* loses a clear identity and seems to go blank. This is especially striking since Aeschylus' 458 BCE trilogy establishes the identity of the newly introduced set-building (Taplin 1977, 452–59) as a house — *oikos* or *domos* — an identity it maintains consistently throughout later Attic tragedy, even when representing a different structure (such as cave, tent, or temple, as Bassi 1999, 426 comments).

This paper argues that Aeschylus exploits the constructed identity of the *skēnē* as house to cast it as a fourth house at the end of the *Oresteia*, namely one for the Eumenides. My reading relies on a recognition of the *skēnē* as frame for enacted meaning, to adopt Peter Meineck's cognitive vocabulary for interpreting the anchoring capacity of tragic masks (Meineck 2018, 79–111). Attention to the surrounding environment of the Athenian Acropolis, such as Rush Rehm has suggested, attunes us to essential context for the *skēnē*'s ultimate development as a house for the Eumenides. This paper proposes that the new identity emerges concretely enough that it is possible the Eumenides, in procession with Athena, exited through the *skēnē* itself. As Télo and Mueller's collected 2018 volume has suggested for other non-living entities, scholars can and should approach the *skēnē* as a material thing that partakes in performance, rather than dissolving into a backdrop.

The mutability and vulnerability of each house's identity on stage is essential to its enacted presence in the *Oresteia*. Agamemnon's chorus watches the violent demolition of Agamemnon's house (Ag. 1530–4) that is then described as “razed” (*Choe.* κατασκαφαὶ δόμων 50) in rehearsal of the description of the razing of Priam's Trojan household (Ag. 525, cf. 536). When the *skēnē* converts from Agamemnon's house to Apollo's Erinys-beleaguered temple, characters continue to refer to it as *domos* (35, 60, 179, 185, 207, and 577), constructing a symmetrical relationship with the iconically unstable human household. At Athens Orestes comes to the goddess' “house” (δῶμα 242) where he embraces her wooden cult statue, *bretas*. By projecting Athena's house upon the same *skēnē* as Agamemnon's, Aeschylus has the opportunity to evoke the vulnerability of Athena's space. Here the immediate environment might remind the audience that destructive fire from the East, earlier evoked by the beacon chain (Ag. 281–316, see Tracy 1986), had indeed ravaged Athena's house: atop the Acropolis Athena Polias' temple remained in its demolished state from the Persian sack. Even if some remnant housed the cult statue (Ferrari 2002, 11–35), the *skēnē*'s enacted presence is fragmentary according to the audience's consciousness of their surroundings.

Defining Athenian topography at this moment were not only buildings destroyed in the Persian sack but also emerging ones such as the colossal Athena statue (Meineck 2013, 174). Interplay between destruction and reemergence of structures on the stage mirrors this juxtaposition. While it lacks definition during the trial, afterwards the *skēnē* starts to gain definition when Athena invites the Furies to consider themselves “sharers in her *oikos*” (833), shaping a place for newcomers within the existing community (Dougherty 2016). Is Athena's house-cum-temple now re-enacted on the *skēnē*? A new space emerges gradually (854–54, 1003, 1025–26) as the audience comes to realize that the Furies will live in a cave under the Acropolis and share in Athena's “house” in an expanded sense. Aeschylus' creative development of the enacted space in participation with the lived topography may well reflect the political moment of democratic Athens taking initiative towards expansion and empire (Futo-Kennedy 2006). Through its enacted identities the *skēnē* can be seen to inaugurate a role not as an indistinct background but as an active material participant in the drama's meaning.

Session 22: State Elite? Senators, Emperors, and Roman Political Culture 25 BCE – 400 CE (Seminar)

Title: The Heredity of Senatorial Status in the Early Empire

Name: John Weisweiler

According to a theory developed by Theodor Mommsen (1887: 468-475), Augustus made senatorial rank hereditary. Henceforth, it is claimed, there was an important difference between the 'senate' and the 'senatorial order.' Access to the 'senate' was obtained in the same ways as in the Late Republic, through tenure of the lowest-ranking senatorial magistracy, the quaestorship. By contrast, the 'senatorial order' encompassed not merely the six hundred former and current office-holders who were full members of the senate, but also their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren in the male line. By enabling senators to automatically transmit their status to three generations of their agnatic descendants, so the theory goes, Augustus transformed the senate into a hereditary class. The idea of the 'senatorial order' as a hereditary group was adopted in the classic works of Richard Talbert (1984: 39-47), André Chastagnol (1992: 31-48) and Géza Alföldy (2011: 150-62). It is enshrined in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, *Der Neue Pauly* or the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Talbert 1996: 326; Galsterer 2000; Burton 2012: 1347).

This paper challenges the idea of senatorial heredity. It argues that like in the Republic, so also in the Early Empire membership in the senate depended on fulfilling a minimum census and holding a Republican magistracy. It is true that the first emperors subjected those persons who stood under the *patria potestas* of a senator to a variety of new regulations. But those regulations only applied to young men who were preparing to embark on an office-holding career and young women who were expected to marry a senator. Those descendants of senators who did not participate in politics, or who did not have a husband who was a senator, would lose their rank. Far from making senatorial rank hereditary, Augustus and his successors sought to motivate the offspring of senators to participate in politics and invest their wealth into financing public functions in the imperial capital.

The paper begins with a consideration of the literary and epigraphic evidence on which the traditional view is based. What emerges from this analysis is that the Romans had no conception of the 'senatorial order' as a group distinct from the 'senate.' The term *ordo senatorius* refers to the same group of persons as the word *senatus*. This problematizes the conventional view that not only senators themselves, but also their wives, children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren in the male line enjoyed senatorial rank.

The paper then reconsiders the meaning of the legal regulations that supposedly created the 'senatorial order.' A close reading of the relevant legislation shows that the laws affected not three generations of his descendants, but only those conceived during his lifetime. According to Roman law, the assets managed by these *filiii familias* were the full legal property of a senatorial *pater familias*. This is the key to understanding the regulations imposed on members of the 'order.' By prohibiting the *filiii familias* of senators from marrying the descendants of slaves, Augustus prevented persons of servile descendants from access to the wealth of senatorial office-holders. Similarly, by barring city councils from forcing the same *filiii familias* to pay for munificence in their home-towns, emperors protected assets that were the legal property of senators themselves.

Behind these laws stand economic considerations. During their political careers, senatorial magistrates were expected to finance expensive spectacles in Rome. By protecting their assets, the emperor enabled senators to carry out these costly forms of public munificence. But these protections extended only to office-holders themselves. Descendants of senators who withdrew from political life lost these privileges. They again became subject to liturgical duties in their hometowns. This is the reason why there is no evidence for the thousands of non-office-holding members of the 'senatorial order,' which are a necessary consequence of the traditional theory that the privileges of senatorial status were hereditary.

Title: Senatorial Women in the Early Principate: Power without Office
Name: Josiah Osgood

This paper argues that senatorial women in the early principate, while never holding office, enjoyed significant power individually and were intrinsic to the Senate's continuing power and prestige.

Previous scholarship has tended to focus on so-called imperial women such as Livia and Agrippina, emphasizing the novelty of their role (e.g., Ginsburg 2005). Less attention has been paid to the broader category of senatorial women, whom I define as the close relatives of senators (daughters, wives, mothers, and sisters) (cf. Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, 1-25). Recent studies have demonstrated just how successfully women of status defended their own as well as their family's interests in the late republican civil wars and, in doing so, helped to negotiate the shape the nascent principate of Augustus took (Welch 2010, Osgood 2014, Treggiari 2019). I build on this work, while also showing how more attention to senatorial women in the years from c. 25 BCE to 70 CE helps to confirm recent arguments that not all political initiative came from the emperors themselves (Morrell, Osgood, and Welch 2019).

Weisweiler (2015) has argued that three key indexes of senatorial power in the early principate were (1) ceremonial, (2) wealth, and (3) office-holding, and I use this framework to structure my argument, which draws on a range of literary and epigraphic evidence.

In terms of ceremonial, I demonstrate that women had significant access to the imperial court. They attended dinners hosted by emperors. Moreover, in keeping with late republican patterns, they could and did access the emperor through his female relatives. Attention to women can also help to revise earlier scholarship on the court (Potter and Talbert 2011, Michel 2015). For many periods, we should speak not of *one* court but several (e.g., those of Tiberius and of Livia), and while men had roles at the courts of imperial women, these courts were particularly important in insuring representation for women. The famous lines in the *Senatus consultum de Pisone patre* on Livia's intervention with Tiberius on behalf of Munatia Plancina can be read as much as an assertion of Plancina's power as Livia's.

Next I look at wealth and status. No less than senatorial men, senatorial women competed for resources and tried to amass their own fortunes. However much they might complain of 'bad' emperors, the principate allowed them to play this game, just as they had in the Republic. Literary evidence, as well as inscriptions, including epitaphs from *columbaria* (Hasegawa 2005), supply evidence for senatorial women's substantial wealth and their display of it. I also show how senatorial women paraded status through displays of lineage, even in their nomenclature (e.g., Mummia Achaica, Poppaea Sabina); their movement through the city of Rome; their appearances in public with an entourage of friends; and civic patronage.

Finally, while women could not hold office and normally would not appear in the Senate, they could exercise power through patronage networks (see, e.g., Tac. *Ann.* 13.19-22 on Junia Silana). A real index of their power was prosecution of women in the Senate for *maiestas* and *repetundae* (Marshall 1990). During such trials, a woman might speak, even try to take her life. This represented a real departure from the republican era, and might incline us to see senatorial women as 'victims' of the new politics. I argue that the Senate's concern over their conduct – extending far beyond criminal accusations – arose not so much at imperial behest (the usual view) and more from an effort by the senatorial class to uphold its own collective prestige.

Male authors such as Tacitus and Juvenal used imperial women to embody claims of a topsy-turvy inversion of traditional hierarchies. The far more interesting, and important, story is that, while women's roles remained quite circumscribed, women were deeply integrated into senatorial politics and enjoyed a prestige that, over time, men thought worth sharing and recognizing. The senatorial woman was on her way to gaining the title *clarissima femina*.

Title: Respectful Distance? Diocletian, Rome, and the Senatorial Elite
Name: Monica Hellström

This paper examines the relation between Rome's senatorial elite and Diocletian's government. More specifically, it reconsiders the reasons for and the nature of the so-called abandonment of Rome as primary residence of emperors.

The conventional notion that Rome and its elites were in decline and therefore neglected by Diocletian's government has been challenged in recent scholarship. A volume of *Antiquité Tardive* (2017) was dedicated to Rome's continued centrality. As increasingly realised (e.g. Mennen 2011), many third-century senatorial families were in ascendancy, growing in wealth and power through decades of destabilized central authority. 'Abandonment' itself has come under question: Diocletian's government invested heavily in Rome's physical frame (e.g., Machado 2006: 161-7), and the absence of emperors was tempered by the residency of the emperors' wives and children (Hillner 2017).

This study aims to re-interpret interactions between Diocletian's government and Rome's elites. Two arenas of interaction will be discussed: administrative measures and monumental display. Both indicate a dual approach of concession and limitation on the part of central government. In both, imperial 'absence' should not be read as lack of imperial interest or as deliberate humiliation, but as a pragmatic and conciliatory gesture.

The notion that senators wished emperors to be present can be challenged: presence spelled dangers, subordination, expenses, and militarization. Much of their strength came from imperial proxy positions which afforded them control over Rome. Also the lack of a military presence enhanced their control. One may argue that the less emperors meddled, the better. This came to a head under Diocletian, whose joint policies of provincialisation and tax harmonization touched directly on elite concerns. It met with violent opposition in Egypt, and fear lest it did so in Africa arguably motivated the drawn-out and closely monitored provincialization process there (di Vita-Evrard 1985). Not to spark a reaction in Italy would have been crucial: though disarmed, Rome's elites controlled vast resources across the empire, and were far from toothless.

Strategies to avoid this included appointing members of the highest Roman nobility to the most powerful imperial positions, extending the urban territory of Rome, and exempting it from taxation (in contrast to the rest of the peninsula). A measure of autonomy was granted within this zone, through a more abstract (and to some extent feigned) mode of imperial absence. While resident imperial families could maintain senatorial networks informally, emperorhood itself became removed from the interpersonal sphere, which allowed for a more pronounced authority on the part of those who represented it.

This involved deliberately muting the monumental impact of imperial presence: extensive imperial construction works included many ideologically significant structures, but no palace or other top-down monumentality tied to the emperors' persons. Moreover, a space was provided for elite self-representation by showcasing imperial middlemen drawn from the senatorial nobility, who were allowed to associate themselves with prestigious public works in ways long-denied them. Among examples is an inscription celebrating the restoration of Rome's aqueducts, ostensibly by the emperors but underscoring the involvement of the senator undertaking the works (*CIL* 6.773). Furthermore (as observed by Weisweiler 2012: 336), local elites were allowed to raise statues of emperors in Rome's political spaces, exclusively in their capacity as imperial bureaucrats. This increased the visibility of both, serving to demonstrate the effectiveness and presence of the imperial government, and the boons awaiting those who embodied it.

To conclude, Rome was left without articulated imperial presence, in part because it could be, in part because it needed to be: a system was already in place which integrated local and imperial interests. Extending and formalising this situation preserved harmonious relations with Rome's elites at a potentially volatile moment. The emperors' 'absence' was exploited by both parties, allowing local elites to draw on imperial authority to bolster their own – within a drastically limited sphere – while directing their ambition to imperial platforms.

Title: The ‘Roman Revolution of Constantine’ and the Resilience of Roman Senators
Name: Michele Salzman

This paper examines the senatorial elite of Rome in light of the so-called *Roman Revolution of Constantine* (Van Dam 2007). After Constantine’s victory in the civil war of 312, the senatorial elites of Rome faced significant challenges to their prestige and status. Constantine had redefined the ways in which senatorial status was established, making it hereditary but also expanding the number of men with *clarissime* (i.e. senatorial status; (Weisweiler forthcoming; Garbarino 1988; 65-66; Heather 1998); he supported Christianity, and founded a new capital city in the east, Constantinople. Nonetheless, as I argue, the resilience of western Roman elites in the face of changes wrought by Constantine enabled them to not just retain, but to *expand* their power and prestige in Rome. They did so not, as was once argued (e.g. Alföldy 1948), through open conflict over religious differences, nor, as has been recently proposed (Weisweiler 2015B), through their subservience to the emperor, but rather, through their maintenance of independent patronage and social networks. Thus, the creative resilience of senators in the age of Constantine made them key, political players who should be credited for “*shaping* the distribution of resources and life chances on the ground.”

To demonstrate the resilience and influence of the Roman senators and for comparative purposes, I adapt the three categories used by Weisweiler (2015A) to assess senatorial prestige in the early empire. Senators were central to Constantine in three traditional respects: 1) as high office holders; 2) as wealth landowners; and 3) as performers of public ceremonial.

The willingness of Constantine to appoint Roman nobles to high office has been argued (Salzman 2015), but more recent work on office holders by Moser (2018) has emphasized the appointment of western senators to eastern positions. Such appointments enabled the expansion of senatorial influence and patronage networks into new regions of the empire. So, for example, in epigrams that laud the urban prefects under Constantine preserved in the late fourth century letters of Symmachus (*Letters* 1.1-1.2), the career of the Italian urban prefect of Rome, Locrius Verinus, who served in the military in the east and was governor of Syria, is exemplary of the expanded opportunities for western senatorial elites (see too Salzman 2000).

Contrary to the position of Weisweiler (2015B), I argue that Roman senators, although more efficiently taxed under Constantine, nonetheless retained their economic dominance and control of resources. Rather than suffering financially, as landowners under a restored Constantinian peace, they enjoyed expanded economic opportunities to supply the state. Signs of senatorial wealth emerge in Rome in the domestic sphere, as expanded elite housing attests (Machado forthcoming).

An increasingly independent elite manifested their wealth and status in the ceremonial life of the city. Thus, senatorial elites take a more visible role in the public life of the city, represented on imperial monuments, as on the Arch of Constantine, as patrons as well as supporters. The habit of dedicating statues in areas once preserved only for emperors (Chenault 2012), as well as the pronounced assertion of traditional religion in public spaces (as at the public games) gave Roman senators new prominence in the civic life of the city. In sharp contrast, the bishops of Rome were weak civic presences.

Creative resilience, covert resistance, and adherence to senatorial traditions allowed the Roman senatorial elites to retain prestige and power in the face of the *Roman Revolution of Constantine*. Increased taxation did not undermine their hegemony or their autonomy. Nor did Christianity challenge pagan senatorial status. The absence of a resident emperor only reduced competition for influence. Even if, as Hillner (2017) has argued, imperial women represented the imperial dynasty in Rome, their presence did not challenge the status of male, mostly pagan senatorial elites under Constantine. It would take a new generation of rulers and senators to respond openly to the changes wrought by Constantine (Watts 2015).

Session 23: Ordering Information in Greco-Roman Medicine (Organized by the Society for Ancient Medicine and Pharmacy)

Title: The Structure and Materiality of Medical Knowledge in Quintus Serenus' *Liber Medicinalis*

Name: Arthur Harris

The *Liber Medicinalis* of Quintus Serenus, a late didactic poem of 1107 lines in the Plinian medical tradition, has received little attention despite recent interest in ancient didactic poetry. I propose that the central problem for Quintus is not so much the familiar contrast of technical content and poetic form, but rather one of competing modes of structuring a text: the *Liber Medicinalis* is torn between the pragmatic drive to divide and compartmentalise medical knowledge for convenient reference and the aesthetic demands of composing unified hexameter *epos*. After raising expectations in the proemial invocation of Apollo and Asclepius, Quintus' poetic text is atomised into sixty-four discrete sections, each of between five and thirty-six lines, separated by *capitula* which appear to be an authentic. How does medical knowledge retain its utility in verse? And how can the hexameter poem retain its unity and integrity while formally organised like a handbook?

I compare the *Liber* with extant fragments of Greek medical poetry (Nicander, Andromachus the Elder, Philo of Tarsus, and the *Carmen De Herbis*), arguing that Quintus' construction of and engagement with his addressee, together with his choice to organise the text by ailment rather than *materia medica*, conveys a relatively strong interest in the practicality of knowledge. I offer a preliminary answer for Quintus' choice of poetic form by attending to the careful production of mnemonic qualities in his verses.

On the other hand, the *Liber*'s fragmentation into discrete sections raises the question whether it should perhaps be regarded as an anthology of shorter compositions. While recognising some attractions of this interpretation, I ultimately reject it in light of a survey of metaphors, images and intertextual allusions that firmly locate the *Liber* in the tradition of Roman epic. However this raises the further, and deeper, problem of unity. How far does Quintus succeed in delivering a worthy successor to that tradition? And to what extent is the *Liber* as a whole more than the sum of its parts? I examine two aspects of Quintus' solution to this structural problem by turn.

First I present the results of a systematic study of transitional lines at the start and end of each of the *Liber*'s subsections, illustrating Quintus' use of techniques such as prolepsis, surprise and false closure. I conclude that these transitions are significant for the medical work's narrative development, and hence we should not reduce the text to its parts. Second, I argue that Quintus' deployment of the *capite ad calcem* ordering for the majority of the *Liber* implicates his work in poetic and rhetorical traditions of regarding a text as a body. The *Liber* is unified because it is a body. Furthermore I suggest that this realisation helps us understand Quintus' notable preoccupation with the materiality of texts, both his own *Liber qua papyrus* (line 10) and other repositories of knowledge (e.g. Lucretius in line 606, Livy in line 721).

Title: Numbering the Hours: A New Battleground in Imperial-Period Medicine?

Name: Cassandra Miller

In ancient as in modern medicine, we frequently encounter a tension between quantitative and qualitative methods of ordering information. On the one hand, many physicians, from the Hippocratics onward, consider mathematical *technai*, like geometry and astronomy, to be models of the kind of "exactitude" (*akribeia*) to which they themselves aspire. To these physicians, mathematics offers the tantalizing possibility of describing, predicting, and thereby controlling patient outcomes with both precision and accuracy. Meanwhile, on the other hand, physicians such as the Hippocratic author of *On Regimen* (I.2.40-57 Littré) also recognize that, since medicine deals with humans—who have different bodies, habits, and preferences and are embedded in complex social networks—"real-world" medicine is a messy business that abstract, mathematical models cannot easily capture. How, then, did ancient physicians go about resolving this tension, and decide when to encode and organize medical information quantitatively rather than qualitatively?

The proposed paper will explore this overarching question by examining, as a case study, when and why Imperial-period physicians favored quantitative methods in organizing temporal information. More specifically, the paper will ask: under what circumstances did Galen and his contemporaries choose to mark and measure time within the day using *numbers* (obtained from sundials, water clocks, or mathematical operations) instead of using more qualitative means, such as the position of the sun in the sky or the sequence of a patient's activities? Drawing on passages from four Galenic texts—*On Venesection*, *On Hygiene*, *On Periods*, and *On the Differences Among Fevers*—this paper will attempt to reconstruct an active debate among Imperial-period physicians over the degree to which “short” timekeeping should be mathematized. Thus, this paper will not only illustrate the range of attitudes that such physicians held toward the idea of quantitative timekeeping, but will also establish this issue as an under-appreciated battleground within the agonistic medical landscape of the Roman period. The paper will also demonstrate how Galen—who was never one to align himself with a particular school of medical thought—sought to portray his own attitude toward numerical timekeeping as the harmonious mean between two extreme positions: one that favors excessive mathematical precision and another that discards it entirely.

This paper should attract scholars who are interested in Galen and in the intellectual, social, and rhetorical histories of ancient medicine. It will also appeal to the growing number of scholars interested in concepts of time and timekeeping in the ancient world.

Title: Didactic pharmacology or medical Homerocentron? Structuring knowledge in the *Carmen de viribus herbarum* (Heitsch 64)

Name: Floris Overduin

In this paper I will bring to the fore a fascinating yet virtually unknown testimony to the panel's approach of “ordering information in Greco-Roman Medicine”: the anonymous *Carmen de viribus herbarum* (fr. 64 in Heitsch's *Griechische Dichterfragmente der römische Kaiserzeit = GDRK*). This extensive fragment (216 lines) consists of didactic dactylic hexameters of unknown date (although the third century CE has been suggested by Kaibel), concerned with the curative powers of dozens of different plants (treated by Luccioni 2006, the first publication on *GDRK* 64 in decades), and as such it can be considered to be an evident descendant of the pharmacological tradition of Nicander of Colophon (*Theriaca*, *Alexipharmaca*) and Andromachus the Elder (the theriac *Galènè*, *GDRK* 62), poets with which the poet of the *Carmen* clearly was familiar.

What sets the poet of the *Carmen* apart from this tradition, however, is his unique means of structuring his knowledge in composing his didactic treatise: by reusing large chunks of Homeric lines to build his poem. Unlike the refined Hellenistic poets, who found literary satisfaction in the reuse of Homeric rarities or particular *hapaxes*, the poet of the *Carmen* approaches his composition in a very different fashion, structuring his poem for a large part as a Homeric *cento* poem: a somewhat crude, yet effective means of building a vehicle in verse for the transmission of assembled pharmacological knowledge dealing with fever, headache, fatigue, bodily suffering, vascular congestion, strangury, tetanic recurvation and many other ‘sickness-inducing calamities’ (νοσοεργὰ πάθη, 39). It offers solace ‘for those who feel poorly’, means against women suffering from hysteria, herbs to keep away venomous animals, but also – unexpectedly – bad dreams (ἐφιαλτεία, 162). Moreover, it also discusses effective plants against ghosts, apparitions, and particularly witches. This concern with magic and superstition introduces a whole new dimension into the didactic pharmacological strand, as the *Carmen de viribus* opens up a world of ῥιζοτόμοι, βάσκανοι, ἰητροί and φαρμακίδες, all tied to the world of curative herbs, presented in an intriguing hybrid of medicine, didactic literature, and Homeric poetry.

Title: Big Hospitals: the Methodism of Caelius Aurelianus and rapid-access medical knowledge

Name: Katherine van Schaik

The practical application of medical knowledge is inflected by several challenges, two of which are especially significant. First, the practitioner must rely upon and interpret the subjective experience of a patient who is (in most cases) unfamiliar with medical theory and practice; in other words, there is a gap between the one who possesses knowledge (the physician) and the body of the one suffering (the patient). Second, medical knowledge frequently

needs to be used in a range of diverse and urgent settings, such as childbirth, acute illness, or battle. Over the centuries, practitioners from the classical Greek to Roman Imperial to late antique periods developed many ways of ordering medical knowledge, arranging old and new data in cognitive frameworks meant to grapple with these challenges.

Methodism stands out among the medical sects for its apparent insistence on the accessibility and simplicity of medical knowledge, claims which drew Galen's scorn and contributed to the fraught preservation and transmission of many relevant texts. Yet the popularity of Methodism, at least in the Roman Imperial period, is well documented (Frede 1987, Leith 2008, Nutton 2012, Pigeaud 1991, Webster 2015); Celsus, for example, highlighted the utility of Methodism in Rome's *ampla valetudinaria* (*De Med.* Pr.64-65). Among extant Methodist texts, Caelius Aurelianus' *On Acute Diseases* and *On Chronic Diseases* are notable for their length and organization. Diseases are classified by acuity (acute/chronic) and anatomic location (with some variation for more systemic processes); further subdivisions provide information about identification and treatment and report earlier practitioners' recommendations (van der Eijk 1999, 2005).

Of particular interest to a study focused on the structuring of medical knowledge is Caelius' use of the concepts of *affectiones* ('affections'; Gk. πάθη) and *coenotetes* ('generalities'; Gk. κοινότητες). Taking Caelius' discussion of pleurisy as a case study, I demonstrate how his organizational system attempts to simplify medical decision making by using 'branch points' that (1) circumscribe the information required for diagnosis and (2) limit the number of therapeutic categories into which a given affection could fall. These 'branch points,' or therapeutic categories, were precisely the three Methodist generalities (κοινότητες), and while the kinds of treatments employed might have varied, their application was always dependent on the generality according to which the affection was classified. Once the generality was grasped, therapeutic options became available in an organized, sequential way, reducing the potentially bewildering variety of treatment options at the practitioner's disposal. Re-evaluation of the patient to determine disease progression and treatment efficacy was also systematized through employment of the διάκριτος, an approach to treatment that was universal yet still allowed for individual variation and flexibility in therapy.

In conclusion, I argue that the Methodists in general, and Caelius Aurelianus in particular, deliberately and systematically introduced a clinically relevant flexibility into their structures of medical knowledge. By organizing medical knowledge in this way, Methodism allowed for the simplification of decisions at crucial junctures in extended decision-making processes, enabling practitioners to mitigate the complicating effects of patient subjectivity and to apply medical knowledge efficiently in urgent settings.

Title: Authorial Strategies in P.Oxy. 5231, an Empiricist Commentary on Hippocrates
Name: Marquis Berrey

P.Oxy. 80.5231 (*editio princeps* 2014), a lemmatic commentary on Hippocrates *Epidemics* I of two columns dating to the first or second century CE and written on the back of a Greek/Latin glossary, is a substantial addition to our knowledge of ancient medical Empiricism. In the first column, after the final quotation of the Hippocratic case (2.684.10-688.8 L), the papyrus preserves the polemic of an unnamed author against Asclepiades of Bithynia, followed by the lemmatic commentary, of which the half lines of the second column preserve initial remarks. Whereas Asclepiades set out the condition (κατα]σκευήν) and the cause (αίτιαν) of the disease (col.i.9-10), the author is concerned only with therapy (ἡμῖν δὲ θεραπεία[αν] αὐτὸ μόνον προθεμένοις col.i.13-14). David Leith, editor of the papyrus, suggests that the author is the influential Empiricist Heraclides of Tarentum. In support of Leith's argument this paper identifies and contextualizes the papyrus' authorial strategies within the broader medical and literary goals of Hellenistic Empiricist commentators.

Ancient medical commentaries organized contextual information and sometimes promoted a distinct sectarian viewpoint. Although only one named Empiricist testimonium on *Epidemics* I survives (Erotian σ2) because of Galen's non-specific citations of his predecessors in his commentary (van der Eijk 2012), Galen elsewhere claims (*Hipp.Med.Off.* 18B.631K) that Heraclides and another Empiricist wrote commentaries on all Hippocratic books, presumably including *Epidemics* I. Our sources on Empiricist commentaries show that the Empiricists' reading strategies of trust in the institutions of the ancient writing system turned the accuracy, patience, and honesty of the author of the *Epidemics* into an image of Hippocrates as an empiricizing physician (Berrey 2015). Intensively

reading the *Epidemics* and its commentators was *historia*, the second part of the Empiricist methodological tripod in their therapeutic focus on the individual, disease, and treatment. That medical authority did not follow sectarian authorship explains why the papyrus' Empiricist author exerts pains (col.i.13-24, 38-col.ii.4) to combat Asclepiades' Rationalist image of Hippocrates (col.i.24-38).

It is possible, although unlikely, that this papyrus text may belong with Heraclides' commentary on *Epidemics* III, since *Epidemics* I and III circulated together in antiquity until they were broken into two treatises well before Erotian (Jouanna 2016: xxvi). Thanks to the history of the markings discussed in ancient manuscripts of these cases (ἱστορία τῶν χαρακτήρων *apud* Galen *Hipp.Epid.III* 27-28, 46-47, 75-95 Wenkebach) we have significant information about Heraclides' commentary. Reading strategies from testimonia or quotation of Heraclides' commentaries on *Epidemics* II, IV, and VI includes his pursuit of older readings, critical engagement with other commentators, promotion of Hippocrates' biographical persona, and close attention to Hippocratic style and organization (Berrey 2015, Guardasole 1997): aspects of these appear in the papyrus.

Finally, the papyrus' text φιλατρουσιν[(col.ii.3) likely indicates the author's goals of readership. Heraclides' Empiricist contemporary uses the compound (Apollonius Citiensis 10.3, 38.11, 80.15 K-K) to designate lay patrons who will read his discussion of Hippocratic surgery, in contrast to its later designation of amateur physicians (e.g. Oribasius *Ad Eunapium* 317-318 Raeder). If, as Leith suggests, the owner of the papyrus was not a physician, the papyrus' author achieved his goal of a widely circulating technical text.

Session 24: Second Sophistic

Title: Echoes of Ovid: Metamorphic Moments in Philostratus' *Imagines*

Name: Carolyn MacDonald

The recent renaissance of scholarship on the Second Sophistic has established Philostratus as a luminary of 3rd-century intellectual culture and “an ambassador for a distinctive brand of Hellenism” (Whitmarsh 2007: 39. Cf. Follet 1991, Swain 1996, Bowie and Elsner 2009). In the *Imagines*, Philostratus conjures up for his readers a luxurious picture-gallery in a private home in Naples, where he plays the doctent to his host's young son and a troupe of local youths, delivering 65 prose descriptions of paintings. Numerous scholars have elucidated the literary and intellectual quality of these ekphrases (e.g. Bryson 1995, Elsner 2001, McCombie 2002, Thein 2002, Kostopoulou 2009, Squire 2013). By contrast, the cultural-ideological dimensions of the *Imagines* have gone largely unexplored (Swain 2009 is a rare exception). The goal of this paper is therefore to pursue the question of how this text relates to Philostratus' well-acknowledged Hellenist programme. My argument, in short, is that the seemingly unproblematic Hellenism of the *Imagines* is complicated by previously unexplored echoes of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

It can be controversial to suggest that a Greek author might engage with a work of Latin literature. I therefore begin by briefly clarifying my methodology, which is focused on reader-response more than authorial intent. This paper is not an exercise in source-criticism, and I do not attempt to argue that Philostratus must be alluding to the *Metamorphoses* rather than to lost Greek texts. Instead, I posit a segment of Philostratus' readership — those educated in both Greek and Latin literature — for whom specific ekphrases would have evoked memories of Ovid. I shore up this suggestion with reference to Steven Smith's recent work on the *Natura Animalium* of Claudius Aelianus, which demonstrates that Aelian could rely upon his readers to bring their knowledge of Vergil and Ovid to bear upon his sophisticated Greek text (Smith 2014: 67-97).

I then proceed to consider the significance of the Neapolitan setting of the *Imagines*, which Philostratus details at the end of the text's introductory section (1.proem.4). Although Philostratus insists that the people of Naples are Greek by genealogy and philhellenic by inclination, the city's negotiation of cultural identity *vis-a-vis* Rome was far more complex (Lomas 2015, Miranda de Martino 2017). There is a hint of this in Philostratus' remarks, when he mentions that his visit to Naples fell during the city's public games. Though patterned on the original Panhellenic festivals, these games were celebrated in honour of Augustus — a fact which Philostratus neglects to mention. Philostratus thus evokes the cultural complexity of Naples only to suppress it.

The remainder of the paper is devoted to showing how this gesture is repeated throughout the *Imagines* in passages that implicitly recall Ovid. After surveying all of the ekphrases that echo the *Metamorphoses*, I present two detailed case studies: *eikon* 1.11, on a painting of Phaethon's disastrous chariot ride and the metamorphosis of the Heliades; and *eikon* 1.23, on a painting of Narcissus enthralled by his own reflection. Examining the convergences and divergences between the two texts, I contend that Philostratus' ekphrases evoke and suppress reader's memories of these myths in the *Metamorphoses*. The effect is to call into question the Hellenism of both the *Imagines* and its readers, implicating them in the negotiation of Greek and Roman culture signalled by the text's Neapolitan setting.

Title: Sitting at the Kids' Table: Aesop and the Second Sophistic

Name: Jacqueline M. Arthur-Montagne

This paper examines the role of the Second Sophistic in the construction of Aesop as an educational author. The fables of Aesop have long been associated with childhood learning, from Philostratus' *ekphrasis* of the paradigmatic pedagogue in the *Imagines* to the early modern fable anthologies of Jean de La Fontaine and Charles Denis. This perception of animal fables as children's literature has led many classicists to characterize Aesop as a permanent fixture of classical schooling. Henri Marrou, for example, envisioned the Greek child first coming "into contact with 'literature' through his nurse's tales – animal stories" (Marrou 1982). Rafaella Cribiore likewise interprets Socrates' interest in fables as "reverting to a stage of his cultural education...that he had failed to develop" (Cribiore 2005). Experts of the Aesopic tradition, however, have observed no evidence for the systematic inclusion of fables in ancient schooling prior to the Roman Empire (Adrados 1999, Zafiroopoulos 2001). These incongruous accounts about when and how fables entered the ancient school curriculum leave several questions unanswered about the process by which Aesop became pedagogical.

This paper argues that Greek sophists in the Roman Empire were instrumental in classifying Aesop's fables as children's literature. While fables were likely included in school exercises from the Hellenistic period onward, the concept of Aesop as an author *exclusively* for children was a product of the Second Sophistic. In the course of this paper, I demonstrate how central figures of Imperial Greece construed the fables as preliminary reading for further studies in rhetoric and philosophy, but no rival to or substitute for true *paideia*. On the one hand, the fables as celebrated by the Platonic dialogues could not be ignored by intellectuals of the principate. But the common sense insights of fables challenged the necessity of elite learning that famous sophists purported to provide. The sophistic response to Aesop was therefore to celebrate the fables within the narrow arena of early childhood education. In this way the luminaries of Imperial Greece affirmed their role as gatekeepers of literary learning.

I present this paper in two parts. The first half revisits ancient evidence for the educational use of Aesop's fables in the Greek literary tradition. I begin with Aesopic *testimonia* in Aristophanes and challenge past scholarship that characterizes fables as a part of the school curriculum in Classical Athens (Pertsinidis 2009, Hall 2013). I then turn to discussions of fables in early rhetorical treatises from Aristotle to Cicero and claim that, far from forming a staple of rhetorical education in the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Kurke 2011), pre-Imperial orators deployed fables as crowd-pleasers or popular ploys to regain audience attention. Aesopic fables constituted a "common culture" for elites and non-elites alike, but played no formal role in the literary education of early Greek-speakers.

The main part of the paper analyzes sophistic attitudes towards Aesop in three works of the Second Sophistic: Dio Chrysostom's *Oration 72*, Plutarch's *Dinner of the Seven Sages*, and Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*. My close readings of the Aesop *testimonia* in these texts highlight the ambiguity of animal fable's status within Imperial *paideia*. While all three sources acknowledge that learning becomes pleasurable through Aesop, they also deprecate the literary and philosophical value of the fable genre. Plutarch, for instance seats Aesop on the "little stool" at the *Dinner of the Seven Sages* (ἐπὶ δίφρου τινὸς χαμαιζήλου, 150a), while the character Apollonius couches his defense of fables with a "silly" (ἀνόητον) fable that his mother taught when he was "very young" (κομιδῆ νήπιον, 5.14). The sophistic solution to Aesop – who could neither be fully accepted nor eliminated from the circle of *paideia* – was thus to assign his talents to childhood, and no further. Silly Aesop – fables are for kids.

This paper will appeal to scholars of postclassical Greece, high/low paradigms of ancient literature, and the study of prose narrative in antiquity.

Title: Lucian, Aristophanes, and the Language of Intellectuals
Name: David William Frierson Stifler

When second century CE Greek writers set about reviving the Attic Greek of Classical Athens, they looked to Aristophanes and his Old Comedy contemporaries Cratinus and Eupolis for vocabulary and usage. Terms unique to Old Comedy appear in Attic lexicons and grammars of the Second Sophistic alongside phrases characteristic of dialogue and rhetoric. The result is a latter-day Atticism combining multiple stylistic registers from fifth and fourth century BCE Athenian literature, based on the sole criterion of their historical attestation (Fischer 1974, Hansen 1998, Strobel 2009). This fervent devotion to five-hundred-year-old vocabulary provided a rich source of comedy for others, most notably Lucian, who readily acknowledges his own debt comedic debt to Aristophanes as well as Eupolis. This paper argues that Lucian's mockery of contemporary Atticist pretensions depends upon his engagement Old Comedy, focusing on the thematic and textual connections between Lucian's corpus and Aristophanes' *Clouds*. Furthermore, this paper explains how, by employing Old Comedy imagery in his critique of Atticizers, Lucian enlists the ancient Athenian authors as allies in mocking the very people who profess to be experts in their works.

Aristophanes appears in Lucian's *True Stories*, while both he and Eupolis are mentioned in *Against the Ignorant Book-Collector*. This last work, featuring Lucian's most explicit commentary on the intellectual culture of the day, implies that while Aristophanes and Eupolis may have been known as models for Attic usage, relatively few readers engaged with Old Comedy on a serious literary level (Johnson 2010, Rosen 2016). Lucian's satire punctures the intellectual veneer created through superficial references to Classical literature, most obviously in the *Lexiphanes* where the title character speaks in affected pseudo-Attic, stuffed with misapplied Aristophanic and Platonic vocabulary that reveals his ignorance of the works from which he purports to draw inspiration (Weissenberger 1996). The *Professor of Rhetoric* depicts similar pseudo-intellectual Atticism, although in that work the language is cynically crafted by an orator looking to exploit the ignorance of his audience (Zweimüller 2008).

While they are held up as two of Lucian's most biting satires on Second Sophistic Atticism (Hall 1981), both the *Lexiphanes* and *Professor*, as this paper illustrates, also refigure the depiction of intellectually dishonest sophists in Aristophanes' *Clouds*. Like Socrates, playing abstract word games with the hapless yet pragmatic farmer *Strepsiades* (Green 1979), the *Professor* inflicts specious Atticism on his own audiences; *Lexiphanes*, meanwhile, represents a fusion of the two types as an eager but clueless devotee of Atticism who has miseducated himself into incomprehensibility. Lucian's lampooning of bad linguistic practices in his own day is, therefore, a significant component of his larger engagement with Old Comedy, a fact driven home by characters—*Lexiphanes*, *Lycinus*, and *Sopolis*—whose names echo the trio of Old Comedians Aristophanes, Cratinus, and Eupolis.

The reputation of Old Comedy for shocking obscenity may have been responsible for its lesser popularity compared with Menander and New Comedy (Storey 2003, Nervegna 2013), however Lucian's corpus frequently rehabilitates Aristophanes and stresses the literary value of his texts (Tosello 2016); as this paper argues, such rehabilitation of Old Comedy ironically exposes the ignorance of Lucian's critics. *Double Indictment* highlights such ignorance, when Lucian depicts a personified *Dialogue* charging that he has been violated by Lucian's fusing him with Comedy to create a strange new beast. In his complaint, however, *Dialogue* himself employs Aristophanic imagery and vocabulary unmistakably recalling the *Clouds*—a comedy famous for satirizing Socratic dialogue. Other writers' failure to read Aristophanes, clearly, has caused them to create divisions between genres as anachronistic as their misuse of Old Comedic language. By using Aristophanic language and images, Lucian emphasizes the close connections between Classical comedies and his own innovative satire, inviting the ancient author himself to support Lucian in mocking the foibles of his own age. This paper will appeal to audiences interested in Old Comedy reception, as well as scholars of Imperial Greek and Second Sophistic intellectual history.

Title: Sophists: Public Identity and Roman Provincial Coinage
Name: Sinja Küppers

Sophists are commonly analyzed through literary texts and epigraphy. However, sophists also minted coinage under the Roman Empire, some of which even bears the title 'sophist' as part of the issuer's identification on the reverse. This was the exception, not the rule: only coinage from Smyrna attests the title 'sophist'. In this paper, I argue that

far from being the default choice for sophists, the inclusion of the title ‘sophist’ should be understood as a deliberate way to advertise (cf. Howgego 2005:1) and capitalize on public identity: to recruit students, to secure tax exemption and to claim a share of local family prominence. In cities in which one could not capitalize on the public identity as *sophistes*, I argue that the title ‘sophist’ is lacking on coinage. Thus, Roman Provincial Coinage (RPC) suggests that while sophists travelled all over the Mediterranean, geography still mattered to sophists when advertising their public identity as *sophistai*.

I base my analysis on Münsterberg’s catalogue (1915) of RPC issued by sophists and Stebnicka’s revised version (2006), which encompasses 14 sophists minting in eight cities, mostly in Asia Minor, including Smyrna, Phokaia, Hypaipa, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Byzantion, Thyateira, and Apollonia in Illyria. To this list of sophists minting coinage I add Tiberius Klaudius Pardalas (e.g. RPC IV 3184), “an expert in rhetoric” (Arist. *or.* L 27) – unnoticed by Stebnicka. Only four sophists, Proclus, Attalus, Rufinus the elder and Rufinus the younger, issued coins inscribed with the title ‘sophist’ (in total 29 coin types) in Smyrna.

Since Smyrna competed with the neighboring sophistic centers Ephesos and Pergamon for students from the surroundings, coinage was a powerful medium of self-promotion that likely affected the decision of students of rhetoric where and with whom to study. Through coinage the sophists’ identity was hence intermeshed with the identity of the cities they taught in. Rufinus the elder for instance taught rhetoric in Smyrna and advertised himself as sophist on coinage from Smyrna.

In addition, the coinage bearing the title ‘sophist’ reinforced the sophists’ claim to *ateleia* by publicly attesting their position: in the case of Rufinus the younger, the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla confirm in an inscription from Smyrna (Puech 234) Rufinus’ exemption from liturgies on account of being a sophist under the condition that Rufinus willingly assumes the position of a strategos. The inscription dates to the same time as Rufinus’ coinage (c. 198-202 AD), which documents him as a strategos and sophist on the reverse while showing the emperors’ busts on the obverse (cf. Klose LVI 1, 7).

Furthermore, sophists publicly reinforce their local family history and affiliation with the city through minting coinage. Attalus associates himself in this vein with the prominence of his father Polemon while emphasizing their common affiliation with Smyrna and Laodicea on *homonoia* medallions (cf. Klose LXXX C a 2, XLVI 34-36). The prow type issued by father and son is particularly evocative of their local status since the inhabitants of Smyrna bestowed Polemon and his descendants the right to board a sacred trireme as part of an annual ritual procession (cf. Philostr. *VS*531; Bennett 260).

Beyond that, the mention of the title ‘orator’ on Athenodorus’ coinage in Hypaepa (cf. RPC III 2024) shows that it is conceivable that the title ‘sophist’ could be used on coins minted in places different from Smyrna, especially when sophists are honored as ‘sophists’ in inscriptions around the Mediterranean. Menander and Athenaius offer an explanation for the omission of the title ‘sophist’ on coins: they are both honored as sophists in Ephesian inscriptions while minting coinage without the title ‘sophist’ in Hypaepa and Thyateira. Thus, they provide evidence for a break between where sophists minted coinage and where they gained special merits for the city as *sophistai*.

This paper appeals in particular to scholars interested in Imperial Roman History, Greek rhetoric and oratory, the Second Sophistic, space and identity, Numismatic and the Digital Humanities.

Title: Deterritorializing the Hellenosphere in Aelian’s *Varia Historia*: Miscellany and Inclusion

Name: Kyle Conrau-Lewis

Aelian’s *Varia Historia* is a collection deeply engaged with ancient debates over definitions of Greek, Roman and barbarian identity (on which, see Woolf 2011, Gruen 2011, Dench 2008, Whitmarsh 2001). While Aelian repeatedly commends Greek exempla to his reader, he also shows examples of outsiders more Greek than Greeks and, conversely, Greeks failing to perform Greek identity. Aelian himself embodied this paradox of marginal Greek identity: although never having left Italy, Aelian could speak Attic as well as any native Athenian (Philostratus, *VS*. 2.624, see Smith 2014). This paper argues that through his miscellany, Aelian thematizes the

geography of Greek *paideia* and encourages an ecumenical ideal of Hellenic identity. Whereas compilatory authors such as Pliny the Elder associated the peripheries of the world with barbarianism and marvel (on which, see Woolf 2011, Romm 1994, Jacob 1983), Aelian's miscellany contests the geography of Greek identity.

At first glance, Aelian's collection valorizes Greekness. Aelian says he 'loves the Greeks most of all' (9.32) and Greek stories indeed predominate in his collection (Smith 2014, Stamm 2003). He often critiques behaviour as non-Greek, for example, citing at 5.11 the king of Thrace who was a 'lover of Greece' (φιλέλλην) but who 'behaved in a very non-Greek way' (μη ποιήσας Ἑλληνικά). Similarly, at 4.1 Aelian presents an ethnographic account of barbarisms from Italy to Assyria, such as the Dardanians of Illyria who wash only three times in the course of their life, the Sardinians who beat their elders to death, the Assyrians who collect all the girls of marriageable age and sell them into marriage, and the Deribbae who sacrifice the men at the age of 70. Through such lists enumerating perverse cultural practices, Aelian makes Greece the moral norm, demarcating its Mediterranean peripheries as sites of deviance and alterity (Goldhill 2010).

Nonetheless, Aelian's miscellany problematizes the Greek world and its notional boundaries. Aelian describes Alexander imitating the grief of Achilles but to barbaric excess: 'He seemed to act according to Greek custom' (Ἑλληνικά ἐδόκει μοι δρᾶν) but when he decided to knock down the walls of Ecbatana, he 'grieved barbarously' (ἐπένοι βαρβαρικῶς, 7.8). Aelian suggestively probes Alexander's Greekness (itself a topic of ancient debate, see Whitmarsh 2001). On the other hand, Aelian praises the example of Calanus (5.6) and Anarcharsis (5.7) for their wisdom imitating and even surpassing their Greek contemporaries. Depicted very much in 5.7 as a Solonic figure wandering in pursuit of wisdom, Anacharsis attracts the wonder of the Athenian, Solon (Montiglio 2005). Like Lucian's *Anacharsis* and Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (on which, see Abraham 2014, Goldhill 2001, Elsner 1997), Aelian showcases the wisdom of remote places, perceiving a transcendental Greek wisdom outside of Greece.

Non-Greeks implicitly become Greek. At 11.9, declaring that 'the best of the Greeks' (οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστοι) were in fact poor, Aelian lists those who exemplify contempt for luxuries: Aristides, Phocion, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Ephialtes – yet he surprisingly includes one non-Greek before Ephialtes: Scipio Aemilianus, who rejected an elaborately decorated shield saying that 'a Roman ought to have hope in his right hand, not in his left.' Greece is Aelian's primary standard of moral conduct but there are outliers, explicitly Roman ones, who merit a place alongside 'the best of the Greeks' in his miscellany. Aelian also notes the bravery of the Celts who fight bravely and leave memorials of their virtue 'in the Greek way' (Ἑλληνικῶς), implicitly becoming Greek (Stamm 2003).

Athens in particular exemplifies this ethic of inclusivity in his collection. Aelian congratulates Athens specifically for its ecumenical inclusivity, praising the Athenians for electing the foreigners Cyzicus and Heraclides of Clazomenae as generals (14.5). Here at least, Athens is presented as a model of civic excellence precisely because of its willingness to accord offices meritocratically to outsiders. Implicitly, Athens is a metatextual model for Aelian's own collection: his miscellany decouples Greek *paideia* from its geographic boundaries, seeking out and celebrating its outsiders.

Session 25: Latin Poetry

Title: Homer redivivus? Rethinking Ennian Metempsychosis

Name: Patrick Glauthier

Critics agree on the broad outlines of the dream that opened Ennius' *Annals*: Homer appears, explains (*inter alia*) the process of metempsychosis, and reveals that he once became a peacock and that his soul has now been reborn in Ennius. In this paper, I pose a simple question: To whom does the soul in Ennius' body actually belong?

Metempsychosis narratives can present the reincarnation of a particular individual's soul or of a soul that used to belong to someone (e.g. Pl. *Resp.* 10.620). The distinction matters since Ennius uses metempsychosis to frame his relationship to Homer and, I argue, to think about cultural transfer and ownership. By claiming to be Homer, Ennius establishes his place in the epic tradition and justifies his use of Homeric meter, mannerisms, and allusions (Aicher 1989, Goldberg 1995: 89–90, Goldberg and Manuwald 2018: 118–119; cf. Suerbaum 1968: 82–91, Skutsch 1985: 148–49, Mariotti 1991: 39–62, Fabrizi 2012: 119–20). The narrative also alerts the reader to the cosmic scope of

Roman history and of the *Annals* itself (Hardie 1986: 76–83, Elliott 2013: 252–55, Goldschmidt 2013: 166–67). And yet, if the soul is by definition Homer’s, if Ennius is Homer *redivivus* (e.g. Suerbaum 1968: 83), Ennius is subordinate to or defined by Homer, and the Roman present is circumscribed by a cultural legacy that is not fully its own. This might not be a problem, but we should consider Ennius’ position.

So, whose soul is it? In paraphrasing the dream, the most explicit witnesses (Cornut. ad Pers. 6.10, Porph. ad Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.51) record that Homer’s soul (*anima Homeri*) came or was transferred into Ennius’ body in accordance with the teaching of the philosopher Pythagoras (*secundum Pythagorae philosophi definitionem / secundum Pythagorae dogma*).

But Ennius may have phrased the matter differently. An epigram attributed to Antipater of Thessalonica (74 Gow-Page) states that in accordance with the philosophical pronouncement of Pythagoras the soul that had previously belonged to Homer made a second home in the breast of Stesichorus (οὗ [sc. Στασιγόρου] κατὰ Πυθαγόρεω φυσικῶν φάτιν ἃ πρὶν Ὀμήρου | ψυχὰ ἐνὶ στέρνοις δεῦτερον ᾤκίσατο). There is one soul that begins as Homer’s and then becomes Stesichorus’. Now, Homeric metempsychosis occurs only in Ennius and this epigram, and critics agree the two are somehow related (Fuchs 1955: 201–202, Suerbaum 1968: 87–91, Brink 1972: 557–60). That both the epigram and the witnesses to Ennius qualify Homeric metempsychosis with almost exactly the same phrase about Pythagoras implies that Ennius wrote something similar. The question becomes whether Ennius wrote of Homer’s soul or the soul that used to belong to Homer (ἃ πρὶν Ὀμήρου ψυχά). Critics assume the former, which subordinates Ennius to Homer. If it was the latter, however, the soul simply moves from owner to owner, belonging first to Homer, then to Ennius. In this scenario, Ennius puts himself on equal footing with Homer, a bold move that would not be out of character (cf. Feeney 2016: 187–88).

This proposition fits well with the testimony of Lucretius (1.112–26). According to Lucretius, Ennius wrote of reincarnation, the underworld, and a distinction between soul (*anima*) and shade (*simulacrum, species*). After death, the soul enters a new body, while the shade endures in the underworld—in the dream, Ennius meets Homer’s shade, a virtual clone of the original (cf. Serv. ad *Aen.* 4.654). Homer’s shade continues in some sense to be Homer, but the soul that used to belong to him has moved on and now belongs to another.

This reading subtly changes the cultural dynamics of Ennius’ dream. Homer and Greece may come before Ennius and Rome, but the past does not determine the identity of the present. The soul that used to belong to Homer now fully belongs to Ennius, a world that used to belong to others now fully belongs to Rome.

Title: Fair is Foul: Confronting the Sublate in Lucretius' Plague

Name: Rebecca Moorman

In a refinement of the aesthetic category of sublimity in Lucretius (Porter 2016; cf. Conte 1966, Segal 1990, Conte 1994, Hardie 2009), this paper advances a new interpretation of the finale of *De Rerum Natura* by reading the plague as evidence of a “sublate” aesthetic experience founded on disgust. My reading builds on the work of Korsmeyer 2011, who defines the sublate as “aesthetic insight into a bodily, visceral response.” This sense of pleasure and fascination, facilitated by material, sensory descriptors of disgust, maintains the subject’s proximity to the object of disgust. Whereas the sublime involves distance and lofty perspective, the sublate is aesthetic absorption in the mean and gross: leaning in rather than drawing back. The introduction of the category of sublate alongside the sublime marks an improvement on existing approaches to Book 6 which identify the reader’s experience at the end of the poem with the detached viewer of the shipwreck of Book 2 (1-4; Porter 2016) and as a “final test” for the reader (Clay 1983; Gale 1994; Morrison 2013). In addition to the more regularly recognized sublime aspects of Book 6 (e.g., the swift collapse of the earth into itself, 6.596-607), I argue that the plague in Book 6 also facilitates a distinctly separate aesthetic experience in order to address not only the reader’s fear of death from mighty cosmic forces, but also the reader’s disgust at death from slow decay. Each of these aesthetic experiences requires the reader to overcome a separate emotional barrier (fear or disgust) in order to gain philosophical insight and poetic pleasure.

My paper focuses on a single representative passage (6.1147-55) in order to demonstrate the aesthetic and didactic function of sublate disgust in *DRN*. While the “material sublime” (Porter 2016) eventually leaves behind its materialist origins, the reader’s aesthetic experience at the end of *DRN* relies on continued proximity to physical

elicitors of disgust. Once the disgusting object can no longer be perceived, disgust (and the reader's aesthetic experience) ceases. Graphic descriptions of plague symptoms ensure readers' continued disgust: blackened throats, bloody sweat, and choking ulcers that render victims speechless (6.1147f.). The victim's breath has a foul odor reminiscent of unburied corpses (6.1155), emphasizing disgust's proximity to death. Such details elicit a somatic spasm of revulsion, as the oozing, leaking symptoms threaten to spill over and contaminate even the reader. At the same time, while fear (the emotional foundation of the sublime) responds to an immediate threat of destruction, disgust reacts to a longer-term threat of infection. The slower scale of disgust enables the subject to contemplate the repulsive object more closely, leading to fascination and aesthetic appreciation. Fear and disgust each respond to a different kind of death – sudden demise (6.598) or slow decay (6.1150; 6.1191f.) – and a different aesthetic category is needed to describe the reader's experience of overcoming each form of death.

Recognizing the sublate as a distinct aesthetic category enables us to read the plague as an organic progression of Lucretius' didactic program and an evolution of Epicurean pleasure. Just as philosophical concepts grow increasingly complex as the poem progresses, the kind of pleasure the reader is encouraged to experience becomes more difficult but also more valuable. The successful student, having graduated from easier pleasures of sweet honey (1.936-50), learns to derive pleasure even from bitter wormwood, just as Lucretius takes pleasure in laborious research (3.419). By overcoming their aversion to disease and decay, readers are able not only to surpass their anxiety regarding death, but also to derive pleasure from the actual experience of otherwise negative circumstances. Readers achieve pleasure and Epicurean peace of mind (*ataraxia*) through the proximity of disgust, gaining a new aesthetic perspective distinct from, but no less powerful than, the sublime.

Title: *Serta Mihi Phyllis Legeret: Epigrammatic Echoes in Vergil's Eclogues*
Name: Edgar Adrián García

In the final Eclogue, Gallus imagines a scenario where he, either as a shepherd of a flock or a dresser of ripened grapes, would receive the attention of Phyllis or Amyntas as he lays among the willows under a supple vine. In his longing to have been an Arcadian himself and expressing a desire for either Phyllis or Amyntas or any other passion, Gallus, as Coleman notes, "accepts the bisexuality of Arcady" (Coleman 1977). In doing so, Gallus turns to the two characters in the Eclogues that Hahn has labeled as "universal darlings" (Hahn 1944). Gallus proceeds to defend his love for Amyntas, despite Amyntas' dark skin, and does so by mentioning that violets and bilberries are dark as well. Gallus then says that he would lie under a supple vine among the willows and Phyllis would gather garlands for him and Amyntas would sing for him (*serta mihi Phyllis legeret, cantaret Amyntas, Ecl. 10.41*).

Coleman, Williams and Clausen make no comment on this last line detailing Phyllis and Amyntas' potential activities in Gallus' dream scenario (Coleman 1977, Williams 1979, Clausen 1994). Fabre-Serris notes that Phyllis' activity is significant, stating that "the weaving of garlands is a metaphor for poetic composition" and that *serta mihi Phyllis legeret* "results from an amalgamation of two successive actions: gathering the flowers and weaving them into garlands" (Fabre-Serris 2013). Fabre-Serris then states that the Latin word *legere* also means "to read" and proceeds to make an argument for reading certain themes and words of Gallus in Eclogue 10.

In this paper, I take Fabre-Serris' claims that *serta... legeret* can refer to the weaving of garlands and that *legere* here could be construed as reading, but rather than reading Gallus' poetry, I will argue that *serta... legeret* can also mean that Gallus is imagining a scenario where Phyllis is reading garlands, that is, collections of epigrams, to him. The fact that Phyllis, whose name essentially means "foliage" in Greek, is the one reading the garlands to Gallus makes this reading more attractive. One is perhaps also invited to read *legeret* as "to read" in line 41 of Eclogue 10 by the juxtaposition between *legeret* and *cantaret*, as well as the placement of the caesura in the fourth foot of this line. Breed has discussed how the Eclogues highlight the distinction of speech and writing as two different manifestations of language and how they are characterized in different manners.

Part one of the discussion focuses on the literary and mythological background of the Phyllis character, taking into account how she turned into a leafless almond tree as well as the authors who reference the story of Phyllis. Part two addresses the role that Phyllis plays in the Eclogues and the passages where Phyllis' name coincides with epigrammatic moments in the Eclogues. Among these passages, there will be an analysis of the aforementioned Gallus passage as well as the inscribed flower riddle from Eclogue 3.

In the conclusion, I will turn to the first three lines of Eclogue 10 where the narrator asks the nymph Arethusa to yield to him this last task: a few songs must be sung to his Gallus, songs which Lycoris herself might read (*pauca meo Gallo, sed quae legat ipsa Lycoris, / carmina sunt dicenda. neget quis carmina Gallo?*, *Ecl.* 10.2–3). Although the songs are to be sung by the narrator, he envisions them as at some point being written down and allows for the possibility for them to be read. The same pairing of singing a song and reading a poem that are present with Phyllis and Amyntas are present at the very beginning of the Eclogue.

Title: Hesiod's Typhon and the Many-Mouth *Topos*

Name: Treasa M. Bell

In this paper I argue that to Roman authors there was an understood connection between the many-mouth *topos* and Typhon in Hesiod's *Theogony*. In particular, the description of Typhon as hundred-headed influenced the evolution of the motif's original ten mouths to its eventual hundred.

Scholars read this *topos* as a touchstone for understanding the methodology of metapoetry in Roman texts (Hinds: 1998; Gowers: 2005). Due to its various reformulations, it presents a venue for poets to measure themselves against literary predecessors. Discussions of the *topos* from this perspective have been fruitful, but its central image, with its inherent hybridity, deserves equal comment. What are the implications of connecting poetic speech, hybridity and monstrosity? How does the *topos* shape our understanding of the limitations and possibilities of poetic speech?

This paper is divided into two parts. In the first, I examine the associations between Hesiod's description of Typhon (*Theog.* 824-35) and the first occurrence of the *topos* in *Iliad* 2 (484-92). While other scholars (Goslin: 2010; Too: 1998) have argued that Typhon speaks in a manner resembling the *Theogony's* Muses, connections with the Iliadic Muses have not been drawn. In each passage the poets present these beings as capable of prodigious, fantastic song. Indeed, the connection between Typhon's voice and the Muses', and in particular the description of his voice as ὄσσα, suggests that, though his sounds may be frightening, they are not *unmusical*.

Rather, each of these passages examines the positive and negative potential of the poetic voice. Homer constructs his relationship with the Muses by presenting himself as subservient and inferior to them; the *Theogony's* opening employs similar tactics, portraying the Muses as Hesiod's teachers and, ultimately, superiors. In the *Iliad* Homer expresses his inability to compete with the Muses not just as Homer but also as a ten-mouthed, bronze-hearted 'Homer-Monster'. The image is negative; yet eschewing ten mouths is also a gesture of appeasement: the Muses collectively have nine mouths; to wish for ten would be to try to surpass them. The *topos* reaffirms hierarchies. In contrast, Hesiod depicts Typhon challenging his superior, Zeus. As in Homer, though to different effect, many mouths are presented as challenging literary and cosmic hierarchies.

The second portion of my paper considers the effects of reading Typhon in this *topos*. Given the gigantomachic context of the Hesiodic passage and bringing in Hardie's (1986) scholarship, I propose that for Roman authors the *topos*, by equating the many-voiced poet with the monstrous, suggests the poet's voice has the potential to disturb established hierarchies. To this end I consider Homer's own depiction of Typhon at the conclusion of the Catalogue of Ships (Il.780-5). On the one hand, the many-mouth *topos* and Typhon are brought into conversation by virtue of their bookending the list of Greek heroes who came to Troy. On the other, the Homeric simile - which equates the Greeks with Zeus and the Trojans with Typhon - affirms a hierarchy of superiors over inferiors. These associations with the *topos*, gigantomachy, and cosmic order indicate that the *topos* is concerned not simply with the position of poets in a canon but with the place of the poetic voice in relation to political order. Its deployment in *Iliad* 2 has a clear message: gods are better than men; the poet does not challenge the inherent superiority of the Muses. Even if he could challenge it with many voices, he would still fail, as Typhon is incapable of challenging Olympian order.

Via this web of connections, the use of this motif has implications for our understanding of how Roman poets constructed the relationship between their poetic voice, voices of dissent, and voices of power. Indeed, the motif enables the poet to distance himself from 'bad poetry'. Though the *topos* has proved a prosperous source for thinking about how poets could speak, it is equally profitable for thinking about the ways in which they construct their silences.

Title: Future Counterfactual: Camilla, Women's Networks, and the Dynamics of Integration in Vergil's Aeneid
Name: Kevin E. Moch

Previous accounts of Vergil's Camilla have focused on her literary models (Arrigoni, Horsfall, Fratantuono), her violation of gender norms (Boyd, Becker, Viparelli, Raymond-Dufouleur), and her ethnic background as either Italian (Williams, West, Quint) or Volscian (Rosenmeyer, Trundle, Pyy). Although most scholars recognize the warrior's importance to the Italian cause, little work has examined closely how Camilla's unique characterization informs the *Aeneid's* complex representation of Italian identity. To that end, this paper aims to show that Vergil's Camilla represents an alternative, unrealized future for a unified Italy, one united not by a homogenizing and masculinist Roman/Augustan imperialism, but instead through a more gender-equal Italian collective identity that coexists unproblematically alongside local and regional affiliations.

Camilla's characterization evokes the idea of a unified Italy in a number of ways in the poem. The sight of Camilla is able to unite geographically disparate Italians in wonder at the end of the catalogue of Italian troops (7.812-14; cf. Boyd 1992). Additionally, Turnus calls Camilla the "glory of Italy" (*decus Italiae*, 11.508), and she leads a talented coterie of warrior women identified as the "Daughters of Italy" (*Italides*, 11.657). Finally, the Volscian warrior's death inspires Italian mothers of diverse backgrounds to patriotically fight from Laurentum's walls (*verus amor patriae*, 11.891-95). Nevertheless, the collective Italian identity Camilla inspires does not preclude local allegiances, as demonstrated by, for example, repeated emphasis on Camilla's Volscian origins (7.803; 11.432) and the Sabine-, Alban-, and Samnite-inspired names of the *Italides* (11.655-58). This well-balanced incorporation of local and group identities finds reflection in an integration of masculine and feminine traits in Camilla that is not contradictory (as suggested by, e.g., Becker, Viparelli, Pyy), but both harmonious and complex enough to avoid becoming mere stereotype: in her *aeternus telorum et virginitatis amor* (11.583), devotion to chastity precludes her becoming an avatar of Clytemnestra or Penthesilea, while, as a weapon-obsessed *bellatrix*, she avoids a Daphne's fate.

Most strikingly, the balanced integrations of gender and ethnicity Camilla inspires are effected emphatically through "women's networks" (Keith 2006): through mothers (7.813; 11.581), maidens (11.655, 820), and Diana and her followers (11.532-96, 836-65). Moreover, not only does Camilla fulfill a political role (Arrigoni, Pyy, Egan), she herself has carefully selected the *Italides* to act as warriors and just civil servants who serve Italy as "good attendants of peace and war" (*pacisque bonas bellicue ministras*, 11.658). This quasi-gynecocratic, gender-equal governance of Italy, with Camilla respected by Turnus and others as a warrior and general (e.g. 11.508-21), contrasts sharply with the misogynist stance of the Trojan allies (11.677-89, 699-724, 725-40) and of her killer Arruns—likely an Italian partisan and ally of Turnus who is driven by intense misogyny to slay Camilla (Fratantuono 2006, Morello 2008)—through whom the problematic *femineo amore* (11.782) is focalized, as has been demonstrated recently by Morello and Sharrock.

Camilla's Italy, then—opposed to both Anchises' imperialist instructions for Roman rule (6.851ff.) and Jupiter's homogenizing (*uno ore*) assimilation of Trojan and Italian (12.834-42)—stands for various more feminist, ethnically heterogeneous Italian futures (cf. Oliensis 1997, McAuley 2016), just as Ascanius signifies possible Roman/Augustan futures (Rogerson 2017). Yet these Italian futures are doomed never to exist: as comparison with the likewise catalogue-final Marcellus shows (6.868-86), Camilla's are futures unfulfilled: as a *virgo*, she is *infelix* (11.563)—"unlucky", but also "barren" (cf. Mitchell-Boyask 1991). She is a daughter-in-law hoped for in vain (11.581-84), and, as representative of a gender-equal, ethnically unassimilated Italy, she is, as Servius suggests, the symbol of a future that bears no fruit: *praesagium est infelicitatis futurae* (Serv. ad *Aen.* 7.803). It is the loss of these potential futures that makes Camilla's own loss so hard to bear.

Session 26: Legal Culture

Title: Socialized Compliance with Greek International Law
Name: Jesse James

It is generally accepted among historians that a fairly extensive set of international legal rules and institutions governed the Greek world. They included customary laws, such as protections for heralds; the rules of treaties,

hundreds of which are attested in our surviving sources; and varieties of international arbitration of disputes (Couvenhes; Barta; Giovannini; Low; Bederman; Ager). But we still do not fully understand why Greeks used, complied with, and enforced international law as frequently as they did: practical self-interest? ethics? religious obligation? My twenty-minute paper will argue that, in addition to these factors, the rich array of international networks in the Greek world likely played a role in socializing the decision-makers of many Greek states (*polis*, *koinon*, kingdom) so that they were more inclined to use and comply with international legal agreements and rules.

1. Socialization encourages legal compliance. Modern research confirms the well-known phenomenon of socialization: that humans teach each other society's rules of behavior and also induce each other to internalize and follow those rules. Although much socialization occurs during childhood, at home and school, it is well understood that the process continues throughout life, and that social, professional, and political groups far from the family realm exert what are sometimes decisive socializing pressures. In the contemporary world, international socialization is well documented, by which nations with many connections tend to merge in their legal and other normative behaviors (Goodman and Jinks; Hirsch).

2. International socialization in the Greek world occurred through international networks. Greek historians have recently thrown much light on the rich array of international networks that existed in the ancient Greek world. Elites from multiple Greek *poleis* encountered and spent time with each other in international contexts such as religious festivals, their associated athletic contests, *proxenia* networks, international trade, diplomatic meetings, international arbitrations, and via traveling intellectuals such as sophists and poets (Constantakopoulou; Rutherford; Malkin; Ma). Non-elites likely also participated in some of these networks. But although much excellent work has been done in documenting these networks, we are still trying to understand all the effects that they had on Greek life. Isocrates notes in the *Panegyricus* (4.43) that festivals are an opportunity for people to come together from all over the Greek world, renew old friendships and make new ones, and build up goodwill among Greeks. Social psychologists would call this a process of forming a superordinate group identity, above *polis* or ethnic identities, and contemporary research indicates that a common result of such superordinate identity formation is a decrease in conflict between the members of the subordinate groups (Hogg 2016).

3. Greek international socialization encouraged international law compliance. The ways that Greeks often talked about international laws suggest that they connected some customary laws—and the obligation to follow them—to their own Greekness. They could be called “the laws of the Greeks” (e.g. by Herodotus, Euripides, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus), and violations were sometimes seen as “un-Greek.” To the extent that international network interactions helped define and strengthen a “Greek” identity, this evidence suggests that those networks strengthened international law. Thucydides (1.37) has the Corinthians claim that the Corcyreans, at the edge of the Greek world, had less contact with other Greeks and therefore were less prone to use Greek international legal institutions such as arbitration. Although arguably incorrect in the case of Corcyra, the argument reveals that some Greeks connected international law compliance with close connections to the rest of the Greek world.

Adriaan Lanni has recently taken what can be described as a generally sociological approach to explaining why Athenians were largely law abiding in the context of domestic law. In this paper I will try to explain a similar phenomenon, but in the larger realm of Greek international law.

Title: Death of a Crossdresser: Legal Storytelling in Pomponius

Name: Zachary R. Herz

This paper addresses an odd and relatively unexplored passage from Pomponius' *Ad Mucium* (preserved at *Dig.* 34.2.33) on the philosophical problems that arise when a cross-dressing senator (*quendam senatorem muliebribus cenatoriis uti solitum*) leaves a legacy consisting of women's clothing (*legaret muliebrem vestem*): does he mean his own clothes, which resemble those traditionally worn by women, or whatever clothes he happens to own that are, in fact, exclusively for women's wear? Neither Pomponius nor Mucius offers a satisfactory answer to the question, but I show that the passage illustrates the literary potential of Roman legal writing, and the power of literary analytic frameworks to illuminate it.

My talk begins by explaining the basic meaning of the passage, which purports to illustrate the role of testatorial choice in interpreting Roman wills. However, as I show, the example illustrates nothing: neither Pomponius nor Mucius offer actual evidence of the primacy of intent, but both simply state intention to be the relevant criterion. Contra Tuori 2009 (the only other sustained treatment of the passage), who claims that 34.2.33 “uses this example to enlighten the reader on the classical [text v. intention] question of inheritance law”, I demonstrate that the structure of the passage makes no sense as a legal argument. Pomponius claims that intention ought to be the primary testamentary criterion, and offers in support that Mucius claimed to have known a cross-dressing senator who appeared to have intended his clothes not be legated (*videretur de ea sensisse*). A does not follow from B. Instead, the Mucian anecdote provides texture to Pomponius’ hypothetical, demonstrating its stakes and human interest.

The question, however, remains: if Mucius’ account does not function as evidence, what is its point? The goods described above (stakes, human interest, social texture) are not ones traditionally associated with juristic writing, after all. I argue instead that Pomponius employs the Mucian narrative in a self-consciously literary fashion; he shows Mucius knowing about, and reporting on, something marvelous (*ait scire se quendam . . .*), in a similar fashion to the paradoxographies of imperial writers like Martial, Pliny, or Statius (Myers 2000, Coleman 2006). The cycle of oddity, knowledge, reportage, and citation visible in this passage is unusual in a legal setting, but perfectly intelligible as a literary trope. The paradox, particularly in imperial literature, assimilates the foreign or extraordinary into the cosmopolitan ‘world city;’ Pomponius’ legal paradox, by reducing fantastic events—a senator in a ballgown!—to a standard legal problem, shows how legal thought can assimilate even the strangest event. In doing so, Pomponius underlines the importance of literary modes of storytelling for Roman jurists more generally, and shows how the boundary between law and literature is not always as clear as modern scholars imagine.

Title: Imperial Backtalk: Using Legal Discourse to Refute an Emperor

Name: Ryan A. Pilipow

In this paper, I argue that the late Roman discourse of law served as a tool for disrupting a traditional social, political hierarchy. Legal experts, such as jurists and advocates, were proficient in this discourse and thus were uniquely qualified to direct, question, and refute imperial power. To highlight the disruptive power of legal discourse, I analyze a case from Ammianus Marcellinus in which the imperial quaestor, Eupraxius, publicly corrects the ruthless emperor, Valentinian. Eupraxius’s refutation of the emperor demonstrates the power that resided in legal rhetoric—even in the highest spheres of the Roman world.

The relationship between emperor and law has been a subject of dispute among Roman historians for a long time. An early trend in scholarship interpreted the emperor’s position as the collection of constitutionally mandated prerogatives (Mommsen 1871-1888). This trend found challengers in scholarship that privileged the social or functionalist attributes of the emperor. In the functionalist scholarship, the emperor decided cases by virtue of his primacy in the Roman political and social world. The emperor responded to the problems brought to him—a practice that re-inscribed his position as the center of the Empire (Millar 1992, Connolly 2010, Harries 2012). Some scholars have attempted to qualify the potentially wide ranging powers of the Late Roman emperor in the functionalist scholarship by arguing for a professional class that advised the emperor’s legal decisions (Harries 1988, & Honoré 1994, 1998). I integrate the two later approaches and employ a model of legal culture that sees legal decisions, practices, and actors as communicative across the entire world (Galanter 1981). The model is useful in that it allows us to see the emperor, legal expert, and any other inhabitant of the Roman world as part a single legal network. One of the ways the network can be activated is through the use of legal discourse. That discourse was influential enough to challenge and even refute the emperor, who was simply a single, albeit powerful, actor.

Ammianus Marcellinus liked courtroom dramas (Matthews 1989 & 1992). For Ammianus, courts were stages for bloody tragedies and pointed comedies. Litigants, judges, and emperors argued over what could or could not be done according to law. Good emperors followed the law or freely forgave those who came into court (*Amm. Marc.* 16.5.12 & 18.1). Bad judges and emperors considered their own violent inclinations as the criteria for guilt or innocence (27.7.9 & 26.10.10-12). The ultimate sign of imperial abuse was when an emperor changed or disregarded the law, as Valentinian did when he gave Maximinus, a prefect of the *annona*, the power to prosecute all cases with the severity of treason trials (28.1.11). This expanded power allowed the prefect to torture even nobles, who were usually protected against such treatment. By vitiating these “legal” protections, Valentinian revealed

himself to be a bad actor in the legal discourse. In response, the senatorial class of Rome sent an envoy to the emperor to protest their treatment. The envoy seemed doomed until Eupraxius, the just quaestor, interrupted on their behalf, contradicting the emperor's account of the situation's legality. Remarkably, Eupraxius's intervention—on the basis of law—saved the protesting elites. Valentinian conceded that he had overstepped.

Eupraxius's story has been interpreted as an example of the ideal quaestor who courageously guides the emperor (Honoré 1986, Kelly 1997, Harries 2004). I argue that in addition to seeing Eupraxius as a virtuous bureaucrat, we also see Eupraxius as a sophisticated user of legal discourse. By employing this discourse, the quaestor removed the emperor from the traditional political discourse he was accustomed to and instead placed Valentinian in a discussion of law where Eupraxius had the upper hand. The discourse of law was utilized by individuals to negotiate with, and even overcome, some of the most powerful rulers of the Roman world.

Title: Sex and Desire between Men in Byzantium: Civil Law, Dissidence, and (the Lack of) Enforcement

Name: Mark Masterson

In the mid-eighth century in the *Ekloge*, the Isaurian law code, we read a law against sex between males: "The *aselgeis*, both the one doing it and the one receiving it, let them pay the penalty by the sword. But if the one receiving is discovered to be less than twelve years old, he should be excused, as his age shows that he did not understand this thing he had undergone" (17.38: Οἱ ἀσελγεῖς, ὃ τε ποιῶν καὶ ὁ ὑπομένων, ξίφει τιμωρεῖσθωσαν· εἰ δὲ ὁ ὑπομένων ἦττων τῶν δώδεκα ἐτῶν εὐρεθῆ, συγχωρεῖσθω, ὡς τῆς ἡλικίας δηλοῦσης μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτόν, τί ὑπέμεινεν). Understood here is that the *aselgeis* are males who have sex with one another. While there is some consideration given to the very young, and while it is not as severe in its rhetoric as enactments in the earlier Justinianic and Theodosian codifications, it is all the same a cruel law that mandates execution (in addition, of course, to promising persecution and the crushing of dissidence). It is therefore interesting that we have no record of this law ever being used (Laiou 1992, 68; Messis 2006, 779n170; Pitsakis 2008, 8) and it appears too that it was merely copied into successive law codes with but insubstantial changes in phraseology: *Eklogadion* 17.6 (early ninth century [Simon and Troianos 1977, 71]), *Epanagoge* 40.66 (886 CE [Zepos and Zepos 1931, 365]), and *Prokheiros* 39.73 (907 CE [Zepos and Zepos 1931, 225-226]).

In this paper I will discuss this evidence, especially the lack of enforcement, and argue that we should follow Laiou when she wrote the following in 1992: "Il est possible que, en dépit de tout son zèle normatif pour prohiber les actes homosexuels, la société byzantine les ait en fait tolérés tant qu'ils ne faisaient pas scandale" (78). I believe that we have a situation, at least in the middle centuries of the empire, of broad toleration of the kind that Laiou proposes and evidence of dissent from asserted standards for sexual conduct. Civil law apparently said one thing in an increasingly faint voice, while life went on its merry way. Among the benefits of taking this view is that evidence that shows homoeroticism (e.g., narratives of the rise of Basil I, or epistolography) in general becomes much more understandable. The interest the Byzantines showed in preserving ancient literature that has frankly sexual and homoerotic features, e.g. Aristophanes and, especially, the notorious Book 12 of the *Greek Anthology*, likewise becomes much easier to understand.

Title: A Tradition of Popular Consent: Readings of Livy, Cicero, and Justinian in the Political Thought of James Wilson

Name: Laurie A. Wilson

This paper demonstrates that the classical texts formed an essential and determinative part of James Wilson's theory of popular sovereignty. The American founding father studied classical languages and texts at the University of St. Andrews before immigrating to the American colonies where the College of Philadelphia gave him a position as tutor in the Latin department and awarded him with an honorary master's of arts degree in recognition of his learning. Wilson later became one of the foremost lawyers in the colonies, signed the Declaration of Independence, assisted in writing the Constitution, played a prominent role in the Federal Convention, and served as the first professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania and as a justice on the first Supreme Court. In his *Law Lectures* of 1790-92, Wilson expounds on the central principle of the American experiment that a legitimate

government must be founded upon the consent of the people. Scholars have rightly recognized the influence of John Locke, the Scottish School of Common Sense, and natural law philosophers in Wilson's thought, but they have overlooked Wilson's prioritization of Roman authors in the development of his theory of popular sovereignty (O'Donnell 1937, Obering 1938, Delahanty 1969, Powell 1951, Pascal 1991, Hall 1997). In contrast, this paper argues that despite the diverse elements contributing to his philosophy and his personal slant on the classical authors, Wilson built his conception of popular sovereignty upon his readings of Livy, Cicero, and Justinian. These three authors also provide the basis for Wilson's argument that popular sovereignty is not a new theory, but rather a long-standing tradition.

In *Ab Urbe Condita* 3.31-34, Livy speaks of the Roman deputation sent to Athens in order to study their laws, customs, and institutions. Wilson directly references this work four times, as well as quoting Livy a fifth time through an intermediate work, and he draws special attention to Livy's insistence that the Twelve Tables and the ensuing laws of the Roman Republic were amended to fit the circumstances and manners of the Romans, that they protected the interests of the whole Roman people by imparting justice to all classes of society, and that they were based on *consensus omnium*. Unlike many Founders who viewed the commencement of the Roman Empire as the destruction of liberty (Richard 1994), Wilson asserts that customary law and its accompanying respect for popular consent continued under the Roman Empire. During his time as a student, Wilson had checked out a text by Justinian (Library Receipt Book 1752-1759). He now translates passages from the *Digesta* and the *Institutes* to affirm that the Romans placed obligatory force on customary as well as written law and to argue that the people both make and unmake customary law through their consent. Breaking with William Blackstone, Wilson argues that the English common law tradition finds its origin in Justinian and its legitimacy in the consent of the people. Finally, Wilson directly quotes from Cicero's *De Officiis* 2.12.41-42, *Pro Milone* 4.10-11, and *Pro Cluentio* 53.146 and also references *De Legibus* 2.2.4 and *De Lege Agraria* 3.17.39 to reinforce his belief that the source of sovereignty rested in the Roman people. Although Wilson conceptualizes these quotations within his own framework of thought, broadens them to fit his theory of popular sovereignty, and imposes a democratic reading onto the Ciceronian texts, he aptly draws from them the discourse of popular consent. Thus, Wilson employed his learning as a classical scholar to formulate and legitimize his doctrine of popular sovereignty. As scholars continue to discuss differing conceptions of liberalism and its sustainability, Wilson's reading of the classical authors demonstrates the necessity of including them within the conversation.

Session 27: Approaches to Language and Style

Title: Lyric Worlds: 'Vividness', Alcaeus, and Cognitive Poetics

Name: Il Kweon Sir

This paper aims to provide a methodological framework for the discussion of 'vividness' in Greek lyric by applying cognitive approaches not previously used in Classics (Text World Theory and Texture). With close readings of select fragments of Alcaeus, 'vividness' in Greek lyric is explored through the examination of the cognitive effects of deixis for described – rather than performed – contexts.

'Vividness' has long interested scholars of Greek lyric. Despite the warnings against Romantic lyric anachronistically affecting interpretation of Greek lyric, and despite the acceptance of the distinction between the poet and the speaker and the consequent emphasis on artificiality, few would argue that poets such as Sappho and Alcaeus do not often create a sense of 'vividness'. It is unsurprising, therefore, that the dominant performance-oriented, historicist approach to lyric, which has focused on mapping similes, metaphors, and ecphrases onto the performance context, and on using performance context in turn to explain imagery (e.g. Rösler 1980, Gentili 1988), has increasingly been considered restrictive in this respect. Since the early 2000s, some scholars have turned to 'vividness', especially by focusing on pragmatics and research on the senses (Felson 2004, D'Alessio 2009, Cazzato and Lardinois 2016 on lyric; Courtray 2013, Butler and Purves 2013, Squire 2016 more broadly). At the same time, research on deixis in lyric has led to an awareness of the difference between the described context and the performed context (e.g. Yatromanolakis 2004, D'Alessio 2018). This paper aims to go further in exploring the described context, which the fragments preserve for us, over the performed context, of which we have very little evidence, by shifting the focus, with a cognitive approach, from the poet-performer's standpoint to the audience's standpoint. Furthermore, the emphasis on the described context enables an examination of not only the described setting of the

original audience, usually shared by the poet-performer, but also of the described setting shared by all audiences, including the audience of early re-performances and modern readers.

Since the proposed object of study – the perception of ‘vividness’ in the described setting – is the experience of audiences, this paper proposes applying the emerging field of cognitive poetics, which has become increasingly popular for literary studies in other disciplines, to the fragments of Alcaeus. The paper first introduces and summarises Text World Theory (TWT), a cognitive discourse grammar (proposed by Werth 1999; fullest account in Gavins 2007), which has not yet been applied in Classics (although several works are forthcoming). It is argued that TWT’s focus on the creation of mental representations prompted and defined by the text, and the use of the linguistic concept of ‘common ground’ (Szabó and Thomason 2019: chapter 8) that allows for multiple interpretations depending on the differences in the participants’ knowledge and attitude make it a good framework in which to explore the poet’s creation of described settings that are shared by all audiences. In combination with the attention-resonance model of Stockwell 2009’s Texture theory, which has also not yet been applied to classical texts, the paper explores through close readings of Alcaeus the different ways in which the language of Greek lyric creates vivid scenes in which the audience is immersed.

The theories are first demonstrated with a reading of Alcaeus fr.6, whose use of deictics for vivid world-building and for complex embedding of past narratives is explored to analyse spatial, temporal, and emotional contrasts between text-worlds. The intensifying effects of zooms and of contrasts between text-worlds for ‘vividness’ of scenes within fragments are examined with reference to Alcaeus fr.338 and 140. Further, it is argued that the paradoxical perception of ‘vividness’ in the described settings with few deictics at Alcaeus fr.130b and 129 is due to emotional and atmospheric ‘vividness’ that is represented spatially (fr.130b) and is created by the evocation of the past (fr.129). The potential for divergent experiences of different audiences to the same fragments, due to differences in ‘common ground’, is also explored in detail.

Title: A Stylometric Analysis of Latin Literary Genre

Name: Thomas J. Bolt, Prमित Chaudhuri, and Joseph Dexter

This paper introduces a quantitative method for analyzing genre in Latin literature. Using computational techniques drawn from machine learning, we show how traditional generic categories, such as epic or oratory, possess distinctive stylistic signatures reflected in grammatical and syntactic preferences. The paper describes the set of twenty-six stylometric features used in the study, which encompass pronouns, superlatives, and markers of subordination, among others. We report methods for 1) computing these features for the extant classical Latin literary corpus, 2) distinguishing genres based on the stylometric data, and 3) identifying the salient features most characteristic of each genre. The resulting profiles offer a multidimensional portrait of the stylistic tendencies typical of the major Latin genres (drama, elegy, and epic for verse, epistolography, historiography, oratory, philosophy, and technical treatise for prose).

Recent work in computational literary studies has shown that taking the coherence of genre as a working assumption can enable productive lines of interpretation and investigation of cross-temporal trends (Moretti 2013, Jockers 2013, Wilkens 2016, Underwood 2019). Yet while genre is a central concern of literary criticism, especially within Classics, there is little consensus regarding specific generic definitions, or even how much interpretative weight should be given to the concept due to the fluidity of generic boundaries (Harrison 2007 and Derrida 1980). To the extent that concepts of genre cohere, they do so through relationships of meter, diction, theme, and reception. Small-scale features that occur frequently provide potentially new evidence about generic style but are prohibitively difficult to count without computation. We incorporate stylometric features long considered important to Latin literary style, such as *atque* followed by a consonant (Adams 1972, Adams *et al.* 2005), as well as markers drawn from computational studies of English genres (Jockers 2013).

Our Latin corpus was originally digitized by the Perseus Project and comprises 206 works (Crane 1996). We calculate the frequency of each of our twenty-six features across the entire corpus, resulting in a high-dimensional stylometric profile. The feature calculation methods vary from exact (e.g., counts of prepositions) to partial or selective (e.g., superlative adjectives). In describing these methods, we clarify the importance of keying data quality

to the type of research question: relatively coarse corpus-wide questions allow for variations in the quality of data that may not be acceptable for a fine-grained study of one text.

We then use supervised machine learning to predict genre based on style. In our experiment, an algorithm is given a subset of texts labeled by genre and learns to identify associations between our quantitative stylistic data and the genre labels. Afterwards, the algorithm predicts the genre of the remaining texts (i.e., those not used for training) based solely on the twenty-six stylometric features. With five-fold cross-validation, we achieve greater than 85% accuracy in genre identification across the whole corpus. By considering all features in combination, this approach enables construction of multifaceted stylistic profiles of the major Latin genres. To aid in the interpretation of this data, we use statistical feature ranking to identify the characteristics that best distinguish each genre from the rest of the corpus. To take one example, the top feature for historiography is a high frequency of conditional sentences, which speaks to the genre's tolerance for hypotaxis, while the second feature (frequency of *iste*) perhaps highlights the importance of internal speeches.

The paper thus demonstrates computation's power to extract new, interpretively useful data from an intensively studied corpus of Latin literature. Although classicists have long used computation for authorship attribution and linguistic analysis (Marriott 1979, Stover *et al.* 2015, McGillivray and Jensen 2018), large-scale literary studies of the sort undertaken for English and other modern languages have not been attempted for many premodern traditions. The methods introduced in this paper are extensible to Ancient Greek and other languages. Within the study of Latin literature, the research paves the way for additional fine-grained analyses of works or of trends over time.

Title: “Hiss At Some Length”: Onomatopoeia, Mimesis, and Other Noises in the Greco-Roman Magical Tradition

Name: Britta Ager

The spells of the Greek magical papyri exhort magicians to make a variety of odd sounds: hisses, claps, laughs, popping noises, drawn-out vowels, imitations of birds and animals, and of course the *voces magicae*, the largely unintelligible magical utterances which make up a significant portion of some texts. While the *voces magicae* have long been the subject of discussion, the complexity of the other utterances has received more scrutiny in recent years. In particular, the 2014 volume *Noms babares I* (Tardieu, Van den Kerchove, and Zago) has usefully recontextualized some of these sounds within Egyptian tradition, such as a mimetic exclamation of “Chi chi chi tiph tiph tiph” in “falconic” language (*PGM XIII.1-343*) which imitates the piping cries of birds and evokes the divine voice of Horus (Tardieu). The texts attribute strange noises to divine beings, who moan, echo, neigh, and laugh in the *historiolae* of the spells; they tell the magician to make such noises as part of rituals; they equate noises with complex drawings which represent the sounds visually (e.g., *PGM XIII.1-343*: “The two elements, popping and hissing, are represented by a falcon-faced crocodile and the nine-formed god standing on it”); and they identify such noises with the gods themselves, whose names the noises are “companions of” (*PGM VII.756-94*).

In this paper, I argue that while many of the sounds of the papyri originate in Egyptian symbolism and Egyptian conceptions of the relationship between words, objects, and sounds, these utterances appealed to Greek-speaking magicians and entered the Greco-Roman magical lexicon because of pre-existing classical notions of the noises which accompanied supernatural encounters. Greco-Roman gods were less likely to make animal sounds themselves than to be accompanied by animals, whose barks, shrieks, and twitters are often reminiscent of the noises which accompany the appearance of supernatural beings in the magical papyri (e.g., appearances of Hecate accompanied by dogs; c.f. the barking in *PGM VII.756-94*). Nor were the Greek gods themselves silent, and the papyri refer to, among other things, Zeus's thunderclaps and the “shrill-screaming” voice and doglike howling of Selene/Hecate (*PGM IV.2241-2358*). Their worshippers and those possessed or touched by them may also make animal sounds; thus the author of *On the Sacred Disease* complains about attempts to diagnose epilepsy patients as possessed by various deities according to whether they make goat, bird, or horse-like noises, in a potentially interesting parallel for initiation texts in the *PGM*. The Greek idea that the gods have a language of their own which humans do not share (found repeatedly in Homer; e.g., *Il.* 1.403-404) parallels the “falconic”, “baboonic”, and “sacred” languages which supernatural beings speak in the papyri. The dead are sometimes thought to make wordless noises of distress; thus the souls of Penelope's suitors shriek like bats (*Od.* 24.6-10) and the untimely dead “hiss wildly” in a magical hymn to Hecate (*PGM IV.2708-84*). In short, Greek magicians were a receptive audience for the variety of wails,

grunts, bangs, tweets, and so forth found in Egyptian spells, and the ways in which strange noises are deployed in the papyri shows a richly creative and syncretic tradition. Lastly, silence itself may be best regarded as a special kind of noise in both the papyri and Greco-Roman religious contexts.

Title: The Language of Nature and the Nature of Language in Varro's *De Lingua Latina*
Name: Brandon D. Bark

Varro played a crucial role in developing the notion of *natura* both as a formal criterion of correct speech (*Latinitas*) and more generally as a means of conceiving of the regularity (*ratio/analogia*) of language: the nature of speech (*natura orationis*) mirrored the nature of the cosmos (*natura mundi*). Garcea (2012) has shown that Varro's concept of *natura* differed significantly from that of Caesar; additionally, Varro's theory has little in common with Epicurean or neo-Atticist formulations of "natural" language. Despite the uniqueness of Varro's treatment of *natura*, its significant role in the arguments—and fallacies—of *De Lingua Latina* (*LL*) has been overlooked in favor of analogy and anomaly. But not only is *natura* essential to understanding both concepts; it also provides a window onto discovering the sources and structure of Varro's argument and the complex, even contrived relationship he constructs between language and the world, between linguistic and naturalistic philosophy. This paper aims to correct this oversight by closely examining several crucial passages wherein the language of nature allows Varro to craft a particular nature of language. At stake is a holistic sense of how Varro's vision(s) of the natural world in *LL* compares to similar views he expresses elsewhere and to the larger Roman discourse on language and the universe.

Below are but three examples of the complicated involvement of *natura* in the arguments of *LL*. First, what are the ramifications of the view—which likely originated with Varro—that a language's *natura* consists of the immutable roots of its words transmitted diachronically (e.g. Varro notes that the verb "to write" in Latin is *scrib-*, not **scrimb-*)? It is obvious that *canis* is Latin for "dog" but **danis* or **wanis* are not—but what about real historical sound changes that occurred in the language? Would attested, so-called "vulgar" forms like *columa* (>*columna*) and *mamor* (>*marmor*) have been considered "unnatural" Latin words, or even words of a different language in Varro's view? Where did Latin—even "vulgar Latin"—end and "post-Latin"—"proto-Romance" from our perspective—begin?

A second example is as follows. Varro likens the irregular words that sporadically (in his view) appear amid the vast "sea of speech" (*pelagus sermonis*) to the occasional organisms born with deformations or defects: to argue that regularity does not exist in language on account of these few irregular words is "just as if one should have seen a dehorned ox or a one-eyed man and a lame horse, and should say that the likenesses do not exist with regularity in the nature of cattle, men, and horses" (9.26.33). How does Varro's understanding of "unnatural" or "preternatural" organisms cohere with contemporary biological and religious interpretations of monsters and prodigies? For example, Sextus Empiricus similarly conceives of words as organisms genetically programmed to inflect in only one correct way (*Adv.Math.* 224–7)—but this leads him to a sceptical stance on language opposite Varro's dogmatic conclusion. Moreover, how can Varro's notion of a rational cosmos rather paradoxically accommodate anomalous beings?

A final example pertains to Latin semantics. Varro defends the fact that not every adjective can correctly modify every noun on the grounds that both the essential qualities (*natura*) of referents and how culture employs them (*usus*) combine to account for the behavior of words. Thus Varro explains that *surdus*, "deaf", may modify *homo*, "person", or *theatrum*, "theater", but not *cubiculum*, "bedroom", because only the first two were "intended for hearing" (*ad auditum comparatae*). But it is immediately obvious that a hard-of-hearing person and a theater in which it is hard to hear are not "deaf" in the same way, although *surdus* attaches to both meanings. Varro's explanation therefore fails to bypass this fundamental failure of language that Chrysippus more than a century earlier had already labeled as polysemy—namely, that different concepts are often designated by the same word.

Title: 'Criticus Nascitur, Non Fit': Latin Textual Criticism and the Cult of Male Genius
Name: Verity Walsh

The underrepresentation of women in STEM dominates current debates about gender inequity in the academy. But while systemic barriers are more prevalent in the sciences, cross-disciplinary analysis reveals that this is not the whole story: women are represented well in some science fields and poorly in some humanistic disciplines. What accounts for gender differentials not just between STEM and the humanities, but between different subfields in disciplines like classics?

This paper applies insights from social psychology and feminist intellectual history to a particular case of gender imbalance in philology—that between Latin textual criticism and the rest of literary studies in classics—and seeks to explore this differential's likely sociohistorical causes.

Recent work in behavioral science indicates that male-dominated fields, across disciplines, are overwhelmingly those in which discovery is characterized in terms of 'lightbulb moments' of sudden inspiration, whereas fields in which women have made strong inroads are those for which success is usually thought of as being 'nurtured like a seed' over time (Elmore 2017). Further, in each of three broad categories (sciences, social sciences, and humanities) the subfields with the fewest women (pure mathematics, economics, and philosophy) are those for which there is the strongest perception, both among practitioners and laypeople, that raw talent, rather than discipline and effort, is a prerequisite for success (Leslie 2015). Thus, while systemic gender imbalances in STEM are more visible, the biases that keep women out of the 'hard' sciences are also at work against them in the 'hard' humanities: the subdisciplines thought of *by humanists themselves* as demanding unteachable talent are the most inhospitable to women.

I argue that these models can be applied, with almost perfect analogy, to the place of Latin textual criticism, a field with disproportionately few women relative to the broader field of classical philology even today—and one deeply implicated in the rhetoric of sublime, unteachable genius. The historiography of textual criticism is dominated by male figures who speak not in terms of discipline and method but in terms of natural ability and bursts of insight: take Housman's most famous textual emendation, the moving of a single comma, or his peevish dictum *criticus nascitur, non fit* ('a critic is born, not made').

After a brief theoretical foundation in intellectual and institutional history (Smith 2000; Daston 2007) and in textual criticism (Luck 1981; Maas 1958; Tarant 2016; West 1973; Zetzel 1991), I present historical case studies, focusing on Bentley's 1713 edition of Horace ('[the critic needs] a certain faculty of divination and prophecy [that] can be acquired by no quantity of labor or length of life, but...purely as the gift of nature') and Housman's 1921 'Application of Thought to Textual Criticism' ('[criticism] require[s] more in the learner than a simply receptive mind, and indeed the truth is that [it] cannot be taught at all'). I argue that Bentley and Housman's rhetoric positions textual criticism as a closed industry, practicable only for those with innate talent. I then survey the reception of Bentley and Housman and the characterization of textual criticism in modern scholarship: far from being left in the past, statements like Housman's enjoy striking acceptance even now, with a majority of textual scholars seemingly agreeing that 'natural rather than acquired gifts' are the 'critic's basic equipment' (Reynolds & Wilson 1991).

The theory and practice of Latin textual criticism, historically and today, is steeped in hero worship and a near-mystical imagining of genius: you either have it or you don't. Comparative research on gender representation tells us that it is exactly this sort of rhetoric that forms the widest-reaching barrier against women's academic access. When women are excluded from the idea of 'innate genius', they are excluded, too, from the subdisciplines that the academy values most. By interrogating our disciplinary histories, we can begin to wrest our scholarship from long-held assumptions that have made the exclusion of underrepresented groups look historically normal and value-neutral, when in fact it has been anything but.

Session 28: Classics and Civic Activism (Joint AIA-SCS Workshop)

No abstracts

EVENING SESSION

Session 29: Black Classicism in the Visual Arts (Organized by *Eos*: Africana Receptions of Ancient Greece and Rome)

Title: Sugar Baby's Riddle: Sphinx or Sibyl?

Name: Margaret Day

In concept art for *The Marvelous Sugar Baby* (2014), Kara Walker's monument asks, "Sphinx or Sybyl [sic]?" (Walker 2014). Constructed from sugar and polystyrene, the mammy-lion hybrid is crouched on the floor of the Domino Sugar Factory in Brooklyn and flanked by molasses blackamoors. Inspired by her riddle, this paper argues that the Sugar Baby is both sphinx and sibyl: she muddles our response to her body, both female and animal, monster and icon, by predicting the racist and sexist behavior that accompanies the display of black female bodies, even when funneled through classical models.

Western art has long exploited black women's bodies as sexual objects (Benard 2016), especially when employing classical tropes and themes (White 2016). Exoticized and animalized, Saartje Baartman, a Khoikhoi woman from South Africa, was displayed in Europe as the Hottentot Venus in the 19th century (Gould 1985). Her large buttocks titillated audiences: cartoons showed both men and women taking a peek "up skirt" to gape at her sex (Adams 2003). Despite Baartman's nickname, which promised that she was the epitome of beauty for the Khoikhoi people, Baartman's relationship to Venus, the Roman goddess of love and sexuality, did not elevate, but demeaned her (Oureshi 2004). Ethnological literature from this time often used classical models to stratify different races (Gilman 1985), and even bodies identified as Venus or other goddesses were usually satirical (Chiasson 2015). Thomas Stothard's 18th century "Sable Venus," for example, a Botticelli-inspired engraving of a black Venus, was modelled on Isaac Teale's ode to raping women, who were all the same color "at night" (Lewis 2015).

While reviews of the Sugar Baby focused on Walker's commentary on the history of slavery and controversial place in the art community (Smith 2014, Als 2014), selfies with the Sugar Baby's exposed vulva told a different story (Rooks 2014, Cooper 2014). Similar to the response to Baartman's genitalia, the Sugar Baby's stance, both imposing and exploitative, revealed the racist and sexist reception of her contemporary audience. Despite uproar online, however, Walker anticipated and even encouraged the low brow behavior of her exhibition's attendees. In her video "An Audience," filmed during Sugar Baby's installation, Walker spies on the crowd's reactions to the sphinx, proving her prediction (Corbett 2014). The gravitas of her classical model, juxtaposed with the racist symbols of the slave trade, comments on the continued consumption of black women's bodies in America.

Title: Metamorphoses in Boots Riley's Sorry to Bother You (2018)

Name: Samuel Agbamu

Boots Riley's 2018 film *Sorry to Bother You* plays with aurality and visuality, appearance and reality. It tells the story of a call centre employee, Cassius Green (Lakeith Stanfield) who is catapulted to the top of the telephone marketing business by learning to use his 'white voice'. His name allows for the pun 'Cash-is-green', which not only instantiates the slipperiness of language as a central theme of the film but forms a connection to Roman antiquity through the name of this Republican conspirator against Julius Caesar. This paper will probe the film's dialogue with Classical antiquity, specifically the theme of metamorphoses, through the lens of Homer's *Odyssey*, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses of Lucius*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Cassius' adoption of his 'white voice' changes his reality as a black man into the (aural) appearance of a white man. His initiation into whiteness brings him into contact with the inner workings of contemporary capitalism, the colonial underpinnings of which are emphasised in the art of Cassius' partner, Detroit (Tessa Thompson). Cassius' odyssey into this murky world is mentored by the nameless, one-eyed Mr. ____, another black man who

almost exclusively uses his white voice. Mr. ___'s role as both Polyphemus, the colonised, and Odysseus, the coloniser, exposes his own liminal status as a black man whose success depends on appearing white. Mr. ___ guides Cassius into a nightmarish world where humans are transformed into animals to provide slave labour for the corporation 'Worry Free'. In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, Lucius, transformed into an ass and forced to work in a mill, gains an insight into the suffering of the slaves who also work there, a rare, sympathetic glimpse into the lives of slaves in the Roman Empire. Lucius is redeemed through his initiation into the Cult of Isis. Conversely, Cassius is compromised by his initiation into the Cult of Whiteness, only redeemed through organised labour. Through his conspiratorial trade-union organising, Cassius is brought into conflict with the Caesar-like Steve Lift, CEO of 'Worry Free'. Unlike Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which is brought to a climax with the apotheosis of Julius Caesar, in Riley's film, those whose transformation had paved the way for the deification of Lift assert their agency to deny Lift his apotheosis. I thus argue that the film shows how, in a present in which horizons of possible futures are rapidly foreclosed by racial capitalism, classical antiquity remains a point of orientation for articulating counter-hegemonies.

Title: When and Where I (Don't) Enter: Afro-Pessimism, The Fungible Object, and Black Queer Representations of Medusa

Name: Stefani Echeverría-Fenn

Classicists are well familiar with how the figure of Medusa has been mapped on to Black womanhood by scholars such as Martin Bernal[1]; a nexus of connections mirrored in contemporary iconography of Black female celebrities.[2] In this paper I hope to resist what has become a sometimes facile and problematically naturalized set of associations between the Black feminine body and Medusa[3] by analyzing, through the lens of Black-Pessimism, four contemporary Black artistic representations of Medusa that refuse such identifications and instead portray Medusa as white and/or not human at all. The first half of this paper will focus on Bri Williams' *Medusa* (2018) and Mark Bradford's *Medusa* (2016); the second half will analyze Azealia Banks' music video "Ice Princess" (2015) and Alexis Peskine's multimedia installation *The Raft of Medusa* (2016).

The first two works are pieces of mixed-medium abstract sculpture—William's piece features a beheaded carousel horse with soap and bricks, while Bradford's is a conglomeration of rope, bleach, and construction paper. The second set of works features Medusa in portraiture explicitly racialized as white—Banks dons white-face for her self-styling as Medusa in "Ice Princess," while Peskine riffs off the name of the Géricault painting to represent Europe itself as Medusa, turning Black immigrants to the continent into statues whose spirits and energy have been robbed.

I hope to connect these two moves in representing Medusa—towards abstract materialism and towards portraiture of whiteness—through Afro-pessimistic theorizing on the Freudian death drive and the associated psychoanalytic thought of Fanon. In particular, I will read all four works as ones that gesture at Black subjectivity as "social death" and "the fungible object" in accordance with thinkers such as Frank Wilderson III and Calvin Warren.[4] Simultaneously, these artists harness the specificities of the Medusa myth—the mirror, monstrosity, rape, and stone, to not only visually represent the psychoanalytic projections and racist fantasies of white individuals and systems that underlay such constructs, but to in fact materially locate these critical terms of Afro-pessimistic theorizing within the white body; whiteness as a social death and fungibility seeking to escape itself through a projection of the same onto Blackness.

Finally, I will conclude this analysis by considering the fact that all of these artists identify as queer; and how the above theorists of Afro-Pessimism (especially Warren) grapple with Black queerness as a particularly thick site of potential for thinking through anti-Black violence and Black ontology; and how each artist's statement on their own work and on the Medusa myth might exemplify this claim

[1] E.g. Bernal, Martin. *Black Athena: The Linguistic Evidence*. Rutgers University Press, 2006. P. 541-561.

[2] E.g: Rihanna's 2013 *GQ* cover, Nicki Minaj's 2017 *Charbel Zoe* shoot, Zendaya Coleman's 2015 *People* shoot, to name just a few.

[3] C.f. for example, Inge Boar's critique of Medusa being associated with WOC through racist assumptions of "horrifying physiognomy" on p. 67-79 of *Disorienting Vision*.

[4] As defined in Calvin Warren's 2017 *Onticide: Afropessimism, Queer Theory, & Ethics* and Frank Wilderson's 2008 edition of *Afro-Pessimism*.

Title: Centaurs and Equisapiens

Name: Tom Hawkins

Like most viewers of Boots Riley's 'Sorry to Bother You' (2018), I fell out of my seat when Cash, the main character, stumbles upon a group of horse-headed *equisapiens*. Where did these creatures come from – both in terms of the story and within Riley's biting commentary on our contemporary world? I suggest a triangulation of these *equisapiens* with images of Greek centaurs and W. E. B. Du Bois's claim that white supremacy builds upon a conception of black bodies as a *tertium quid*.

In 'Sorry to Bother You' *equisapiens* are the lynchpin of a dystopic future envisioned by WorryFree, a company that lures people into lifetime contracts to work in exchange for basic sustenance. Critics allege that WorryFree espouses slavery, but while the public wrestles with this issue, WorryFree's CEO unveils a gene-modification procedure that transforms workers into *equisapiens*—stronger, more obedient, harder-working upgrades to a human labor force. These hybrids suggest an inversion of the ancient Greek image of the centaur, but the reconfigured composite body hints that Riley is doing more than simply alluding to the well-known mythical figure.

One aspect of Riley's *equisapiens* can be traced back to Du Bois's claim in *The Souls of Black Folk* that race relations in America can be traced back to white people's 'sincere and passionate belief that somewhere between men and cattle, God created a *tertium quid*, and called it a Negro'. [1] The idea that black bodies elide human and animal bodies places them within a liminal space that reflects both the images of ancient hybrids, such as the centaurs among the Parthenon metopes, and the realities of American structures of white supremacy, such as the 'Three-Fifths Compromise'.

Riley, like most of the cast of 'Sorry to Bother You', is black, and as Cash morphs into an *equisapien* we can connect Du Bois's idea and Greek centaurs. But the analysis cannot stop here, since WorryFree's goals are not limited to creating a black labor force. Rather, Riley expands a narrowly racial vision into a broader socialist condemnation of corporate greed. Structures of white supremacy and plutocracy combine in an Afropessimist vision of domination that aims to remove the human agency of the Greek centaur's head with the docility of the *equisapiens*.

[1] Du Bois was deeply engaged with classical traditions, as discussed most recently in the papers included in the special volume of the *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* edited by Mathias Hanses and Harriet Fertik (July 2018).

Title: Frank M. Snowden, Jr. and the Origins of The Image of the Black in Western Art

Name: Stuart McManus

In 1976 a landmark series in the history of art appeared. This was entitled *The Image of the Black in Western Art* and was inaugurated by a volume, subtitled "From the Pharaohs to the Fall of the Roman Empire." This richly illustrated book, which offered readings of all the canonical representations from this period was inspired by the pioneering efforts of Dominique de Menil (1908-1997), a leading figure in the efforts to integrate the art world. The central chapter of the volume, however, was assigned to onetime Professor, Chair of Classics and Dean of the College of Liberal Arts at Howard University, Frank M. Snowden, Jr. (1911-2007), whose *Blacks in Antiquity* (1970) had greatly impressed de Menil with its range and scholarly rigor. This decision was to cast a long shadow in the history of classical scholarship in general and Africana receptions of ancient art in particular (Keita 2000).

Taking as its starting point Snowden's contribution to *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, this paper will explore Snowden's life and scholarship as an influential example of the Africana reception of ancient Mediterranean visual and literary culture. Of particular importance are his early trips to Italy where he prepared his as-yet unpublished

Harvard dissertation, *De servis libertisque Pompeianis* (Snowden 1944), an important preface to his later scholarship. This exposure to both ancient and modern Mediterranean culture led him in the post-war years to begin to formulate the ideas that would characterize his later work, all the time continuing to move in African American intellectual circles, and corresponding with his former colleague at Atlanta University, W.E.B. Du Bois (Snowden 1956; W.E.B. Du Bois Papers). As he ascended through the *cursus honorum* at Howard University, Snowden also became involved in the political struggles of the day, both at Howard, where he served as Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and internationally as a lecturer in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Libya (1953). This led to another highly formative moment, his time as cultural attaché to the American Embassy in Rome, where he served under Clare Luce Booth, the first woman to hold such a diplomatic rank.

It is within this rich historical context that we should understand Snowden's contribution to *The Image of the Black in Western Art*. As the SCS comes to Washington, D.C., this is the perfect moment to remember one of the city's great classicists, whose manifold contributions are yet to be fully explored (Greenwood 2009).

Title: "Every Time I Think about Color It's a Political Statement:" Classical Elements in the Art of Emma Amos

Name: Michele Valerie Ronnick

Fuller appreciation of the octogenarian Atlanta native Emma Amos may come after her retrospective exhibition at the Georgia Museum of Art in Athens set for 2021, but in support and anticipation of that is my study of the classical elements in her work. The theme can be traced back to her aquatint etchings "Pompeii Red" (1959) and "Pompeii White" (1960), and even to her association with the Spiral Collective, an all male group of black artists whose name was inspired by Archimedes and to which she was invited to join in 1963. Later work includes a 10 painting ensemble "Odyssey" (1988), "Catching my Mother in the Grand Scheme of Things (1988 with a Colosseum falling through space on the right), Bell Jar: bell hooks with Dancers Bill T. Jones and Arnie Zane on a Greek Jar (1996), three related studies "Models" (1995), "Classical and Universal" (1995) and Measuring, Measuring" (1996), each featuring the Kritios Boy and "Orion" (2012).

Fascinated with Paul Robeson from the time she saw him on stage as Othello at a show she attended with her father, she later placed two portraits of him in youth and in old age in "A Reading at the Grave of Bessie Smith" (1985). A year earlier she had envisioned him in a setting merging Greek myth with American culture in two related pieces: "Zeus as Football Player" and "Billie and Zeus/Swan" (1984). A decade later in a "deft assimilation of photography into painting,"² she positioned a nude photo of Robeson in all his Olympian beauty by Nikolas Murray (1892-1965) in a vertical alignment, i.e. below a Greek vase painting and above a Roman relief which she titled the "Paul Robeson Frieze" (1995). With a set of slides including those attached, this paper will explore how Amos has employed Graeco-Roman culture to "intervene in a history of art dominated by European and white American men" and challenge "racist and colonialist imperatives."³

1 Lippard, Lucy, "Floating Falling Landing: An Interview with Emma Amos," *Art Papers* 15(1991): 15.

2 Farrington, Lisa, "Emma Amos: Art as Legacy," *Woman's Art Journal* 28(2007): 5.

3 Wolfskill, Phoebe, "Love and Theft in the Art of Emma Amos," *Archives of American Art Journal* 55(September, 2016): 44.

FOURTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS

Session 30: Culture and Society in Greco-Roman Egypt (Organized by the American Society of Papyrologists)

Title: Roman Attitude Towards Peregrine Marriage in Egypt Before and After 212 AD

Name: Arnaud Besson

In the Roman empire, marriage was a pivotal institution that determined the transmission of personal status and of family property to the children. When Rome increased its hold over individuals who, up till then, had used their own legal system, its new subjects articulated claims to make use of their own laws and the Roman law as well. This gave rise to various reactions from the Roman authorities.

Particularly, the Roman conception that marriage was based on the consent of the parties – most notably on the woman's free will – entered into conflict with some local institutions, before as well as after the Antonine Constitution that granted universal Roman citizenship in 212 AD.

This paper deals with some discretionary decisions of the Roman authorities in Egypt from the 1st to the 3rd centuries, known through papyri: mainly the famous case of Dionysia (*P. Oxy. II 237*) and its precedents, with special attention to the attitude of the Roman Prefects regarding the local institution of the *katoché*, and later imperial decisions kept in the *Justinian Code* 5.20 & 8.38(39).2. This consent principle had a different impact in various situations, sometimes playing out in favor of the women's interests and sometimes against them. The topic of this paper thus explores very important aspects of the interaction of different legal culture in Egypt at a turning point.

Title: P.Tebt.Med.dem: An Unpublished Demotic Medical Compendium from Tebtunis
Name: Amber Jacob

This paper will present an overview of the unpublished Demotic medical texts in the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection, currently being edited for publication by the author. The corpus comprises the largest collection worldwide of Egyptian (Demotic) medical texts from the Graeco-Roman period, deriving from the well-documented Tebtunis Temple Library in the Fayum Oasis. This known archaeological context is unique amongst medical papyri from Egypt and the corpus affords multiple opportunities for research in largely unexplored avenues of ancient medicine.

In addition to the Demotic material, Tebtunis has yielded around thirteen Greek medical papyri, some of which can be shown to derive from the same temple library and were likely copied by the same bilingual Egyptian priests responsible for the Demotic texts. The corpus thus provides an unprecedented opportunity for a case-study in the cross-cultural exchange of medical knowledge in antiquity. Due to the unedited status of the bulk of Demotic medical texts, previous scholarship has been constrained to compare Greek medical texts to Egyptian texts from the New Kingdom and Saite periods. This half-a-millennium gap in our diachronic understanding of ancient Egyptian medicine has rendered the project of assessing questions of the internal development of Egyptian medicine, the level of interaction between Egyptian and Greek medicine, and the influence of Egyptian medicine on the Western scientific tradition, problematic at best.

Preliminary work on the corpus has revealed insights into previously unrecognized features of Egyptian medicine, including the first discovered Egyptian treatise on nephrology, the branch of medicine concerning the kidneys. Dermatological treatises reveal a point of common concern between the Demotic and Greek texts and form connections with other papyri from the temple library concerning cult-hierarchy. The proctological material, however, represents a distinctly Egyptian tradition. The manuscripts also contain a trove of information on ancient pharmacy and botany. This paper will provide an overview of the main medical themes and methods of these texts while also seeking to illuminate their professional, social context and the manuscript tradition in which they were written. The project aims to open up new perspectives relevant to Egyptology, Classics, and the History of Medicine.

Title: Climate Science and Ptolemaic Egypt
Name: Joseph Morgan

This paper explores the interface between climate science and the documentary record of Ptolemaic Egypt. The appearance of several monographs (e.g. Cline 2014, Harper 2017, Manning 2018), articles (Bresson 2014, Knapp and Manning 2016), as well as collaborations (Princeton's CCHRI, the PACES project, the Yale Nile Initiative, the Basel Climate Science and Ancient History Lab) in recent years have demonstrated the uses of cutting edge

climatological datasets in the writing of ancient history. Of the disciplines that pursue historical questions via analysis of ancient documentation, papyrology is the natural ally to paleoclimatology. Over the past five years, this alliance has produced much interesting work, much of it focusing on the question of calibration and correlation between events evidenced in the records available to each discipline (e.g. Sigl et al. 2015, Manning et al. 2017, McConnell et al. 2018). I submit this paper as a small but necessary corrective to this focus on correlation by shifting emphasis back onto examination of the societies that produced the documents. This paper therefore does not focus on the well-explored phenomena of collapse but instead discusses the environment in its bureaucratically processed form, that is, the environment as a subject of ancient documentation. I venture the hypothesis that the administrative reforms implemented by the first Ptolemies introduced fragilities into the fabric of Late Egyptian society through a process of increased administrative centralization and vertical concentration of information flow at the expense of millennia-old proliferation of horizontal communication networks upon which local communities depended in times of environmental crisis.

I argue this point by presenting the evidence for communication speed in the region politically dominated by the Ptolemaic kings in the second half of the 3rd century BC, that is, the period of the “new Ptolemaic state” as outlined in Manning 2010. I produced this set of parameters through an analysis of data culled from the corpus of 3rd century epistolographical evidence (both Greek, collected in Sarri 2018, and Demotic, collected in Depauw 2006). I then turn to the evidence for communication networks and suggest that the character and contours of these networks governed the speed and trajectory of specific types of information, such as local prices and agricultural conditions. This information held real value to those who recorded and exchanged it, even if that value was never realized at market for a price. I demonstrate that the ancients understood the value of this information and actively sought to secure it through both formal (i.e. administrative) and informal (i.e. social) channels, expending resources on the creation and maintenance of links to important nodes in the networks of information flow. Having established the temporal and spatial parameters for information transfer and the demonstrable value of this information, I introduce the dynamic of the environmental shock into the equation. I argue that the mid-3rd-century administrative overhaul as outlined by Manning (2010) rendered Egyptian society more fragile and vulnerable to such shocks in proportion to the degree of administrative centralization, the undermining of preexisting social networks among the Egyptian elite, and checks placed on the mobility of tenant farmers, while at the same time ameliorating the repercussions of such crises for those subjects embedded in the social network of the Alexandrian elite and their clientele by full integration of this network into the Mediterranean economic sphere.

Title: The Impact of Labour and Mobility on Family Structures in Roman Egypt

Name: Elizabeth Nabney

I shall present a small portion of my dissertation, which examines the wide-ranging effects on families when one or more members left home to work in another town or village, or even another country. The papyri provide evidence for a variety of arrangements where people of all ages left home for work, ranging from young children leaving their parents and siblings to work as apprentices or on agricultural labour contracts, to the head of the household leaving to serve in government positions or the military. The effects of the separation of family members manifested in wide-ranging ways, from concerns over practical matters (the process of sending and receiving letters and exchanging goods; inconveniences caused to a family due to an absent head of household), to the emotional and psychological toll of separation (anxiety over the health and safety of absent family members, and in some cases a deliberate lack of communication). In this presentation I will examine how two families sent items between members across significant distances, as well as what types of objects were deemed necessary to transport, and I will contrast their different approaches to this necessary task.

The archive of Tiberianus and Terentianus (first quarter of the second century CE) preserves the correspondence of Terentianus to a man he addresses as his father as well as a few letters from other family members, most of whom were located in the area around Alexandria. Many of the items sent between family members in this archive are related to the military lifestyle of Tiberianus and Terentianus, such as clothing and provisions. This is typical of other documentary texts relating to soldiers found in Egypt; however, Terentianus frequently mentions sending collections of assorted items to Tiberianus such as goblets, papyrus, and large quantities of glassware and clothing which are less clearly related to military concerns.

The archive of Apollonios (first quarter of the second century CE) is a large family archive, mostly consisting of personal and business letters between members of a wealthy family. Apollonios' appointment in 113 CE as *strategos* of [Apollonopolites Heptakomia](#) in Upper Egypt resulted in the division of his family and business concerns between two locations: his mother and eldest daughter remained with the family estate and factory in Hermopolis, while he took his wife and their younger children with him to his posting almost 150 km away. The family and their employees regularly sent items relating to their weaving business as well as personal belongings between Hermopolis and Heptakomia.

Tiberianus and Terentianus experienced considerable anxiety over how to convey items between different family members in a secure manner. The letters between the two men are full of references to what containers they used to send items, whom they asked to convey various items, what seals and other security measures they used, and an inventory of the precise contents of each parcel. By contrast, Apollonios and his family sent items back and forth frequently, but did not express any anxiety over the method of transportation or the security of their items in their letters.

It is possible that wealthier families like that of Apollonios did not need to worry about such matters because they could employ trustworthy messengers to deliver their items. Less wealthy families had to use less reliable methods of transportation such as acquaintances who happened to be travelling in the right direction, and so therefore had to take more precautions to protect the goods they were sending.

Title: An Unpublished Papyrus from the Coptic “Wizard’s Hoard”

Name: Roxanne Sarrazin

What we call the “Coptic Wizard’s Hoard” is a library of ancient magical texts comprising at least twelve manuscripts and produced by five individuals at some point between the fourth and seventh centuries. This collection, which provides a rare glimpse into the activities of an ancient “magical workshop”, contains a codex written by three different scribes (P.Mich.inv. 593; published by W.H. Worrell, “A Coptic Wizard’s Hoard”, *AJSL* 46 [1930] 239–62), three rolls written by a fourth scribe, and eight papyrus sheets on which a fifth scribe copied spells from both the codex and the rolls. The subject of this contribution is one of these eight papyrus sheets, P.Mich.inv. 597, which preserves two healing spells along with some ritual instructions.

The main interest of this piece is its mention of two Egyptian deities: at the beginning of the second spell, we can read the phrase “You are the doe, the golden cup of Isis, the silver cup of Osiris”. This places our papyrus in a rather small group of 20 Coptic magical texts which include references to Greek and Egyptian gods. Along with these other texts, P.Mich.inv. 597 provides unique insights into the phenomenon of religious syncretism in Late Antique Egypt, since it combines both “pagan” and Christian elements (among which we find invocations to Adam, the Father and the angels). The study of these spells proves that syncretism was neither the assimilation of an old religion by a new one, nor a corruption of the new religion, nor even the mere “survival” of “pagan” deities, but rather a dynamic, mutual, and most of all, creative process, involving the adoption, adaptation and reinterpretation of religious symbols and discourses to generate new ones.

Another interesting feature of this group of 20 magical texts is that they are all closely related through their mythological lore and intertextuality. P.Mich.inv. 597 is no exception. Its structure and phraseology connect it even more to a subgroup of spells using the Isis-Horus historiola, which we can also find in incantations dating back to the Pharaonic period, as well as in demotic and Greek spells. P.Mich.inv. 597 is thus also an important witness to the transmission of magical knowledge in Egypt, from the Pharaonic period to Late Antiquity. In this contribution, I will present this Coptic magical papyrus. I will first provide an overview of the collection and discuss the connections between P.Mich.inv. 597 and the other texts from this library. I will then go over some physical aspects of the piece itself, supply a reading of the Coptic text and a translation, and discuss some of the unique features of its content. Finally, I will compare this text with other Coptic spells which mention Egyptian deities and discuss its particular significance for our understanding of religious syncretism and the transmission of magical knowledge in Antiquity.

Session 31: God and Man in the Second Sophistic: Criticism, Innovation and Continuity (Organized by the Society for Ancient Mediterranean Religions)

Title: Ambiguous Epiphanies in the Novels of the Second Sophistic

Name: Barbara Blythe

The Second Sophistic gave rise to considerable interest in divine intervention. Despite the decline of certain sanctuaries and cult practices, gods were thought to communicate with devotees regularly by means of dreams, waking visions, and oracular responses. Tales describing and authenticating divine miracles gained popularity. There also arose a tradition of texts expressing skeptical attitudes toward such phenomena.

Cult practice plays a prominent role in the Greek and Roman novels of the Second Sophistic. The protagonists pray to gods, visit temples, consult priests, offer sacrifices and dedications, undergo incubation rituals, and participate in religious festivals. Divine machinery in these novels often receives an ambiguous treatment, as the narratives overwhelmingly prioritize indirect communication with the gods by means of dreams and oracles over direct divine intervention. Whitmarsh (2011, 193-95) and Cioffi (2014, 34-35) note that direct epiphanies that take place while awake occur only rarely in the novels. Such direct epiphanic experiences are generally set in the past, reported by a potentially unreliable narrator, or removed in some other way from the main narrative. Deities frequently visit the protagonists and other characters in dreams in order to provide information or issue commands, yet, as I argue, the novelists often purposefully obscure the issue of whether we should view these dreams as epiphanies of the divine or as manifestations of psychological phenomena. I suggest that this tension in the ancient novels reflects the *Zeitgeist* of the Second Sophistic, which produced a diverse and vibrant array of accounts of divine intervention, many of which were met with skepticism.

I focus on four examples that illustrate the ambiguity that pervades most accounts of divine epiphany in the novels of the Second Sophistic. In Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, an old man named Philetas claims that he witnessed an epiphany of Eros in his garden (2.4-6). Longus offers hints that the reader should consider the possibility that Philetas' story is a fictional allegory rather than a factual account of an actual encounter with the divine. Later in the same novel, a character named Lycaenion claims that the local nymphs appeared to her in a dream and instructed her to teach Daphnis how to make love to Chloe (3.15-20). Longus treats the episode in an ambiguous manner that allows the reader to interpret the dream either as a genuine command from the nymphs that fits well with Lycaenion's own desires or as simply a clever fabrication on the part of a scheming seductress. The appearance of a character with the evocative name Dionysophanes ("Dionysus manifest") brings the novel's various conflicts to an end as a human *deus ex machina* (4.13). In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, Lucius reports that Isis appeared to him in a magnificent epiphany as he slept on a beach (11.3-7). She then continued to appear to him in dreams throughout his later initiations (11.19-22). I argue that Apuleius leaves it up to the reader to decide whether these are actual appearances by the goddess or products of Lucius' overactive imagination.

I conclude by mentioning briefly a few more ways in which the novels offer problematic views of cult practice that are emblematic of attitudes toward religion during the Second Sophistic. These texts are full of characters straddling the line between priest and charlatan, tensions between the universal and the local in cult practice, and attempts to authenticate religious miracles in the face of skepticism. As texts that display marked preoccupations with cult apparatus, epiphany in its various manifestations, and conceptions of divine machinery that vary from the mystic to the mundane, the ancient novels offer unique perspectives on several significant religious trends of the Second Sophistic.

Title: Sacrificing to hungry gods: Lucian on ritual

Name: Inger Kuin

The dominant scholarly narrative about animal sacrifice in Lucian's lifetime used to be one of decline: alongside traditional religious practice as such animal sacrifice was thought to have become less important and less frequent (e.g. Nilsson 1945). Building, however, on the growing appreciation starting in the 1980s of the continued vitality of

Greek and Roman cult practices in the first and second centuries CE (MacMullen 1981), it is now accepted that sacrificial rituals continued to be a prominent feature of everyday life (Petropoulou 2008, 32-111).

Large-scale civic sacrifices as a form of euergetism and the imperial cult bolstered the persistence of animal sacrifice (Zuiderhoek 2009, 1-36; Price 1984, 209-220; Chaniotis 2003, 10-11). There is a steady decline in the popularity of sacrifice only from the third century CE onwards, and even after the interdiction of the 390s sacrifices were still performed (MacMullen 1997, 42-5; Stroumsa 2009, 56-83; Cameron 2011, 59-74; Jones 2014, 61-77).

In this paper I consider Lucian's comic treatment of animal sacrifice. The topic is at the forefront of four Lucianic pieces (*On Sacrifices*, *Prometheus*, *Tragic Zeus*, and *Icaromenippus*), and scholars have traditionally viewed Lucian's treatment of sacrifice as clear-cut criticism. The author, allegedly, considered it a primitive and antiquated practice, and this, in turn, has been a major argument for attributing skeptic views to Lucian (Caster 1937, 269-73; Pernot 2005, 323-324; Belayche 2011; Berdozzo 2011, 71-94; McClure 2018, 26). Seemingly divergent views of sacrifice in some of Lucian's pieces have also created confusion (e.g. Graf 2011, 205).

I propose that Lucian's approach to sacrifice humorously engages first and second century CE debates, which attest to 'the practice of animal sacrifice (...) becoming invested with greater cultural significance' (Rives 2011, 197). We find philosophical discussions of animal sacrifice in Lucian's contemporaries, like Maximus of Tyre, and immediate predecessors, like Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom (Rives 2011, 195-197; Graf 2011, 206-210). Responses to animal sacrifice from Christian intellectuals may also have been part of his framework of reference (Nasrallah 2011, 150; Bozia 2014, 106). Lucian depicts animal sacrifice in different ways in his works simply in order to approach it from different angles.

At the core of Lucian's humor about the gods is his interest in their humanness, through exaggerated anthropomorphism, and sacrifice is an ideal topic: '[T]he only way of knowing what gift a supernatural power likes is to presuppose that the supernatural power shares the likings of the giver. Sacrifice is built upon the assumption that gods are like humans' (Osborne 2016, 248). The author's humorous rendering of hungry and frazzled gods is rooted in the nature of sacrifice.

I begin with the extreme fantasy of a cessation of sacrifices in *Icaromenippus* and *Tragic Zeus*, which Lucian borrowed from Aristophanes' sacrificial strikes. This fantasy hones in on the difficult philosophical question of what humans' gifts mean to the gods. Next, I discuss *On Sacrifices*, which addresses hard questions about the mechanics of ancient animal sacrifice, such as the transfer of goods from humans to gods, the size of sacrifices, and their preferred contents.

In his works Lucian turns the ritual of sacrifice upside down and inside out. In doing so he participates in the philosophical debates of sacrifice of his time in his own idiosyncratic, comic register. Lucian's audience members, themselves most likely regular participants in ritual, would have derived a range of meanings and messages from this comedy. Imagining the gods as hungrily awaiting their offerings was an invitation to reflect on sacrifice, not to reject it.

Title: The Didactic Oracle: The Delphic Oracle in Plutarch's 'Delphic Dialogues'

Name: Rebecca Frank

As a priest of Apollo at Delphi, Plutarch of Chaeronea is an invaluable source on the state of the Delphic oracle in the second century CE. The oracle appears in nearly all of his Greek *Parallel Lives*, either in the form of oracular responses or journeys to the sanctuary itself, as well as being the setting, and occasionally the subject, of a number of Plutarch's dialogues. And yet, by Plutarch's day, the Delphic oracle had long since lost the political clout it once wielded. Consequently, the prominence of the oracle in Plutarch's writings has prompted speculation as to why Delphi holds such a visible position in his works.

Scholars have argued that Plutarch is an apologist for the oracular site, striving to pull it out of its obscurity and celebrate a hallmark of Greek culture before its subjugation to Rome (e.g. Brenk 1977, 2017; Stadter 2004, 2011).

McInerney (2004) has suggested that Plutarch's presentation of Delphi is political: a celebration of classical Greek culture and a rejection of Roman domination. In this paper, I argue that while Plutarch is acting as a 'diplomat for Delphi' (Stadter 2004), he is not proposing a return to Delphi's previous role in the Greco-Roman world, but advocating for a new identity for the oracular sanctuary. In so doing, I extend the arguments of Opsomer (1998) and Simonetti (2017) regarding the centrality of the Delphic oracle in Plutarch's philosophy. Rather than the Delphic oracle simply being a motif Plutarch uses to explain his philosophical beliefs, I argue that, faced with the oracle's increasing obsolescence, Plutarch proposes a new identity and purpose for the oracular sanctuary: a center for philosophical and theological contemplation.

In this paper I focus on the so-called 'Delphic dialogues': *De E apud Delphos*, *De Pythiae oraculis*, and *De defectu oraculorum*. These dialogues present a series of conversations held at Delphi regarding different aspects of the god, the oracle, and the oracular sanctuary. I demonstrate that in the Delphic dialogues, Delphi stands as a touchstone for humans to access divine knowledge through the oracular responses, but also through its physical presence. Walking through the sanctuary opens up new lines of inquiry for those with curious minds, and provides clues as to how those questions might be answered. Delphi is the center of the world, perhaps not literally, but certainly metaphorically, or so Plutarch would have his reader believe. As a result, Plutarch demonstrates in the dialogues that Delphi serves as an ideal location for philosophical inquiry because it is a sanctuary to a philosophical god whose presence permeates Delphic ritual and cult as well as the physical dedications at Delphi. The Delphic oracle may no longer play a pivotal role in the political sphere, but through the Delphic dialogues Plutarch makes the case for a new role for the sanctuary as a philosophical center where individuals from different schools of thought may gather to share knowledge and work together in their search for deeper understanding.

Title: Sincerity in the Second Sophistic: The Rhetoric of Religiosity in Philostratus'

Heroicus

Name: Kenneth Yu

This paper examines the catalog of giant bones (7.9-8.17) and the catalog of heroes (25.17-42.4) in the *Heroicus* in light of claims in modern scholarship about the re-enchantment of Greece under Rome, and the corresponding revival of traditional hero cult in the Imperial Greek period (cf. Gabba 1981, Henrichs 1999, and Jones 2010). The *Heroicus* depicts a vinedresser who describes to his Phoenician interlocutor a series of miraculous giant bones that he either viewed first hand or learned about through divine means, intimating the sensorially and religiously charged nature of his encounter with such phenomena. Similarly in the catalog of heroes, the vinedresser emphasizes how it was the hero Protesilaus, with whom he enjoys an intimate relationship, who reports to him in stunning detail descriptions of the Homeric warriors. I argue that Philostratus is ultimately concerned with how Greek religious knowledge could be acquired and transmitted in the Imperial period, for he contrasts the uninspired learning of the scholarly life in the city (διδασκάλους χρώμενοι και φιλοσοφούντες, 4.5-10ff) with the superior knowledge he derives from Protesilaus in the countryside (cf. also Philostr. *VS* 552-54). What is at stake in the *Heroicus* is the means and authority by which one can access knowledge about traditional cultic life of the distant past. Philostratus insists, I demonstrate, that the maintenance of Hellenism under Rome requires unmediated access to heroes like Protesilaus who can re-actualize wonders of myth and cult of the past in the present.

The second half of my paper briefly explores how seriously we ought to take the sincerity of Philostratus' turn toward traditional religion and cult, for it is precisely in the Imperial period that religious piety becomes a literary topos—exemplified not only in the *Heroicus*' obsession with archaic hero cult, but also in Aristides' *Sacred Tales* with its elaborately wrought piety toward Aesclepius, and in Pausanias' thematization of his own increasing religious sensitivity as he visits important cultic sites in mainland Greece. Greater attention to the fictionalizing techniques that Imperial Greek prose writers used to cast cultural and religious sincerity as a kind of literary device means that rather than taking Philostratus' religious sincerity and experience of the divine at face value, we ought to examine how Second Sophistic writers consciously combined the fictional and the religious as a distinct mode of intellectual discourse. We can see that Second Sophistic writers began to treat Greek religion as a discrete value sphere that could be harnessed in fictional accounts to great literary effect.

Title: “That’s not the way I heard it:” Folkloric Mechanisms in the Creation of Philostratus’s *Vita Apollonii*
Name: James Henriques

Philostratus, in describing the sources for his biography of the 1st century Neopythagorean sage Apollonius of Tyana, complains that a certain Moeragenes, “does not deserve attention: he wrote four books about Apollonius and yet was greatly ignorant about the master” (*VA* I.3.2). Given remarks like this, among others, a substantial portion of modern scholarly discussion of Philostratus’s *Vita Apollonii* has been occupied by the debate about the identity and nature of Philostratus’s sources. Such attention to sources is warranted, as the results of these inquiries bear immediate relevance to the larger scholarly questions regarding the *VA*, particularly Philostratus’s own motives for composing it (Francis 1998). In regard to Moeragenes, modern scholarship has been divided as to whether he was hostile to Apollonius (i.e., portraying him as a sorcerer or charlatan) (Meyer 1912; Anderson 1986), or sympathetic (Bowie 1978; Raynor 1984). If Moeragenes was hostile, then Philostratus’s motivations for writing a new biography are obvious. The arguments for a Moeragenes who was sympathetic to Apollonius, however, are quite compelling (Abraham 2009); but this route leaves unanswered the question as to why Philostratus would disparage a potentially valuable source. This paper offers a possible solution to this conundrum—as well as to several others that have plagued modern discussion of the *VA*—by arguing that a drastic change in the religious landscape of the ancient Mediterranean occurred between the 1st and 3rd centuries, resulting in divergent views of Apollonius between Philostratus and his predecessors.

Specifically, this paper argues that the entry of Christianity into the Greco-Roman world introduced several new ideas to an already competitive religious marketplace. Many of these ideas were further disseminated to the non-Christian public through the popular media of the Second Sophistic. Philostratus’s Apollonius, therefore, was the turning point in the development of a new type of literary-historical archetype—the miracle-worker (or “divine man”)—that *did not exist prior to the first century*. Modern scholars have been led astray by assuming that this character-type was static, universal, and pre-dated Christianity (including both sides in the debate surrounding the *theios aner* hypothesis (Bieler 1967; Koskenniemi 1991, 1994, 1998; Flinterman 1996; and Du Toit 1997)). This paper suggests, instead, that the popular religious imaginary of the ancient Mediterranean had been significantly altered in the time between the death of the historical Apollonius and the publication of Philostratus’ biography in the 3rd century.

To demonstrate this shift, this paper borrows theoretical models from the field of folklore studies. Given the particular prominence of oral communication, as well as a tenuous relationship with “truth” in the worlds of folklore (Oring 2008) and the Second Sophistic (Bowersock 1997), such models are especially applicable to understanding Philostratus’s biography of Apollonius (Anderson 2009). Diachronic studies demonstrating the reasons and mechanisms behind the growth of legends surrounding historical personages (Fair 1998; Henken 2002), for instance, give significant weight to the likelihood that Philostratus understood Apollonius in a fundamentally different way than his sources. Particularly important for this study is the concept of “ostensive action,” a theoretical model folklore studies borrowed from semiotics (Dégh and Vázsonyi 1983; Ellis 2003). “Ostensive action” highlights the way in which legend inspires certain real-life actions that further contribute to that legend, a kind of anti-mimesis. With such a model in mind, this paper demonstrates that certain aspects of Christianity—particularly a more sharply defined distinction between “magic” and “miracle”—altered the legends surrounding Apollonius, and that, through the media of the Second Sophistic, Christian ideas about the divine and the supernatural affected the way subsequent non-Christian Greco-Roman intellectuals like Philostratus viewed and interpreted past “divine intermediaries.”

Session 32: Homer in the Renaissance (Organized by the Society for Early Modern Classical Reception)

Title: Lodovico Dolce's *L'Ulisse*: Rethinking Homeric Translation and Reception from the Material to the Imaginary

Name: Richard Armstrong

It is common to dismiss Lodovico Dolce's *L'Ulisse* (1573) as simply a *rifacimento*, not a "proper translation"; but new ways of thinking emerging from the field of translation studies now make this text good to think with. First, the material production of this text by the Giolito press—which also produced vernacular Italian "classics," in particular Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (edited by Dolce)—reveals a kind of industrialization of epic tradition. Not only is Ariosto's text elevated by its production as a fine quarto edition with commentaries, allegories, and illustrations, but also works of classical epic (Ovid, Homer, Virgil) are produced in the same vernacular form (*ottava rima*) with similar paratexts and sometimes the *exact* same "illustrations." Thus Dolce and the Giolito press were forging a new vernacular vision of epic tradition that converged in the vibrant, aural poetics of *ottava rima* (a genre with strong trace elements of oral performance, reminiscent of the *cantastorie* in Italy) while building through their material innovations a vernacular readership that clearly received chivalric epic and classical epic as installments in a uniform product line. Recent work on the materiality of translation (Littau 2016, Coldiron 2015) suggests we take far more seriously the manner in which entities like the Giolito press and its tireless agent Dolce shaped the reception of classical epic through the material elements of production, not just the formal and verbal choices made by the translator.

On the other end of the theoretical spectrum, recent concern for the imaginary (*l'imaginaire*—Bezari et al. 2019) as an intermediary in translation studies gives us a way to think through some of the more interesting divergences Dolce's *L'Ulisse* makes from the Homeric *Odyssey*. I focus on two in particular: Ulisse's production of a *galley* as good as any built in the Venetian Arsenal while on Ogygia, and Minerva's instructions on good kingship to Ulisse at the end of the work. I argue that these divergences show particular contemporary techniques of making present the past through a poetics of exemplarity and epideictic rhetoric—a common feature of the early modern reception of epic (Kallendorf 1989), and one hardwired into the tradition of chivalric epic in *ottava rima*. While such moments appear to stray from the Homeric text, they help to fulfill the *mission* of Homeric poetry as a medium making present the past (see Bakker 2005).

Title: Juan de Mena's *Omero romançado*: On (Not) Translating Homer in the Court of Juan II of Castile

Name: Julia Claire Hernandez

In the prologue to his 1444 work, the *Omero romançado*, Cordoban poet Juan de Mena, newly arrived at Juan II's Castilian court, presents himself as the first to "translate and interpret that seraphic work, Homer's *Iliad*, rendered first from Greek into Latin and then from Latin into our maternal Castilian." Almost in the same breath, however, he admits that he will "not interpret [the *Iliad*'s] 24 books, but rather, brief epitomes of these." This renders the project's stated goals somewhat contradictory: one either translates the *Iliad* (or at least, a Latin translation of it) or translates its epitomes. Unsurprisingly, given the Homeric texts' 15th-century transmission, as Mena lacked access to a full version of the *Iliad*, his work is, in fact, a translation of the *Ilias latina*, a 1st-century-CE Latin compilation of Trojan Cycle epitomes, widely read in the Middle Ages and likely well-known to his readers, given its ubiquitous presence in 15th-century Spain. Nevertheless, Mena repackages these epitomes, arguing that his non-Homerically-sourced "Iliad" is, in fact, superior to any direct translation of the epic. Through a virtuosic display of rhetorical misdirection, he proposes that his unique Cordoban poetic identity links him so closely to the figure of Homer that the true source of his material becomes irrelevant.

This paper explores both how Mena develops this paradoxical argumentation and why he goes to such lengths. My reconstruction of this curious text's story represents the confluence of three greater historical narratives: the history of the Homeric texts in 15th-century Europe, the spread of Humanism from Italy into Spain, and the intellectual life of the turbulent court of Juan II, with its close ties to Italian Humanists. These include Homeric translator Pietro

Candido Decembrio, from whom the monarch himself had personally requested a Latin translation of the *Iliad*. While modern scholarly narratives omit Spain from the history of 15th-century Hellenism or portray its engagement with the Greek tradition as delayed or non-existent, my analysis shows that, already in the 1440s, the Castilian court demonstrated an increasingly insatiable demand for Greek translations and the Homeric poems specifically. This demand was such that even Mena's not-properly-Homeric *Omero romançado* could leverage its up-and-coming author's successful advancement at court. The *Omero romançado* thus remains a testament to the 15th-century cultural capital of the figurative Homer, representative par excellence of the Greek tradition, and, by extension, the Italian Humanists whom Castilian intellectuals sought to emulate.

Title: The Abbé d'Aubignac and the Death of Homer

Name: Will Theiss

François Hédelin (1604-1676), the abbé d'Aubignac, wrote the *Conjectures académiques, ou, Dissertation sur l'Iliade* sometime in the 1660s. He intended to shock. Homer, he was the first to argue, never existed. The *Iliad* was boring and much too long. Its protagonists were misconceived. What hero would spend his time cooking 'stews' by his ship, as Achilles does in book 9, 'like a good butler'?

The *Conjectures* were published posthumously in 1715. Historians have therefore tended to write d'Aubignac into the margins of the famous eighteenth-century Homeric debates: first the *querelles des anciens et des modernes*, and later the German scholarship of F. A. Wolf. By contrast, I argue that the *Conjectures* must be seen in their seventeenth-century context, in the Paris and Versailles of Richelieu and Louis XIV. It was by projecting this world back into antiquity, I show, that d'Aubignac reached his startling conclusions. In particular, the court culture and dramatic culture of his time gave d'Aubignac the tools to demolish Homer and deconstruct the *Iliad*.

As a courtier, d'Aubignac tutored the nephews of Richelieu and banqueted in Versailles. He therefore observed that the songs performed at court later circulated in the streets of Paris: 'the strains of our royal ballets go secretly in the mouths of the valets and gatekeepers, and fall into the hands of beggars.' This gave d'Aubignac a model for understanding oral epic. Ancient singers performed at court; they sang short, heroic songs; these songs 'fell from Court into the crossroads' and became the property of the blind, wandering poets of Greece whom later writers called Homer. D'Aubignac thus used the sociology of contemporary song to feed his Homeric scholarship long before Milman Parry went to Yugoslavia.

As a dramatist, d'Aubignac wrote French classical tragedy, engaged in pamphlet warfare with Corneille, and authored the influential *Pratique du théâtre* (1657). This, I argue, furnished the other pillar of his history of the *Iliad*. What the ancient singers performed at court, according to d'Aubignac, was tragedy before the invention of actors, 'played entirely through the chorus'. And the ridiculous 'burlesques' of the *Iliad* that so grated on d'Aubignac were nothing other than the fourth acts—the 'satyr plays'—known to be a part of ancient drama.

But by demolishing Homer, d'Aubignac also rescued the *Iliad*. As a whole, the poem was disastrous. But broken up into 'little tales' and 'hors-d'oeuvres', as the tragedies were originally sung, each piece retained its beauty. If this dialectic of analysis and unitarianism is the characteristically modern way of reading Homer, I conclude, it was nevertheless born in the seventeenth century.

Title: From Peisistratus to the papacy - Homeric translation and authority in the reign of Nicholas V

Name: Nathaniel Hess

In the wake of Petrarch, a translation of Homer into elegant Latin verse was a desideratum that continually evaded the grasp of quattrocento humanists. Nicholas V, a pope who was intimate with these circles, instigated a whirl of intellectual activity around the Roman Curia, partly to consolidate his recently and precariously centralised power; among the mass of Greek authors of which he commissioned translations, Homer was, significantly, the only poet. The immediate fruits of this (at least in terms of verse translation) were minimal: Carlo Marsuppini and Orazio Romano both produced versions of the first book of the *Iliad*, and there is precious little beyond that. But the project

is worth examining, partly because it seems to begin a spate of further partial verse translations of Homer, and partly because incompleteness does not prevent us from considering the underlying discourses of power and textual authority which tend to accumulate around his work. Giannozzo Manetti, a major advisor on Nicholas' projects, gives us some particularly compelling articulations of the intended ideological resonances. Of especial interest is the connection that he draws between Nicholas V, Peisistratus, and Ptolemy Philadelphus: the commissioning of a verse translation of Homer sits, as it were, at the interface between the Peisistratan recension of Homer, drawing fragments together into an authorised whole, and the Septuagint, a perfect collaborative translation - all of this, most importantly, under the aegis of a powerful monarch. I intend to examine not just the ideological constructions of Manetti - who tactically fails to acknowledge the failure of this particular project - but also the ways in which they might disclose, disseminate, or work against discourses operative in the work of translation itself. How does one produce an elegant verse translation when the canon of accuracy is the Septuagint myth? Is the idea of translation as a collaborative uniting of fragments a formative notion or a post factum fudge, and how does one connect it with the more interpersonal model of translation that would have the translator assuming the identity of the original author? Homer, both a privileged site of scholarly enterprise and a vividly imagined personality, is a pertinent focus for questions of this sort.

Session 33: Graduate Student Leadership in Classics (Organized by the Graduate Student Committee)

Title: The Classics Coffee Hour: Creating Connections and Promoting New Ideas through Graduate Student Service

Name: Ekaterina But and Colleen Kron

The "Classics Coffee Hour" was founded in 2016 by graduate students in the Department of Classics. In our presentation, we (the founding organizers) will discuss the structure, funding, and management of the group. We will describe the successful platform we created to organize and promote events that respond to graduate student concerns and interests, including: current research trajectories, new theoretical trends and reception studies, professional development, pedagogy, and multi-disciplinary approaches in Classics and related fields.

Our presentation will discuss practical methods by which graduate students at a large public university can draw on the student-centered funding structure to introduce positive change, build relationships between students and faculty and strengthen their department communities. We will discuss the successes and challenges of specific events, including (1) professional development workshops dedicated to tools for digital pedagogy, facilitating constructive classroom discussion, and teaching sensitive topics; (2) informal graduate student research presentations, and (3) more formal lectures on multidisciplinary topics, which open Classics to a wider university community. We will also discuss our current experience and plans for future expansion of our outreach and recruitment events to include undergraduate students and help them to navigate the discipline.

To conclude our presentation, we will summarize the preliminary results of three and a half years of activity of the Classics Coffee Hour (more than thirty events) and discuss feedback gathered from other graduate students, undergraduate students, faculty, and invited speakers. Then, we will open the floor for discussion from the "Graduate Student Leadership" panel in order to gain feedback and perspective from the wider graduate student and Classics community.

Title: How to Build a Community: My Experiences Founding and Growing a Classics Graduate Organization

Name: Samuel Kindick

As graduate students, our departments are our homes and our institutions are our identities. Since many of us will be members of our departments for at least five years, it behooves us to not only be active members of the departmental community, but to improve it in any way that we can. In this paper I will recount my experiences and lessons learned while working to strengthen the graduate community and positively affect the departmental culture at the University of Colorado Boulder.

I first, briefly, discuss how my sense of duty to the community evolved through advanced degrees at three different institutions, from being a master's student focused on coursework and exams, to a PhD student trying out a field that I wasn't sure was the right fit, and finally to a PhD candidate focused on community building and professional development.

In the second, longer, part of the paper I share my experiences founding and running a school-sponsored organization for Classics graduate students at the University of Colorado Boulder, the Classics Graduate Colloquium (CGC). This group organized a series of events within our department that sought to improve graduate students' sense of community with each other, with the faculty, and with the larger community. As the President of the CGC, I also organized a (now annual) graduate conference.

Finally, I reflect on how my departmental service furthered my own career. In addition to winning a scholarship for leadership, I was able to leverage the experience that I had with the CGC and the graduate conference into other opportunities. I hope that my journey, from uninvolved master's student to very (and maybe overly) involved PhD candidate will spark ideas in other about the roles that leadership and service can play in graduate school.

Title: Perspectives and Methods in Graduate Student Union Organizing

Name: Kenneth Elliott

In Fall 2018, I was elected Vice President of the graduate student union COGS (Campaign to Organize Graduate Students). COGS represents the approximately 2000 graduate students employed by the University of Iowa as TAs and RAs and works to ensure that we all have fair wages, benefits, and working conditions. The Vice President is in charge of organizing on campus, which includes membership drives, community outreach, and other events. In this presentation, I will share some of the ways this position has changed and improved me as a student, an academic, and a member of the community.

While this position represents a considerable time commitment, it has been a highly instructive experience. Most importantly, I have gained a wide knowledge of the university as a whole, including learning how other departments and other fields work and forming relationships with graduate students not only in humanities and social sciences, but also in STEM fields. Having in-depth conversations with graduate students in diverse fields about issues specific to them has made me rethink standard practices in my own department, and better understand the challenges that all graduate students face.

In addition, this position has made me much more aware of the role politics plays in the lives of graduate students. As at all state universities, the union has a complex relationship with both university administration and the state government, and I have learned firsthand how changes to state law can impact graduate students. This has given me the opportunity to develop a toolkit for effecting change both within the university system and through public opinion campaigns. Overall, my experience with COGS has given me valuable insight into the complicated lives of graduate students, and enabled me to push for improvements.

Title: “The Solution is to Start Building the Community You Imagine”: One Graduate Student’s Experience in Co-founding an Organization and Network of Scholars Dedicated to Antiracism and Pedagogy in Classics

Name: Kelly Dugan

I am a third-year PhD student specializing in antiracism and Greek and Latin pedagogy. In 2016, having earned my master's degrees in Classics and (historical) linguistics, I started my doctoral program knowing that I wanted to use my skills and teaching experience to combat racial injustice within Classics and educational environments as a whole. At the time, there was no known Classics organization dedicated to antiracism and the teaching of race, ethnicity, and multiculturalism in ancient studies. Two months into my first year, I reached out via email to Dr. Shelley P. Haley, Professor and Chair of Classics at Hamilton College, who responded, “The solution is to start building the community you imagine.” We then worked together to form the Multiculturalism, Race & Ethnicity in Classics Consortium (MRECC) that is now run by a diverse board of scholars from across the country including

ourselves. In two and a half years, MRECC has grown to over six hundred Facebook members with daily discussions and information sharing. We have organized panels and workshops including, “Racism and Language in Classics Today” at CAAS 2017 and the “Race and Ethnicity Syllabus Workshop” at CAAS 2018 (in partnership with CSJ). We also recently applied to be an SCS Affiliated Group. For this presentation, I will share my journey in co-founding MRECC and the profound networking opportunities this endeavor has created for myself and others. I will also reveal the challenges and fears I faced as a graduate student taking up the responsibility of developing an organization centered on social justice as well as the great successes in generating collaborative projects that have contributed to progress in antiracism in the field, my institution, and the community. My service work has not been accomplished on my own and I plan to acknowledge many along the way who have contributed.

Session 34: Humanities Publishing in Transition (Joint AIA-SCS Workshop)

No abstracts

Session 35: Classical Reception in Contemporary Asian and Asian American Culture

Title: Princess Turandot, an Occidental Oriental

Name: Stephanie Wong

Since its premiere in Milan in 1926, Giacomo Puccini’s *Turandot* has raised questions about its political, social, and cultural implications for modern production. Current scholarship on *Turandot* has begun to contextualize the problematic aspects of the opera’s background, such as its setting in “Peking during legendary times,” but scholars have not discussed *Turandot*’s intercultural connections to western classical antiquity and the cultural impact of the opera’s prolific modern production throughout China. My paper addresses the western classical tropes incorporated throughout *Turandot* and their subsequent orientalizing by Puccini, whose sociopolitical motives aligned with the rhetoric of Benito Mussolini’s fascist regime.

The primary objective of this paper is to put two valences of *Turandot* in dialogue with each other: the reception of western classical paradigms and its inherent orientalizing aspect. In order to incorporate a comprehensive view of the opera’s development over the past century, this paper discusses *Turandot*’s production history as well as secondary scholarship from the field of opera studies. It also draws on research conducted in the spring of 2017 in Beijing, China on the National Centre for the Performing Arts production of *Turandot*. I argue that, at the time of *Turandot*’s premiere, elements of western antiquity served as recognizable markers for a European audience, but the orientalizing of these elements provided voyeuristic entertainment value for the same audience.

Classical reception provides a useful lens for analyzing opera, and as conversations surrounding the globalization of western art forms evolve, the cultural thorniness of *Turandot* requires illumination from fields outside musicology. The material and historical aspects of *Turandot*’s production also form a part of the canon of western opera, especially as it is performed outside the West with increasing frequency. This paper, while discussing the changing effects of prejudice on past and present performances of *Turandot*, illuminates the legacy of western antiquity in an ostensibly East-facing opera.

No One Knows His Own Stock: Ocean Vuong’s Title: Reception of Telemachus and Odysseus

Name: Kelly Nguyen

What do the children of war inherit? In his first full-length collection of poetry, *Night Sky With Exit Wounds*, Ocean Vuong explores this question within the context of the Vietnam War and its intergenerational aftermath. Vuong personalizes the narrative of a war refugee by incorporating elements of his own identity in connection to and in tension with those of his family members. As Vuong succinctly puts it in “Notebook Fragments,” “An American soldier fucked a Vietnamese farmgirl. Thus my mother exists./Thus I exist. Thus no bombs = no family = no me./Yikes.”

A major recurring figure throughout the collection is Vuong’s father, a war veteran of the south Vietnamese army, whose demons eventually lead him to abandon his family shortly upon arriving in the US. Vuong problematizes his

relationship with his absent father by situating it within the realm of Greek mythology, specifically that of Homer's *Odyssey*. This paper analyzes how, by conjuring the figures of Odysseus and Telemachus, Vuong explores the themes of loss, absence, and filial piety from a post-war, transnational perspective. I argue that Vuong does not simply borrow these mythical motifs, but rather that he reworks them to create his own postmemories (Hirsch, 2012) and to ultimately subvert historical erasure. Vuong defies the canonical narrative by crafting multiple Odysseuses who do not complete their hero's journey. Instead of a traditional *nostos*, one of Vuong's Odysseuses deserts his family, another is imprisoned, while another returns home, dead. Meanwhile, Vuong's Telemachus is struggling to understand what traits, memories, and legacies he inherits from his father, all while he is on his journey to self-discovery as a young, queer man. Overall, Vuong disrupts the mythological narrative in order to explore the conflicting layers of his intergenerational trauma.

Title: Translating the Voices of Tragedy's "Other" Women: Theresa Hak Kyung Cha's *Dictee* and Seneca's *Phaedra*

Name: Kristina Chew

Dictee (1982) by Theresa Hak Kyung Cha, a seminal text in Asian American literary studies and Korean studies, presents a model of how to integrate the study of Asian American literature in Classics. *Dictee* incorporates elements of classical myth with figures from Korean history, parts of the Catholic liturgy, passages from the autobiography of St. Thérèse de Lisieux, and stills from Carl Theodore Dreiser's 1928 film *The Passion of Joan of Arc* to present themes of sacrifice, exile, love and redemption (Lewallen 2009, Wolf 1986). Cha was a filmmaker and performance artist and *Dictee* performs the Asian American reception of classical literature via text and image. Visual artifacts of words written by Korean children on the walls of mines where they were forced to work, an anatomical diagram of the organs of speech production, and photographs of Korean revolutionary Yu Guan Soon and of Cha's mother as a young woman convey how elements of classical myth are personalized and envisioned as ways to present aspects of Asian and Asian American history. *Dictee* begins with the presentation of a poetic fragment attributed to Sappho that was written by the author and integrates classical myth into its structure, with each of its sections based on one of the Muses — or rather, on eight of the Muses. In place of Euterpe, Muse of the flute, Cha substitutes a Muse of lyric poetry and of her own invention, Elitere, a name which carries connotations of selectivity and of being "elite" and of Demeter, the goddess who figures prominently in one of the longest sections of *Dictee*, Erato (Chew 1997). Greek and Latin literary texts and myths are inhabited by many foreign and often eastern, "Oriental," and "Asiatic" (or "Asian") female voices including Medea and Phaedra, whose portrayal in Seneca's tragedy echoes that of Virgil's Dido (Fantham 1975, Trinacity 2014). Following Cha's use of Greek and Roman myth and poetry in *Dictee* and through an analysis of my own practice in translating Seneca's *Phaedra*, I seek to show how it is possible to recover the voice and sensibility of "other" women — of women identified as foreign and barbarian — in ancient texts (Hall 1989). Greek and Roman authors present exoticized portraits of foreign women and translation of texts like *Phaedra* can, just as *Dictee*, critique and revise the representation of those whom more and more readers of classical literature see not at all as "other" but as ourselves (Wilson 2018).

Title: A Palimpsest of Performance: The Construction of Classicism in the Vallabha Tradition

Name: Priya Kothari

The western notion of a classical tradition has exclusively centered around ancient Greece and Rome, but this paper suggests a broader construction of the classical. Focusing on the reception of a seminal pre-modern Sanskrit text through the lens of a specific Hindu community—the Vallabha Sampradaya or Pushtimarga—this paper seeks to broaden our notions of both the classical and Asian America. Over fourteen months of fieldwork, I lived among gurus and devotees in India and the United States studying the living, breathing sermon tradition of the Bhagavata Purana, or "Stories of the Lord." These elaborate ritual events, which supplement local, vernacular exposition of scripture with song, dance and reenactments in celebration of the life and poetic memory of Lord Krishna, have become a popular form of engagement with Sanskrit literature and one of the most pervasive mediums for mass religious education in modern India.

Preachers in the Vallabha Sampradaya acquire their spiritual authority by the grace of Krishna and through the direct lineage of the community's founder, 15th century philosopher-theologian Vallabhacharya. As the consecrated

book of the Bhagavata Purana is believed to be the real, bodily manifestation of Krishna, the divine speech of Krishna flows through charismatic preachers with the ability to faithfully narrate the Lord's form, divine qualities, and teachings. Gujarati-language sermons reveal the means to interpret the Bhagavata—the repertoires of visual gestures, narrative rhythm, arguments, analyses, exegesis, and intertextual linkages—demonstrating how generations of commentary on the text are creatively shaped, transformed or discarded in the sermonizing process.

In an effort to make meaning of the Sanskrit text for contemporary audiences, gurus transport these audiences to the “golden age” of Indian civilization. This image has its roots in the British construction of a relationship between Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, which placed their empire at the center of an Anglo-Indo-Hellenic fantasy imagining Graeco-Roman antiquity and an Indian past running parallel. Colonialists heavily relied on Indian Sanskrit scholars as intermediaries to write India's past, in which they erroneously but inextricably tied Sanskrit exclusively to India and to Hinduism. Early colonial and nationalist agendas conveniently superimposed the European pattern of periodization onto India, which imagined a glorious classical Hindu period, medieval Muslim period of decline, and modern renaissance ushered in by the British—a powerful image that continues to shape academic scholarship and the lived realities of Indians and South Asians in the diaspora. This paper takes the experience of my fieldwork with gurus in the Vallabha tradition as a privileged window into the historical construction of an Indian classicism modelled on western conceptions of ancient Greece and Rome.

Session 36: Lightning Talks #2: Greek Literature

Title: Thinking with Things: Mētis as Extended Cognition

Name: Amy Lather

This paper presents a novel interpretation of *mētis*, “cunning intelligence,” by using contemporary theories of mind to demonstrate how Prometheus, Hermes, and Odysseus each display their *mētis* through their different strategies of thinking *in* and *through* things. *Mētis* thus emerges as a form of cognitive craftsmanship that can operate in a diverse array of material and bodily media.

Title: Who is the leader of Penelope's suitors?

Name: Alexander Loney

A quick survey of scholarship on Penelope's suitors reveals that some scholars consider Eurymachos to be their leader, while others consider Antinoos to be. In this talk, I will briefly summarize the limited evidence for each view (e.g., *Od.* 15.16–18; 22.48–59). I think the evidence ambiguous. I will invite discussion on whether and why it is.

Title: Tithonus the Kitharode

Name: Ruth Scodel

Discussions of Sappho 58, the Tithonus poem, have not considered evidence from Attic vase-painting: in several red-figure paintings Tithonus holds a lyre as Eos abducts him (London 1836,0224.82, Boston 03.816, Cambridge GR 22.1937, Louvre G 348, Florence Museo Archeologico Etrusco 4428). A kitharodist Tithonus as object of Dawn's desire could be paradigmatic for the chorus as well as the speaker.

Title: Bearing a Burden, Pericles, and Aristophanes' *Frogs*

Name: Pavlos Sfyroeras

Aristophanes' *Frogs* opens with literal and metaphorical burdens. The distribution of such phrases as βαρέως/χαλεπῶς φέρειν, συμφορὰν φέρειν, etc., in earlier poetry, Thucydides, and Plato points to Pericles' rhetorical tropes, especially (I would speculate) as employed in his lost Samian *epitaphios*. The play with these tropes early on sets the stage for this comedy's nostalgia specifically for the Periclean past.

Title: Of a Different Color: The Ever-Changing Image of the Female Centaur

Name: Chiara Sulprizio

This talk explores the evolution of literary and visual representations of female Centaurs, from monstrous figures to devoted wives and mothers in antiquity, and from coquettish brides-to-be to hyper-sexualized warriors in the modern day. Discussion will center on why portrayals of these anomalous creatures have changed so drastically over time and how they compare with those of their male counterparts.

Session 37: Foucault and Antiquity Beyond Sexuality

Title: Foucault in the Roman Carcer

Name: Marcus Folch

Victoria Hunter (1997) concludes her seminal study of the Athenian prison (*desmôtêrion*) thus: ‘...I would imagine [the *desmôtêrion* as] a structure not designed specifically as a prison where inmates were expected to serve long sentences in solitude, subjected to *discipline and normalization*, but rather one modeled on domestic accommodation, a kind of large lodging-house for inmates whose stay was temporary and usually very brief’ (emphases added). ‘Discipline and normalization’ are, of course, not far from *Discipline and Punish*, the English title of Foucault’s (1977) classic treatment of the emergence of the modern prison in the 17th and 18th centuries. The allusion cannot have been accidental. Hunter’s principal contention is that the functions of the Athenian prison were radically unlike post-Classical practices of punishment, remediation, and reformation—that, in other words, Foucault is not useful for the study of the ancient prison.

Foucault might have agreed. Citing a well-known line from Ulpian—‘the prison ought to be maintained for the detention not the punishment of persons’ (*carcer enim ad continendos homines, non ad puniendos haberi debet, Dig. 48.19.8.9*)—Foucault (1997: 118) draws precisely the same line between classical and contemporary forms of incarceration. For the prison to become a mechanism of surveillance and punitive psychological intervention, he insists, incarceration had to ‘change its juridical status,’ its functions extended beyond the custodial purposes with which it is associated in civil law. What Foucault may not have known is that by demarking ancient from modern, custodial from corrective and punitive practices of incarceration, he was effectively restating a highly conventional reading of ancient prisons, an interpretation established nearly a century before the publication of *Discipline and Punish*. As the result of the astounding success of Theodor Mommsen’s monumental study of Roman criminal law (*Römisches Strafrecht*, 1899), prison-as-custody had become the orthodox interpretation of ancient incarceration in classical studies already by the turn of the century (see Hillner 2015: 1-6).

Much recent literature on prisons in Greece and Rome has sought to interrogate the historical bases of, complicate, or challenge Mommsen’s model of classical incarceration (see especially Lovato 2004; Rivière 1994; Krause 1996; Allen 1997, 2000; Bertrand-Dagenbach et al. 1999; Torallas Tovar and Pérez Martín 2003; Pavón Torrejón 2003; Hillner 2015; Folch Forthcoming). And, as a result, analogues and antecedents of aspects of incarceration that were until recently thought distinctly modern—for instance, connections between imprisonment and slavery, punitive and rehabilitative uses of confinement, bondage as a mechanism of intra-elite competition and political disenfranchisement—have increasingly been discovered in antiquity; we find parts of Modernity’s prison already in the past.

This essay takes a different approach, one that seeks to reexamine the enduring presence of antiquity’s prison in Foucault’s conceptualization of modern prisons even after profound changes in the juridical status of the prison in the 17th and 18th centuries. Classical incarceration is shown, on the one hand, to serve as a foil against which Foucault in *Madness and Civilization* (1965) and *Discipline and Punish* defines the emergence of both the modern prison and, more importantly, a distinctly modern regime of power and knowledge. In this respect, ancient legal accounts of incarceration in such authors as Ulpian function as the carceral analogue to ancient models of sexuality in the *History of Sexuality* (1985): the fulcrum against which to write a history of the present. But, on the other hand, as a result of the abiding influence of Roman law on Continental civil law, classical incarceration neither disappears nor is subsumed and eradicated by modern uses of the prison. Modernity’s prison emerges as a mediation of the potentiality inherent in the classical prison; we find parts of antiquity’s prison still in the present.

Title: Foucault and the Funeral Games: Ancient Roots for a Modern Problematic of Power
Name: Charles Stocking

In several lecture series, Michel Foucault analyzed the Funeral Games of Patroclus in Homer's *Iliad* as a starting point in accounting for the history of "avowal" and the "will to truth" in the Western tradition (see Leonard 2005; Foucault 2000, 2013, 2014). Classical scholars have often considered the Funeral Games to be a somewhat minor and overall happy event compared to the rest of the poem (see most recently Elmer 2013; Kyle 2015, B.K.M Brown 2016; for a contrary view see Kelly 2017). According to Foucault, however, the Games represent "a vast interplay of the relations of force, manifestations of truth, and the settlement of litigation" (Foucault 2014: 31). This paper takes up Foucault's reading of the Funeral Games as a starting point for reconsidering the role of "force" in the *Iliad* as a whole, while further demonstrating how Foucault's observations on Homer served as the basis for his own theory of power.

As Foucault himself notes, it is generally assumed that the *agōn* in early Greek history served as an embodied mode for determining and demonstrating social hierarchies. Yet Foucault's reading of the chariot race in the Funeral Games of Patroclus shows how physical contests and their results may not only reflect such hierarchies or "regimes of truth," but they can just as easily undermine them. Building on Foucault's observations, I further demonstrate that the results of the other individual events in the funerary *agōn* not only run contrary to the expected outcomes and presupposed hierarchies within *Iliad* 23, but the results actually contradict the authoritative hierarchy of force and status pronounced by the muse-inspired narrator (*Iliad* 2.760-770). In this regard, we can observe in the Homeric *agōn* of the *Iliad* an inherent contingency in relations of force and regimes of truth that extends well beyond the contest proper.

For Foucault, most importantly, the contingencies of force are regulated not merely through physical acts but also through the verbal performance of "avowal" (Foucault 2014: 17). As this paper makes clear, Foucault's definition of avowal and its application to the Funeral Games presents a near exact parallel with his later definition of "power" and its relationship to the subject more broadly construed (cf. Foucault 2014: 17; Foucault 1982: 212).

Ultimately, therefore, reading the Funeral Games of Patroclus in dialogue with Foucault on the history of truth allows us to question the true value of physical force as an expression of power. In both ancient and modern contexts, it seems truly impossible to separate force from discourse.

Title: The Power of Oedipus: Michel Foucault with Hannah Arendt
Name: Miriam Leonard

In recent years it has become increasingly common to draw connections between the political thought of Hannah Arendt and Michel Foucault. On the one hand, there are strong continuities between their respective theories of power. On the other hand, as influential theorists such as Giorgio Agamben (1998) have argued, Arendt and Foucault share an account of modernity and of the entry of biological life into the political sphere. Both thinkers also share a deep immersion in the texts of antiquity and place an analysis of the ancient world at the heart of their thinking about the modern condition. In this paper I will explore how their different accounts of Oedipus as a political figure reveal their preoccupations with questions of power and political subjectivity.

Foucault analysed Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* in a series of essays and lectures from the early 1970s-to early 1980s. Across these works, Oedipus becomes a significant protagonist in the development of his thinking around the nexus of power/knowledge. In the wake of the critique of the Freudian Oedipus developed simultaneously by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in *Anti-Oedipus* and by Jean-Pierre Vernant in his essay 'Oedipus without the Complex' (1981; first published 1967), Foucault presents Oedipus 'as not the one who didn't know but, rather, the one who knew too much' (2000, 24). Foucault drills deep into Oedipus' identity as a knowing subject to show how his pursuit of truth is firmly linked to his wielding of power.

In particular, Foucault characterises Oedipus' knowledge as the knowledge of the tyrant. He contrasts what he calls Oedipus' 'alethurgy' to the divine truth saying of the oracle and Tiresias and to the witness statements of the

messenger from Corinth and the shepherd of Cithaeron. Oedipus' inquiry in Sophocles' play ends by bringing divine knowledge into harmony with the truth telling of the slave. But in the coming together of these two realms, the kind of tyrannical knowledge that Oedipus represents is bypassed: 'Oedipus was necessary for the truth to appear...but he was eliminated as a kind of "excess"' (2014, 81). What Sophocles' play dramatizes for Foucault is the emergence of the juridical subject. Oedipus' quest helps to bring this about but effectively replaces the power of the *tyrannus* with the *nomos* of the people. As Foucault concludes: 'The public square that stages the judicial institutions assures, guarantees, and confirms what has been said through the flash of divine prophecy' (2014, 81).

In his analyses, Foucault had made a strong distinction between Sophocles' two Oedipus plays. For him the political Oedipus of the Oedipus Tyrannus stands in opposition to the metaphysical protagonist of the *Oedipus at Colonus*. For Hannah Arendt, by contrast, the political reading of Oedipus carries over to his death at Colonus. Arendt's Oedipus comes to define political power in a different way. He makes his appearance in Arendt's oeuvre in the closing paragraph of her book *On Revolution* (2006). There she contrasts the famous declaration of the futility of existence expressed in the 'Ode to Silenus' to Theseus' decision in the same play to grant Oedipus asylum in Athens. Although she doesn't say so explicitly, the pessimism of the world-view expressed by Silenus, could be linked to Arendt's analysis of how biological life – what she calls *homo laborans* – exists in conflict and isolation from the life of political action. When the chorus comments on a life lived beyond its natural course, it characterises the life of biological necessity: a life lived in bodily decrepitude in isolation from the community. Theseus in his offer of asylum recognises Oedipus as a figure of more than mere life. The life of the polis depends on the recognition of the human as a political, not a biological, subject.

In bringing Foucault's and Arendt's readings of Oedipus into dialogue, this paper will show how Sophocles' texts have played a fundamental role in drafting the political scripts of modernity.

Title: Biopolitics and the Afterlife of Michel Foucault's Concept of Life

Name: Brooke Holmes

In *The Order of Things*, first published in French in 1966, Michel Foucault declared that life as the object of biology does not exist prior to the nineteenth century; only, rather "living beings," viewed as objects of natural history (1970: 139). Twelve years later, the concept of life became again important to Foucault's understanding of modernity in its difference from the premodern as he began to develop the concept of "biopower." In the first volume of the *History of Sexuality*, he writes that a society's "threshold of modernity" has been reached "when the life of the species is wagered on its own political strategies. For millennia," Foucault continues, "man remained what he was for Aristotle: a living animal with the additional capacity for a political existence; modern man is an animal whose politics places his existence as a living being in question" (1978: 143). Foucault's work on biopower thus drew a deep wedge between antiquity and modernity on the terrain of life.

The first volume of the *History of Sexuality* has been a highly consequential text in the field of classics. It shaped the study of ancient Greco-Roman sexuality in the 1990s, due to the work of David Halperin, Jack Winkler, and Froma Zeitlin (Halperin 1990, 2000; Winkler 1990; Halperin, Winkler, Zeitlin 1990). But its impact via the history of ancient sexuality went beyond that subfield. "Foucauldian" arguments about sexuality in antiquity shaped the history of sexuality in its relationship with queer theory more broadly while also transforming the anthropological legacy bequeathed to classics in the 1960s and 1970s by redefining arguments made by classicists for the alterity of the past. But whereas Foucault's arguments about sexuality and sex itself as a historical construct powerfully affected the study of the ancient world, his arguments about life and biopower in the last section of the *History of Sexuality* (Volume 1) have had almost no impact among classicists.

The lack of engagement with biopolitics among classicists can be contrasted with the hyperbolic rise of biopolitics as an interdisciplinary field among contemporary theorists. Its expansion is due not only to Foucault's legacy but also to Giorgio Agamben's work on *bios* and *zōē*, which he explicitly positions in *Homo Sacer* as a continuation of Foucault's work (as well as Hannah Arendt's). As Agamben's choice of Greek lexemes suggests—he adopts them as specifically Aristotelian terms (1998: 6-8)—his contributions have focused even more attention on a divide between antiquity and modernity in the definition of life, especially in its relationship to politics. At the same time, Agamben describes a "biopolitical" situation that goes back to Greco-Roman antiquity itself and thus finds both

“Western” metaphysics and “Western” politics. Agamben’s periodization of biopolitics as ancient is thus in tension with Foucault’s and more broadly challenges a reading of antiquity or premodernity as fundamentally different from the modern.

Both the transformative work of historians of ancient sexuality and the rise of biopolitics make it clear that classicists cannot simply take up “life” as an object analogous to “sexuality” and perform a Foucauldian reading of the differences between ancient and modern “life”—or, for that matter, an “anti-Foucauldian” reading premised on the Foucault of 1990. In this paper, I build on both the history of the *History of Sexuality* in classics and the formation of biopolitics as a contemporary field of inquiry to lay out a series of proposals for what an engagement with *bios* and *zōē* might look like today—that is, an engagement in which those terms are understood as at once ancient and highly charged within contemporary debates about the history, philosophy, and politics of life. I argue that we must grapple with the unruly terrain of “life” in Greek antiquity but also the complicated and impure reception of a life idealized as Greek within the history of biopolitics itself, from the late nineteenth century through the rise and fall of fascism.

Title: The Body Politic: Foucault and Cynics

Name: Paul Allen Miller

In Foucault’s last lectures, he turned to the Cynics (2009). At a time when he was obviously ill, and increasingly frail, he continued to give his weekly lectures at the Collège de France. He spoke of these ancient philosophers who, like the Platonists traced their lineage to Socrates, but who refused to accumulate a body of doctrine, who lived their lives in the public square, who begged, ate scraps, and masturbated in public. The Cynics were the « dogs » of philosophy. They were the street corner preachers who confronted us with our conformity, our petty hypocrisies, our dishonesties. Their bodies themselves were a locus of truth and a challenge to complacency. Foucault in his penultimate lecture says:

Cynicism was not simply a crude, insolent, and rudimentary reminder of the problem of the philosophic life. It posed a very important question, or rather, it seems to me, it gave its position on the theme of the philosophic life by posing the following question : life, in order truly to be the life of truth, should it not be an other life, radically and paradoxically other ? (2009 : 226)

This call for a radical otherness, as defined by the Platonic spark or the Cynic provocation, is at the center of the final Foucault, and it is this same call that I would argue we must heed. In the end, what is most authentic is not the infinitely reproducible, but the moment of irreducible insight, of queer intelligibility, which makes possible a form of self-relation and of relation to others that is based on curiosity and care, one which opens new possibilities of self-invention and resistance, new forms of truth. Thus at the end of his lecture notes, though he did not have time to utter these words, Foucault writes, “But to finish what I want to insist on is this: there is no instilling of truth without an essential position of alterity: truth is never the same; there can only be truth in the form of another world, another life” (2009 : 311).

He did not have time to deliver these, however. Instead, of course, the last words his audience heard were simply, « Well then, listen. I had some things to tell you concerning the general framework of these analyses. But, in the end, it’s too late. So, thank you » (2009 : 309). And it is perhaps to this final spirit of care, gratitude, and humility that we owe our greatest debt : his simple but effective and moving commitment to the « courage of truth ». This essay will offer a reading of his final lectures on the Cynics as a public philosophy of the body, in all its frailty.

Session 38: Hellenistic Poetry: Greek and Latin

Title: Here Comes the Bride: Brokering Female Patronage in Callimachus’ *Victoria Berenices*

Name: Brett Evans

In recent decades scholars have significantly reevaluated the social status of Hellenistic poets. Scholar-poets in Alexandria, for instance, were not isolated in the Museum writing only for other scholars; instead, the court offered

important and prestigious venues for their works to be performed and/or discussed, like the royal symposium (Weber [1993], 122–84 and [2011]; Cameron [1995], 71–103; Acosta-Hughes/Stephens [2012], 130–40). Increasingly it is recognized that many poets like Callimachus, along with intellectuals in various fields, had the lifestyles, if not also the titles, of *philoi*, ‘courtiers’ (Cameron [1995], 3–11; Petrovic [2016], [2017]; Strootman [2017], 104–8; Berrey [2017], 91–5). It follows that royal patronage can be understood in terms of *philia*, a relationship of gift-exchange in the competitive world of court. How, though, does gender affect the construction of Hellenistic royal patronage?

This paper examines the emergent Hellenistic phenomenon of female patronage through the case study of Callimachus’ *Victoria Berenices*. Apart from elucidating the meaning of individual fragments, scholarship on the poem has focused especially on its Roman reception (Thomas [1983]), the literary influences of Pindar (Szastyńska-Siemion [1988]; Fuhrer [1992], 86–138; Sevieri [1997]) and comedy (Ambühl [2002]), and most recently its intercultural poetics (Acosta-Hughes/Stephens [2012], 163–5, 168–70, 185–7; Kampakoglou [2013]). My paper draws attention to an unnoticed metaphor interwoven throughout the poem of patronage as marriage. I argue that Callimachus casts victorious Berenice as a powerful bride, and in posing as her suitor seeks for himself exclusive patronage and distinguished status at court.

Callimachus’ designation of his epinician as ἔδνον (‘bridal gift’, fr. 54.1 Harder) has previously been explained as catachrestic, meaning ‘gift’ in a general sense while possibly nodding to Berenice’s marriage to Ptolemy III (Parsons [1977], 8; Harder ad loc.; Clayman 2014: 145–6). First, I argue that Callimachus adapts two *topoi* of archaic epinician, of the epinician as *hedna* exchanged between men (Kurke 1991: 116–34) and of the poet as his patron’s *erastes* (Nicholson 2000), to cast Berenice as a marriageable maiden to whom he offers his poem as a bridal gift in hopes she will ‘wed’ him as his patron. Second, I show how the theme of marriage is woven into the narrative of Heracles and Molochus, tightly linking it to the poem’s opening conceit. In describing Heracles making the Nemean lion’s skin into an ἀνδρὶ καλύπτρη (‘veil for a man’, fr. 60a.1 Harder), I suggest Callimachus assimilates the hero to a bride and to Berenice’s veiled portrait on coins (Mørkholm 1991: 108). Callimachus’ veiled Heracles thus makes a fitting, feminized analog for Berenice’s masculine vigor. Then, in thanks for Molochus’ hospitality, Heracles ‘honored him like one of his kin by marriage’ (τίεν δὲ ἐὼς ἕνα **πηῶν**, fr. 54i.20 Harder). Just as the *xenia* of victor and host is like a relationship of in-laws, so too, the epinician suggests, Berenice should honor her poet Callimachus by accepting his ἔδνον.

Third I turn to the competition for patronage Callimachus’ marital metaphor implies. Callimachus was not Berenice’s only poet: Posidippus’ *Hippika* preserves several epigrams for Berenice, including one possibly written for the very same Nemean victory (AB 79). Yet whereas Posidippus is happy to be one of many poets singing Berenice’s fame (εἴπατε, πάντες ἀοιδοί, AB 79.1), Callimachus insists that she can only have one: many suitors offer ἔδνα, but only one will be chosen to be her husband. In offering Berenice this ἔδνον that creates for her a powerful public image, Callimachus masterfully vies for a prime position among her courtiers.

Title: Which Came First: Intentional Anachronism in Callimachus' *Iambus* 1

Name: Laura Marshall

This paper will argue that Callimachus intentionally confuses the geometric discoveries of Thales, Pythagoras, and Euphorbus in *Iambus* 1 in order to force the audience into the role he wants them to play: scholars arguing over preeminence.

Previous scholars have been puzzled by the way that Thales is found in *Iambus* 1 drawing figures that Euphorbus first discovered (lines 59-60). Euphorbus is a way of referencing Pythagoras, since Pythagoras claimed that he was a reincarnated form of the Trojan hero Euphorbus (Diogenes Laertius 1.24, Diodorus Siculus 10.6.4). If, however, this diagram was first discovered by Pythagoras, why is Thales (who lived earlier) pictured drawing it?

Scholars have attempted to solve this problem in a variety of ways that are unsatisfying. Pfeiffer argues that it was actually Euphorbus (not Pythagoras) who first discovered this theorem (Pfeiffer 168 on line 59), and Pythagoras knew of it from his later reincarnation. Burkert nuances Pfeiffer’s argument with the idea that “Pythagoras made his discoveries in an earlier incarnation,” implying that it might not necessarily be his incarnation

as Euphorbus (Burkert, 420). White considers the “notion of a Trojan mathematician is patently absurd” and argues that Thales must have made the discovery but it was not recorded (White 13), so Pythagoras later got credit for it. White and Konstan (who takes Pfeiffer’s view), gesture toward reading these lines in light of the larger theme of *Iambus* 1 (Hipponax’s injunction not to argue over preeminence), but neither recognizes the ways in which the poem forces just that reaction (White 13, Konstan 137). By introducing an intentional anachronism, the narrator ensures that his audience will be scholars arguing over who discovered something first: Euphorbus, Thales, or Pythagoras.

There is some evidence that this debate over priority in geometry was contemporary with Callimachus. According to Eudemus of Rhodes (c. 370-300 BCE), it is Thales who first brought geometry from Egypt and Pythagoras was a late-comer to the study (Wehrli fr. 133). A fragment of Hermesianax (early 3rd c. BCE) states that Pythagoras discovered geometric ideas that sound similar to what is described in *Iambus* 1 (ἐλίκων κομψὰ γεωμετρίας / εὐρόμενον, 7.86-7). *Iambus* 1 has generally been read as an injunction to scholars arguing over their own priority in discoveries, but scholarly battles are often fought by proxy in arguments about the work of others.

This is not to say that Callimachus himself is uninterested in who gets credit for their work. According to Diogenes Laertius, Callimachus states that Pythagoras did not author a work on astronomy (Diogenes Laertius 9.22-23, Pf. 442), and Callimachus’ Pinakes project necessarily involves attributing works to certain authors. However, the Pinakes are a different endeavor than iambic poetry, and the narrator of *Iambus* 1 is Hipponax, the iambic poet. As Acosta-Hughes points out, “almost every syllable in the first two lines [of *Iambus* 1] serves to deceive the audience” (37). The second-person address, choliambic meter, and other features make the audience expect a more typical iambic poem, but the third and fourth lines change this expectation. I argue that this manipulation of the audience is not abandoned after the opening lines but continues into the heart of the poem and the discussion of the seven sages.

While scholars argue over who invented these geometric discoveries first, Callimachus’ Hipponax presents the seven sages (and Thales in particular) as interested in the knowledge itself rather than who gets credit for it. By introducing this intentional anachronism, the narrator forces the audience into the role he assigns them at the beginning and ensures that the poem will have resonance far beyond ancient Alexandria. The readers will always be ὄνδρες οἱ νῦν (the men of today, line 6).

Title: Text and Image in Time and Space: Reading Simias’ Wings and Axe **Name: Brian D. McPhee**

This paper analyzes two of Simias of Rhodes’ “technopaegnia,” or shape poems, proposing new hermeneutic strategies that take fuller advantage of the expressive potential of this distinctive poetic form. The Greek shape poems constitute a small “microgenre” of epigram (Palumbo Stracca 113–114) in which the poet manipulates the meter and, in some cases, the alignment of the text, such that the lines are arranged to form the silhouette of an image (Palumbo Stracca 118; Luz 327; d’Alessandro 135). Though these poems were long dismissed as trivial curiosities, recent scholarship has explored their sophisticated self-reflection on their own “intermedial” status as both text and image (Männlein-Robert 142–154, Squire 165–168, Luz 351–353; Pappas 2011: 49–51, 2013). My reading takes their artistic self-consciousness as a given and proceeds to investigate the effect of intermediality on the way that shape poems signify. I particularly introduce recent cognitive research into contemporary “visual poetry” to emphasize the dynamic interplay of the text’s semantic and iconic significations: “[V]erbal signs perform pictorial tasks: they signify both by referring to an external signified and via their topographical position on the page and their structural interactions with other elements” (Knowles et al. 77).

I offer two paradigmatic readings, beginning with Simias’ *Wings* (*AP* 15.24). This poem, I argue, illustrates a foundational paradox in shape poetry: “[T]he image of the object is necessarily defined on the page by the negative, blank space around the lines; thus absence (of image or words) literally creates presence (of image with words)” (Pappas 2013: 211 n. 21). Semantically, the poem consists of a riddling description of Eros, whom the poem represents iconically through a stylized pair of “wings” that symbolize the god via synecdoche. The poem identifies Eros as a son of Chaos, a mythological variant that Simias invests with metapoetic significance by placing the phrase “of Chaos” (Χάους δέ, 7) in the poem’s shortest line, where the “gap” of blank space separating the pair of

wings on the page is deepest (cf. Pérez López 178 with n. 11). Given that *χάος* denotes “space, the expanse of air” or “any vast gulf or chasm” (LSJ s.v.), an equation is suggested: just as Eros is born of Chaos, so the *Wings* that represent him—and indeed, all shape poems—emerge from the negative space surrounding them.

Second, I analyze Simias’ *Axe* (*AP* 15.22), which describes, and forms the image of, the double-headed axe that Epeus used to build the Trojan Horse. As transmitted, the twelve-line *Axe* is “antithetic,” an extremely rare type of poem whose lines must be read chiastically—that is, in the order 1, 12, 2, 11, and so on. This unusual format has been questioned by scholars who would rearrange the lines into the standard consecutive order; the resultant triangular shape, it is claimed, could represent a single-bladed axe (Fränkel 63–65, Cameron 35–37, Kwapisz 34–35; cf. Wilamowitz 55, Bruss 123, d’Alessandro 144–147). This rearrangement is contradicted on lexical grounds, however, by the poem’s own word for “axe,” *πέλεκυς* (2), which refers specifically to a double-bitted axe as opposed to an adze (*σκέπαρον*). What is more, I argue that the antithetic layout of the poem enhances its meaning in two major ways. First, the poem’s “riddle”—what does it describe?—only works if the reader first tries to take the poem in the normal consecutive order. The poem’s top half is cleverly constructed such that it actually can be read continuously, but its meaning is highly obscure unless read antithetically. Second, I propose that the vertical, back-and-forth movement of the reader’s eyes correlates meaningfully with the poem’s verbal imagery, which quite literally concerns the “fall” of Troy, and relates to its theme of reversals in fortune (Buffière 134 n. 1). These new readings of the *Wings* and *Axe* reveal their remarkable artistic complexity and showcase a method for approaching other exemplars of this unique subgenre.

Title: Two Sides on Corinth: The Cultural Stakes of Epigram ca. 102 BCE

Name: James Faulkner

Two near contemporary epigrams have not been examined together until now though they share the same subject, the ruins of Corinth. One is in Latin, written by Marcus Antonius (grandfather of the triumvir), while the other belongs to an obscure Greek poet, Polystratus. Polystratus’ piece takes an ambivalent posture towards Roman hegemony after the Sack of Corinth. Antonius’ foray, on the other hand, epitomizes how eager the Roman aristocracy was to compete in a new genre, even on Hellenic home turf and as early as the late second century BCE. Read in combination, the two poems place counterclaims on the intellectual and physical landscape of Greece. If Antonius’ monument is granted priority, moreover, then Philostratus’ “response” may be read as a challenge to the presence and semiotics of this war trophy within the remains of Corinth.

Antonius’ poem dates to his extraordinary naval command of 102 BCE which tasked him to pursue Cilician pirates far and wide (Taylor and West 15–20). The inscription itself records only a minor feat, however: Antonius moved part of his fleet overland across the Isthmus, where it was then detained by inclement weather. The grandiose open of the inscription particularly recalls Duilius’ commemoration of his victory at Mylae, which had claimed: “as consul I won a victory on ships at open sea for the first time in our history” (*ILS* 65 ll. 5–6). Likewise, Antonius claims to have completed something “never attempted nor even conceived of until now” (*ILLRP* 342 l. 1). By evoking Rome’s first naval “first”, Antonius embellishes an exploit which was otherwise rather quotidian.

Additional socio-historical considerations suggest that Antonius participated antagonistically in a shared Greco-Roman poetic milieu. Scholars have observed recently that the block was spoliated from a public monument nearby in the city center, then repurposed as a vehicle for pedestrian poetry (Gebhard and Dickie 273). This is not unbefitting Cicero’s Antonius, who, though he knows Greek literature well enough (*de Orat.* 2.60–1), does his best to disguise that fact and was no great writer himself (*ibid.* 96). His fellow Ciceronian interlocutors, all the same, have a number of connections with epigram/-ists, including Crassus and Catulus, the latter of whom wrote elegant examples of his own (Gell. *NA* 19.9; cf. Cic. *de Orat.* 3.192, *Arch.* 6). The genre thus seems to have piqued Roman elite curiosities around this time.

The “response” piece is transmitted as a funerary epigram under the name Polystratus (*AP* 7.297), whom Meleager included in his *Garland* (*AP* 4.1.41). Its content depicts the aftermath of Mummius’ sack of Corinth. In a macabre image, Acrocorinth becomes the burial tumulus which covers a mass grave. With this picture in mind, the poetic irony of the closing couplet makes for a sick Homeric joke; those who escaped Troy’s fires—i.e. the Romans—now

deny their once conquerors, the Achaeans—read *Achaean League*—basic funerary rites: τοὺς δὲ δόμον Πριάμοιο πύρρι πρήσαντας Ἀχαιοὺς | ἀκλαύστους κτερέων νόσφισαν Αἰνεάδαι.

Polystratus' reaction, I will argue, directly engages Roman propaganda, even perhaps the specifics of Antonius' trophy, which plausibly could date earlier. Certain Latinisms in the Greek, heavy alliteration foremost, may signal that Polystratus targets Roman audiences. Striking too is the "single heap" of bodies (σωρευθεῖς εἷς) which dominates Polystratus' landscape. Yet a σωρός signified also "a collection of epigrams" in Hellenistic Greek. On my interpretation, the Greek poet reclassifies Antonius' epinician as sepulchral in a perverse anthology of Roman violence.

Polystratus cuts an even more compelling figure if we press a one-time suggestion of Colin (119) and identify him with a homonymous epic poet who went on an embassy to the pro-Roman authorities at Delphi to beg for privileges traditionally afforded his occupation (*IG II².1134*; 117/116 BCE). Later the Greek professional would take umbrage with the amateur attempts of the praetor Antonius, who had left his scrawlings beside a main thoroughfare like a humiliating epitaph to Old Corinth.

Title: The Hellenistic Pedigree of Lucretius' Honeyed Cup

Name: Brian P. Hill

The memorable analogy of the honeyed cup of wormwood (1.936-50 ≈ 4.11-25) surely ranks among the most enduring images in *De rerum natura* (*DRN*). Indeed, Lucretius' blending of the medicine of Epicureanism with the sweetness of poetry continues to exercise scholars by virtue of the clearly programmatic implications of the image (Gale 1994, Clay 2003, Buchheit 2004, Kyriakidis 2006, Menghi 2006, Comte-Sponville 2008, Mastandrea 2014-2015, Nethercut 2019). However, despite the wealth of critical attention paid to this famous analogy, several reminiscences of two major Greek predecessors in this passage have so far gone unnoticed in scholarship. In this paper, I identify previously unrecognized intertextual allusions to Callimachus and Nicander within these lines. I then show how these allusions suggest that the learned compositional aesthetics associated with those Hellenistic poets also informs the refined poetics to which Lucretius likewise lays claim in *DRN*.

Following the classic study by Kenney (1970), scholars have demonstrated an increased willingness to explore Lucretius' complex relationship with Hellenistic poetry (Brown 1982, King 1985, Donohue 1993, Nethercut 2018). I present new evidence in this area by identifying specific resonances of Callimachus and Nicander in this Lucretian image. For example, I posit that Lucretius models his passage in part on Callimachus *Aet. fr. 7.13-14* Harder. In those lines, Callimachus asks the Graces to extend their oily touch to his poetry and grant it staying power (ἐλλατε νῦν, ἐλέγχοισι ἰδὲ ἐνιψήσασθε₁ε₁ λιπώσας | χεῖρας ἐμοῖς, ἵνα μοι πολὺ μὲνωσιν ἔτος). This entreaty prefigures Lucretius' claims that he will touch his philosophical exposition with the charm and honey of the Muses (*musaeo contingens cuncta lepore*, *Lucr. 1.934 = 4.9*; *quasi musaeo dulci contingere melle*, 1.947 = 4.22). However, while Callimachus cedes agency to the Graces in that endeavor, Lucretius seeks to apply the Muses' charm to his work himself. Thus, even as he subtly alludes to a Callimachean model, Lucretius innovates on that poetic precedent and quite literally takes the image into his own hands.

Lucretius artfully gestures toward Nicander in several details of his description as well, beyond the general or stylistic similarities that the two poets share (Hollis 1998). For the victim of a particular toxin in the *Alexipharmaca*, for instance, Nicander prescribes an antidote of wormwood steeped in sweet wine (τῷ μὲν τ' εὐβραχέος ἀψινθίου ἄλγος ἐρύξει | ἐνστυφον πόμα κείνο νεοθλίπτω ὑπὸ γλεύκει, *Alex. 298-99*). Lucretius in turn adds a sweetener to his own bitter draught of wormwood as well (*amarum | absinthii laticem*, *Lucr. 1.940-41 = 4.15-16*). Lucretius also draws our attention to the lips of the drinker (*labrorum tenus*, 1.940 = 4.15), recalling Nicander's similar focalization (*παρὰ χεῖλεσι*, *Alex. 279*). However, as I show in detail, Lucretius again demonstrably repurposes several features of his Greek precursor's account. For example, whereas Nicander presents a victim who is tricked (τι δόλω, *Alex. 279*) into ingesting the poison, Lucretius repositions the trickery (*ludificetur*, *Lucr. 1.939 = 4.14*) as a tool of the healer, producing a rather different picture in the process. Lucretius thus customizes these and other features of Nicander's account to suit his exposition of the healing doctrines of Epicureanism.

On the model of Conte's (2017) recent formulation, then, I demonstrate that the subtle differences between Lucretius' image and its Greek counterparts bear at least as much significance as the highlighted similarities do. Further, I suggest that the reputations of Callimachus and Nicander as poets of erudite, allusive verse (Harder 2002, Wilson 2018) in turn make them apt targets for learned reappropriation by Lucretius. I conclude that Lucretius' subtle allusion to these poets, within the highly self-conscious and programmatic analogy of the honeyed cup, suggests the centrality of these Hellenistic poets' erudite aesthetics to Lucretius' twin poetic and didactic aims in *DRN*. Recognition of these allusions thus facilitates a fuller appreciation of Lucretius' text as both a powerful philosophical protreptic and a finely wrought work of art.

Session 39: Numismatics

Title: Heracleian Coinage: The Italiote League between Polybius and Diodorus

Name: Parrish Elizabeth Wright

The twin threads of myth and identity are key tools for untangling the ever-changing webs of alliances between cities across the Mediterranean. The Greek city-states of southern Italy were involved in a network of politics and alliances which spanned not only the Greek mainland but also included connections throughout the Italian peninsula and Sicily.

Until the emergence of the Italiote League, alliances and rivalries in southern Italy were primarily based on perceived ethnic identities, Achaean, Dorian, Ionian, etc., which were often constructed in foundation narratives. The Italiote League represents a fundamental shift away from these identities, but the literary evidence for its origins is scanty and sometimes contradictory. Our main sources, Polybius and Diodorus Siculus, present different dates, different reasons for formation of the league, and even different member cities. Despite ongoing scholarly debate (see recently Wonder 2012, Fronda 2013, 2015), the material culture of Croton, the original leader of this league, has not been taken into account. Coinage featuring Heracles, which Croton began to mint in the late 5th c. BCE, provides additional evidence in support of Polybius' timeline and demonstrates Croton's active manipulation of its foundation legends to legitimize itself as a leader of a pan-Italiote alliance. With Heracles as our guide, we see the Greek cities of Magna Graecia making use of diplomacy based on mythological kinship and, through him, the articulation of a distinct Italiote identity in southern Italy.

According to Polybius (2.38-29), the Italiote league emerged around 430 BCE, with help from mainland Greek Achaeans who came to Italy following the destruction of Pythagorean meeting places, but then fell apart when Dionysius of Syracuse began encroaching into southern Italy (c.390). Diodorus (14.9), on the other hand, claims that the alliance formed in 393 BCE precisely to resist Dionysius of Syracuse as well as other native Italian groups, mostly the Lucanians and Brettii. The league seems to have consisted, at the least, of Croton, Caulonia, Thurii, Metapontum, Elea, Hipponium, Rhegium, Poseidonia, Taras and Heraclea. Wonder argues that these are two separate leagues, while Fronda argues for a gradual development from one to another.

As of yet unconsidered is Croton's change in coinage around 425 BCE. Previously featuring the Delphic tripod, an allusion to the journey of Croton's "historical" founder, Myscellus, the new coinage features Heracles with the legend "OIKISTAS," unambiguously alluding to his role in another origin story of Croton. According to Diodorus (4.24), Heracles, bearing the cattle of Geryon to the Italian mainland, encountered two figures named Lacinius and Croton. After killing both, he perpetuated their memory by naming the future city for Croton and the nearby promontory for Lacinius. The date of this coinage, second half of the fifth century, give credence to Polybius' account. The figure of Heracles also helps us understand the motivation for the league at this time, (roughly analogous to Polybius' timeline), rivalry with the newly founded Thurii and its colony, Heraclea which (naturally) took on the imagery of Heracles on its coinage, also dated to c.430 BCE. Additionally, the myth associates Heracles with the foundation of Croton's sanctuary of Hera Lacinia, the federal meeting place of the league until control of the league transferred to Taras. Indeed, later coinage (dated 400–325 BCE) depicts Hera Lacinia on the obverse, with Heracles on the reverse, reinforcing the connection between the hero, the city, and the Italiote league.

This is simply one example of a widespread phenomenon in southern Italy, where city-states would use their foundation myths as vehicles not only for self-definition, but also as tools for making alliances through kinship

diplomacy. By restyling itself in the mid 5th century as a city of Heracles, rather than the Achaean foundation of Myscellus, Croton justifies its role as a leader of a panhellenic league. Croton's emphasis on the Heracles myth helped appeal to other cities outside the confines of divisive ethnic identities in an increasingly connected world of complex group identities.

Title: Coins, Continuity, and Change: “Hellenization” in the Post-Seleucid Levant

Name: Tal A. Ish-Shalom

Classical scholars and ancient historians have long been concerned with issues of cultural interaction, performance, and change, especially under the often-problematized appellations of “Hellenization” and “Romanization.” The current vitality of research in this field, characterized by utilization of new evidence and increasing use of theory, is evident in recent works (e.g. Andrade 2013; Chrubasik 2017; Quinn 2018). These studies, however, tend to neglect the late and post-Seleucid Levant (c.164-63 BCE).

Filling this gap may improve our general understanding of cultural interaction and change, by treating a period that is qualitatively different in some key respects from those most often considered: by contrast to other periods of study, this is a period of neither stable Greco-Roman hegemony, nor the pre-Hellenistic age. Rather, it is an era characterized by *memory* of former Hellenistic power, contrasted with a reality of increasingly anarchic, multi-polar, geopolitics.

I argue that, in this period, rising local polities in the Levant, led by native elites (Phoenician states, the Hasmoneans and the Nabateans), paradoxically tended to adopt *more* Greek cultural idioms even as they became more independent of Hellenistic empires. I explain this phenomenon by arguing that these states, rather than acting within a dichotomy of accommodation or resistance to imperial power (Cf. Bagnall 1997), gradually came to see themselves as the *successors* of this power, and adopted Greek idioms to advertise and legitimize these imperialistic ambitions. Methodologically, I prioritize a regional, comparative approach, utilizing numismatic evidence, extant from all these states, to ameliorate the dearth and imbalance in the surviving literary record.

Starting in 169/8 BCE Phoenician cities began issuing “quasi-municipal” coinage, with legends advertising rival claims of “motherhood” over their neighbors, alluding to an imagined, common, and implicitly pre-Hellenistic, past, and doing so in the Phoenician language only. Contrary to the views of some, it is becoming increasingly clear that these coins were a product of a top-down policy of Seleucid Antiochus IV, and, despite their supposed discourse of autonomy, are in fact artefacts of Seleucid power (cf. Duyrat 2005; Houghton, Lorber, and Hoover 2008; Lorber 2015).

Similarly, though the Hasmonean state was formed in the aftermath of the Makkabean revolt against the Seleucids, the first Hasmonean coins were produced under John Hyrcanus (135-104 BCE), who experienced periods of vassalage to the Seleucids. These coins, however, included only Hebrew legends (in Paleo-Hebrew script) using traditional terminology of high-priesthood and a Jewish communal structure (Meshorer 2001; Rappaport 2013).

By contrast, when the Phoenician cities and the Hasmoneans gained greater independence, they started issuing coins that appear far *more* Greek, abandoning or tuning-down public discourse of particularism and references to the Pre-Hellenistic past: in the turn of the second-century BCE, civic Phoenician coins introduced Greek legends, abandoned all “nationalistic” elements alluding to a pre-Hellenistic past, and, at best, relegated Phoenician script to secondary position (Hill 1910 cf. Kushnir-Stein 2001; Iossif 2011). The Hasmonean leader Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BCE) issued new types featuring bilingual Greek and Hebrew legends, rather than purely Hebrew as previously, in which Jannaeus is entitled “king” (𐤀𐤍, βασιλεύς), rather than using the traditional designation of high-priest like his predecessors (Meshorer 2001; Rappaport 2013).

The Nabateans, who, like Jannaeus, began exploiting Seleucid weakness for territorial expansion, also began issuing coins bearing Greek legends, in which Nabatean king Aretas III (c.84-71 BCE), termed himself “*philhellenos*,” thereby hoping to legitimize himself to his new subjects (Meshorer 1975; Schmitt-Korte 1990; Kushnir-Stein 2001; Schwentzel 2013). Aretas' policy seems to add plausibility to interpreting the discourse of his contemporary Jannaeus, and of Phoenician cities, in a similarly imperialistic vein. This, in turn, suggests a re-

interpretation of the history of the era as that of a multi-player competition for Seleucid succession. A rivalry whose significance was obscured by Rome's later, long-lasting, conquest of the area.

If accepted, my argument would reveal new aspects of the late-Hellenistic period, demonstrate the potential of additional interdisciplinary studies, and further nuance our understanding of "Hellenization".

Title: A Coin's Eye View of Roman Imperialism

Name: Marsha McCoy

Coins offer a unique view of history that often confirms what historical sources report, such as the famous denarius of Brutus showing two daggers and the cap of freedom after the assassination of Julius Caesar. But sometimes coins shed light on otherwise unknown aspects of Roman history that reveal political and military tactics and maneuvers that in turn raise larger questions about Roman goals and strategies. This paper analyzes the coinage of Narbo Martius in Gaul that, compared with the literary accounts of the period, sheds a more detailed, nuanced, and granular light on Roman expansion into the western Mediterranean, and reveals in Roman imperial policy contradictions and complexities that are lost, obscured, or unacknowledged by retrospective or politicized historical accounts.

After Rome won control of Spain, a land route through Gaul was needed to supplement the sea routes to Spain. In 120 BCE, Q. Fabius Maximus and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus defeated the Arverni and Allobroges, and each subsequently celebrated a triumph in Rome that same year (Broughton. *MRR* I, 516, 520-21, 524). Coinage from 119 BCE confirms the triumphs, with denarii showing the figure of Roma crowning a trophy surmounted by a Gaulic helmet and flanked by a *carnyx* (the Gaulic war trumpet) and Gaulic shields, a typical display of Roman military prowess over a defeated foe (Futrell. 101-102). Cicero reports that in 118 BCE, the Romans took the novel step of founding a Roman colony in Gaul, Narbo Martius, the first Roman colony founded outside of Italy (Cicero, *Brutus*, 158-160). Built to protect the new Roman road through Gaul, this unusual colony represents an important point in Roman imperial history.

The coins of Narbo Martius reveal an even more complicated, detailed story, however. Cicero reports that the two men who won spots to lead the colony were Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus the younger, and the upcoming orator, L. Licinius Crassus. Typically, *three* commissioners were appointed to supervise the foundation of new settlements (*tresviri coloniae deducendae*: Livy 32.29.3-4). Cicero does not comment on this discrepancy, nor does he mention the accompanying coinage that, with its serrated edges and startling iconography, was clearly minted in the colony itself (Crawford. 35, 601; cf. K. Harl. 46; Burnett. 50-52). The coinage is further organized into five separate subissues, with five junior moneymen from prominent Roman families issuing under their own names (Hamilton. 90-92). It is likely that the usual three commissioners were reduced to two in order to allow for five junior moneymen to be included in the crowded field.

The iconography of the coinage also shows the profoundly different approach to conquest that the Romans took with Narbo Martius (Scott and Webster, *passim*), with the reverse showing a triumphant Gallic warrior riding in a biga and carrying a *carnyx*, and a Gallic shield; so not defeated but rather victorious. Why this unusual, unique depiction of defeated enemies on Roman coinage? The answer, not found in any historical source, lies in the fact that the Romans were establishing a Roman colony in recently defeated and hostile territory, and hoping to engage and pacify the newly-subdued Gauls with a combination of intimidation and the economic incentives of increased trade and prosperity. A standard coinage that both Romans and Gauls would recognize and accept was a novel and striking tactic in Rome's engagement with the Gauls.

That this strategy ultimately did not work is seen in Rome's conflicts with the Teutones and Cimbri, defeated by Marius in 102 and 101 BCE respectively. With Caesar's final defeat of the Gauls in the 50s BCE, Roman coinage returns to the earlier iconography of defeat seen in 119 BCE; ironically Vercingetorix, defeated at Alesia in 52 BCE, was chieftain of the Arverni, the same tribe that Fabius Maximus and Domitius Ahenobarbus had conquered in 120 BCE. The coinage of Narbo Martius, however, illuminates an important and pivotal period of Roman imperial strategy that is otherwise lost to history.

Title: The Hadrianic Revolution of the Coin Legend
Name: Sven Betjes

The reign of Hadrian saw a radical change in the selection of imperial titles on coins. Following years of an ever-expanding obverse legend, with those of Trajan even exceeding thirty characters in some instances, the portrait of Hadrian was surrounded by a much more concise formula. From 125 onwards coin legends on all denominations could even be as brief as HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. This paper looks into both the context and the afterlife of this change. Indeed, the transformation proved to have a significant impact on the subsequent use of the coin legend in imperial coinage, and seems to be symptomatic of the development of the imperial position in general.

The condensation of the obverse legend in 125 came at the cost of many of the titles that from Augustus onwards had defined the position of the emperor as the supreme magistrate in Rome, those that Hammond called Republican titles in his seminal study of imperial titulature (1959: 58-127). Of all the titles that had surrounded the imperial portrait under Hadrian's predecessors, only *pater patriae* and a reference to Hadrian's third consulship remained. These changes have not gone unnoticed in modern scholarship, yet have generally been explained away as a return to the simplicity of the Augustan coin legends (e.g. Thornton, 1975: 439-443; Birley, 1997: 147; Beckmann, 2012: 413-414). However, such an explanation offers little guidance in understanding the sudden disappearance of such titles as *pontifex maximus* and *tribunicia potestas*, which had been so dominant under Hadrian's predecessors, including Augustus himself. Scholars have also mostly ignored the fact that the transformation of the obverse legend was not limited to the reign of Hadrian, but was continued under his successors. Consequently, this paper examines the significance of these changes under Hadrian, taking both a short and a long term perspective. It demonstrates that the often overlooked coin legend can be a valuable marker of the transformation of emperorship.

Key to explaining the sudden change is a comparison between the titles that disappeared and those that remained. The first part of this paper therefore argues that the newly styled obverse legend was part of Hadrian's broader scheme of redefining the imperial position in terms with empire-wide resonance without losing a focus on the city of Rome and its traditions. The result was a message that was traditional and innovative at the same time. In the second part I turn to the effects of this change of practice in later coinage. I argue that even though Hadrian's successor Antoninus Pius immediately brought *tribunicia potestas* back to the obverse legend, this token of renewed attention to such Rome-centered political institutions was only temporary. The coinage of Hadrian's reign sparked a redefinition of the place of Republican titulature, which subsequently also affected the reverse of imperial coinage. After a rapid decline in the third century, this kind of titulature completely disappeared at the beginning of the fourth century.

By focusing on a paramount change in coinage and its afterlife, this paper shows how long-term analyses of trends in Roman coinage could benefit the study of imperial representation. Such a longitudinal approach has been made possible by the recent digitization of the ten volumes of the *Roman Imperial Coinage*. As a consequence of this we are now able to visualize patterns in the emperor's numismatic image, spanning the reigns of Augustus to Zeno (31 BCE – 491 CE). Combined with the increasing stress on the functionality of portraits of the emperors (King, 1999), the Hadrianic changes in the selection of coin legends give us a good idea of how Roman emperorship was constantly redefined in the first centuries CE. The emphasis on the emperor as the ruler of an empire rather than as supreme magistrate of Rome paved the way for the increasing importance of the emperor's charisma, thereby burying forever the idea of the Republican emperor.

FIFTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS

Session 40: The Next Generation: Papers by Undergraduate Classics Students (Organized by Eta Sigma Phi)

Title: The Suffering Man and House: The Centrality of Human Misery in the *Odyssey* **Name: Joseph Slama**

This paper explores the complex relationship between the *Odyssey* and the manifold sufferings it details in its protagonist. In examining the suffering that Odysseus deals with and endures, as well as the grief of his household, we gain insight into how Homer constructs identity on levels individual and communal, as well as understanding of how response to suffering defines heroism in the poem.

Previous scholarship on Odysseus' character has focused largely on his portrayal as "wily" (Silk, 2004; Detienne and Vernant, 1978); while this aspect is, of course, crucial, I take a different view by subordinating his craftiness within a larger framework of suffering inflicted and suffering borne. In doing this, I closely examine the morphology of two descriptors of Odysseus. I first look at "πολύτροπον" in the poem's first line, which represents a sort of universality to his character and by its grammatical ambiguity foreshadows the poem's development of his character. I then examine his name Ὀδυσσεύς as detailed in Book 19, which elaborates upon the characterization seen in "πολύτροπον" and also brings out more specificity in its overtones. The intricate grammatical indications of agency in these two words shed light on the dual nature of the character they illustrate. This grants an understanding of how the *Odyssey* builds the identity of his protagonist around suffering in both his wiliness and his woes.

Understanding the operation of Odysseus' suffering individually in turn lays the groundwork to understand the origins of the grief at the οἶκος he's left behind. Focusing in particular on Penelope, I examine how a communal view of suffering in the poem reveals an inverse relationship between wartime κλέος and the ἄχος of the Ithacan οἶκος. In this way we see that suffering in the *Odyssey* is something shared, inflicted not on one man but on a whole house.

Finally, I examine contrasts between Odysseus and his house on the one hand, and his men and the suitors on the other, in their responses to suffering. This examination highlights the traits that lead Odysseus and his οἶκος to victory, and the characteristics that generate steep ruin for the greedy sailors and suitors: the differing responses of these groups to their pains and sufferings are their defining characteristics in their portrayal and in their fate.

In conclusion, my paper delineates what makes a hero in the *Odyssey* by contrasting the poem's hero and his house with the sailors and suitors that irk them. I situate Odysseus and his royal house in a broader light than often presented: examining their grief allows for an examination that penetrates, and deepens our understanding of, all aspects of their characters.

Title: An Opportunity for Non-Existence: The Foreigner in the Hellenic World **Name: Samuel G. H. Powell**

The city-states of ancient Greece during the time approximately spanning the beginning of the Persian Wars in the 6th century B.C.E. to the rise and fall of Alexander the Great in the late 4th century created many of the largest building blocks of what we now recognize as Western Civilization. Within this window of history, the image of the *polis* that immediately comes to mind when many hear the term "Greece" was formed and its now-famous form of politics, philosophy, theatre, warfare, and more were cultivated by names such as Euripides, Aristotle, and many others. Just as significant as these contributions themselves, though, is exactly how we now perceive them and the people by whom they were developed. For the citizens of the modern world to best guide society into the future, they must understand exactly what led them to their present position, something that entails both acknowledging the accomplishments made by the citizens of the past and their mistakes.

One of the most complicated issues where ancient Greece's successes and failures become far from clear-cut is the very concept of a citizen and how such identity was perceived in this era that has influenced so much of our present existence. The examples of Hellenic art and thought which we have received have passed on many valuable forms of knowledge which exceed this issue; however, this does not preclude their ability to carry subtle, yet potent fragments of relevant ideologies left by their authors, be it conscious or otherwise. To the end of fully unearthing and understanding such ideas, this piece will analyze the definition and connotations of domestic and foreign identity in Classical Greece. The perception of outsiders as viewed through Hellenic art and philosophy, as well as modern scholarship on such matters, will be examined as clues or commentaries regarding the cultural atmosphere surrounding social identity during the era, as well as how these ideas may have been retained today.

Title: Lucretius' Legacy in Mathematics: Past and Present Resonances

Name: Emma Clifton

Lucretius has been enduringly relevant to mathematics, because of his presence in the intellectual background of scientists during the development of classical physics and because of the similarities between Lucretius' atomic motion and a stochastic dynamical system. Newton and Leibniz, physicists and mathematicians who simultaneously developed calculus, both engaged with Lucretius in their writing. Newton wanted to use certain passages of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* to prove that the ancients understood the concept of inertia. At the end of *Opticks* in a summary of his metaphysical beliefs, Newton drew from Lucretius to argue for the indivisibility of atoms and made other references to Epicureanism and specifically to *De Rerum Natura*. Leibniz did not reference Lucretius in a work about physics, but he drew from Lucretius in his essay "On the Ultimate Origin of Things", in which Leibniz used mathematical language to discuss metaphysics. Furthermore, Leibniz seriously considered Lucretius as a philosopher, because he saw Epicureanism as a threat to Christian thinking. Because Newton and Leibniz both treated Lucretius as a serious thinker and were influenced by him in their writing, it is possible that they could have seen mathematical ideas in Lucretius' writing. Furthermore, because of similarities between Lucretius' swerve and some concepts in calculus, it is even possible that Lucretius could have influenced the development of calculus. Lucretius still remains relevant to modern developments in mathematics because his description of the atoms' swerve in Book II and the order and regularity that results in the universe in Book V resembles equilibrium in a stochastic dynamical system or random walk. In mathematics, a dynamical system is an equation or system of equations that can model the change of something over time, such as two competing populations of animals. A stochastic dynamical system can model the change in probabilities over time, such as the probability of rain. A specific type of stochastic dynamical system is called a random walk, which can be used to model things such as particles of food dye diffusing in a liquid. Dynamical systems can approach an equilibrium value, meaning that as time goes on, the thing modeled does not change. For example, an animal population has reached equilibrium if it stays at a certain number of animals. Lucretius' description of atomic motion resembles a random walk because the atoms swerve randomly, as he describes in Book II. The atoms' motion results in the regularity of the seasons, described in Book V, which resembles equilibrium in a random walk. Repetition of similar phrases in the passage from Book II and the passage from Book V suggest that the two passages should be considered together. Though a random walk is not exactly the same as the atomic motion described in *De Rerum Natura*, Lucretius displays an intuition about the mathematical concept of equilibrium arising from randomness. This suggests that other mathematical ideas could be older than originally thought and could originate from surprising sources, such as poetry or philosophy.

Title: A Philosophy of Paradox in Augustine's *Confessions*

Name: Phoebe Wing

A profound personal examination, Augustine's *Confessions* pays tribute to the art of rhetoric which was central to a large part of the saint's life. Though we are continually made aware of Augustine's mixed feelings regarding his former craft and its ultimate disappointment, he nevertheless incorporates rhetorical devices—particularly that of paradox—in a way that expresses philosophical substance, rather than the sophisticated emptiness he often condemns. The device of paradox features prominently throughout the narrative of his life, giving fitting expression to two fundamental conflicts in the human journey. Augustine first wrestles with the problem of how man can come to know a God who shows apparently contradictory attributes. The *Confessions* bluntly gives voice to this struggle when it directly juxtaposes these attributes in the form of a paradox. These devices stimulate the mind of the reader

to rise out of intellectual complacency and invite logical implications about how a God who is truly transcendent can be encompassed by a mind that is limited by language. Second, paradoxes also illustrate and reflect Augustine's inability to uncover a real logic behind sin. They examine sin as the denial of one's own nature when the sinner treats a particular emptiness as though it were a positive being. Borrowing a process of Scriptural interpretation from Augustine's own writings aids in choosing how to resolve—or leave unresolved—the ambiguity of paradoxes, while also giving insights about how deep a relation forms between the mind of a speaker and the object of his speech.

Session 41: Late Antique Textualities (Organized by the Society for Late Antiquity)

Title: Text and Paratext: Reading the Emperor Julian via Libanius

Name: Alan Ross

This paper examines how Libanius of Antioch strove to condition and manipulate an early readership for the corpus of texts written by emperor Julian “the Apostate”. In so doing, it makes the case for the application of paratextual theory to investigate the relationships between texts in order to overcome some shortcomings in traditional intertextual theory.

Julian is exceptional among Roman emperors for the number of his extant literary works. This extensive oeuvre has been the starting point for several studies of the emperor (Athanasias 1992; Smith 1995; Elm 2012). Similarly, it has long been recognised that Libanius, who was heavily invested in curating Julian's posthumous reputation, knew and responded to Julian's writings in his *Funeral Oration* for Julian (*Oration* 18), a lengthy retrospective assessment of Julian composed shortly after his death. Libanius thus has an intertextual relationship with Julian's writings, the study of which is critical for understanding his intellectual responses to Julian's reign (Wiemer 2005; Elm 2012: 441-51; Célérier 2013).

This paper argues that within the immediate aftermath of Julian's death, however, Libanius had unusually privileged access to Julian's works compared with the initial audience of his *Funeral Oration*. Libanius was the emperor's confidant for the last few months of his life, and had demonstrated his interest in Julian's writings over the previous decade. The disparity between author and audience's knowledge of Julian's writings calls into question the function that any allusion to Julian's works could have: could his audience be expected to recognise, let alone interpret how Libanius alluded to Julian's works? (Debates over intentionality and identification have repeatedly troubled intertextual theorists; Conte 1986, Hinds 1998, Farrell 2005).

The central portion of this paper argues for a different relationship between the *Funeral Oration* and Julian's oeuvre — not intertextual, but paratextual — that makes a virtue of the disparity in knowledge between author and audience. Paratextuality was developed by the French theorist Gérard Genette (1987) and highlights the interpretive importance of titles, contents lists, indexes or other such seemingly peripheral material to condition how a reader approaches a modern publication. Genette invokes the metaphor of a threshold to describe the paratext: connected to but distinct from the main text, it opens the way for the reader to approach the text, and can precondition how s/he interprets it. Paratextuality has been applied to ancient texts almost exclusively within classical Latin literature (e.g. Jansen 2014). This paper offers the first application to late antique Greek literature.

Libanius' *Funeral Oration*, although not a simple paratext, nonetheless exhibits a paratextual relationship with Julian's writings. In addition to more his subtle allusions, Libanius explicitly names eight of Julian's compositions, and even exhorts his audience to read them (18.303). He exerts quantitative and qualitative control over a corpus of Julian's works that had just been rendered complete by its author's death. From a quantitative perspective, Libanius omits several works that we can be sure (via his allusions elsewhere) he knew — such as Julian's early panegyrics to his benefactor and later opponent, Constantius II. Qualitatively, Libanius intimates how his audience should interpret these works, for example he labels Julian's *Letter to the Athenians*, a self-justification for his revolt against and a blatant attack upon Constantius, an *apologia*, thus identifying it as a work of self-defence (Ammianus describes a similar text as a ‘fierce invective’, 20.10.17). Libanius thus steers his audience away from reading certain of Julian's texts that fit awkwardly within his depiction of the heroic emperor, and enforces generic specificity for his audience in the case of texts that were generically ambiguous that also provide a positive depiction of Julian.

The paper's conclusions address late antique reading culture amongst pagans, especially in terms of how authors sought to introduce audiences to new or recently-composed works within a literary environment dominated by a heavily static canon of Greek texts that formed the basis for traditional Hellenic *paideia*.

Title: Gennadius and Jerome: Discontinuity in the *De viris illustribus* Tradition
Name: Christopher Blunda

Since at least the sixth century, Gennadius of Marseilles' continuation of Jerome's *De viris illustribus* was transmitted with its literary predecessor (Feder, 1933). Sharing a common format and lacking an authorial preface of its own, Gennadius' catalog of Christian authors (c. 468) has generally been read as a simple extension of Jerome's (392/3) rather than a work in its own right. This paper examines Gennadius' portrayal of Jerome in *De viris illustribus* by interrogating instances where he is mentioned either directly by name or indirectly by allusion. It argues that Gennadius purposefully minimized his own visibility in the text in order to assume more fully the Hieronymian authorial mantle, which in turn enabled him to undermine Jerome's reputation safely through the use of figured speech (Ahl, 1984). Gennadius was driven not by personal animus but instead by a desire to rehabilitate Origen's theological legacy, which Jerome had been instrumental in having condemned at the turn of the fifth century.

Early studies have investigated the relationship between Gennadius and Jerome chiefly from the perspective of the manuscript tradition (Bernoulli, 1895; Richardson, 1896; Feder, 1933) but also through *Quellenforschung* (Czapla, 1898). Only in the 1970s was it observed that Gennadius had organized the chapters of his text differently than had Jerome (Pricoco, 1979). Since that time, classical scholarship has investigated ancient historians' efforts to assert and to maintain their authority through engagement with the traditions of their predecessors (Marincola, 1997) but discussions of Gennadius' portrayal of Jerome have remained limited in scope, although they have noted important points of tension (Mathisen, 2009; Denecker 2017). Using insights from scholarship devoted to ancient historiography, this paper reevaluates Gennadius' portrayal of Jerome in his continuation of *De viris illustribus* in order to provide an interpretation that is consistent both historically and textually.

First I consider Jerome's epistolary preface to *De viris illustribus* and Gennadius' reasons for not composing one of his own. Jerome's explanation that *De viris illustribus* was comprehensive and impartial and that its author spoke for a united church equally suited Gennadius almost eight decades later. A new preface was neither necessary nor desirable: the success of Jerome's work as a reference catalog of important ecclesiastical writers and their texts (Whiting, 2015) combined with Gennadius' view toward the theological legacy of Origen allowed him to disseminate his message effectively while remaining hidden in plain sight.

Next I turn to Gennadius' portrayal of Jerome. Whereas Jerome had concluded his work with a lengthy, self-aggrandizing autobiographical chapter written in the first person, Gennadius began his with a subtle criticism of Jerome's linguistic competence written in the third person (*De viris illustribus* 1), which attempted to shape how readers would interpret subsequent chapters. The chapter devoted to Rufinus of Aquileia (*De viris illustribus*, 17), Jerome's erstwhile friend and then rival in the Origenist Controversy, provides the focal point for the paper. There Gennadius lavishly praised Rufinus' translations from Greek into Latin — an area in which Jerome had sought to establish his own preeminence — and even contended that Rufinus had made available to the Latin church the greater part of Greek literature. As part of this discussion, Gennadius identified Jerome as a translator of Origen's texts, which demonstrated inconsistency between Jerome's positions regarding Origen and thus the superficiality of his criticisms. Gennadius further advanced this point when he recalled that Rufinus, inspired by God and writing for the benefit of the church, had been forced to defend himself in two books against an *obtrektor* inspired by *aemulatio*, a reference to the *Apologia contra Hieronymum*, which was written at the height of the Origenist Controversy. Placed beside his cautiously positive view of Origen elsewhere in the text (*De viris illustribus* 19, 31), Gennadius' effort to undermine Jerome should therefore be understood in relation to the aftermath of the Origenist Controversy.

Title: Why Is There So Much Varro in the *City of God*?

Name: Andrew Horne

Varro is everywhere in Augustine's *City of God*. Two full books (6 and 7) are devoted to poking holes in Varro's *Divine Antiquities*, and Augustine cites or engages with Varro in many other places in the work (*Civ.* 3.4, 3.17, 4.1, 4.9, 4.22, 4.27, 4.31-32, 8.1, 8.5, 8.26, 18.5, 18.9-10, 18.16-17, 18.23, 19.1-4, 19.22, 21.6, 21.8, 22.11). There are, of course, obvious reasons for Varro's prominence. In the first place, Varro was the textbook for Roman religion. If Augustine wanted to write about Roman paganism, much of his information would naturally come from the *Divine Antiquities*. Second, it was something of a trope in Latin Christian polemic (Tertullian, Arnobius, Lactantius) to engage with Varro (Burns 2001, 40-43; O'Daly 1999, ch. 3)—to that extent, Augustine was simply following precedent.

I think there is more to be said, however, about Augustine's *intellectual* engagement with Varro in the *City of God*. Given that Augustine spends so much time refuting the ideas, the method, and the theory of the *Divine Antiquities*, Varro is clearly more than a sourcebook. But what sort of interlocutor is Varro, such that Augustine feels the need to engage with him at such length? Apart from Markus 1996, scholars have essentially not asked this question (see O'Daly 1996, Burns 2001); even Markus's brief comments focus less on Varro's ideas than on his cultural significance. My argument, on the contrary, is that Augustine conceives of Varro as a significant opponent: specifically as a *via media* or compromise theologian whose aim is to mediate between paganism and monotheism through the vehicle of civic religion. This critique is not one that Augustine makes in explicit terms. But consideration of both the inserted quotations from Varro (section 1) and Augustine's reaction to them (section 2) makes it likely that the *via media* approach is a primary motivating factor in Augustine's engagement with his Roman predecessor.

The first part of the paper focuses on Varro, using Augustine's text to reconstruct his theological profile as a compromise figure. My approach builds on recent work by Van Nuffelen (2010) and Volk (forth.) that considers Varro as a constructive thinker rather than a mere antiquarian. Famously, Varro proposes three theologies (*Civ.* 6.5, cf. 4.27; Rüpke 2005): the monotheistic religion of the philosophers, the polytheistic religion of the poets—and the civic religion. It is clear that Varro's main interest is in the civic religion; a glance at the table of contents of the *Divine Antiquities* will make that clear (*Civ.* 6.3). My suggestion is that we read Varro's civic religion as a programmatic *via media* between two extremes (the point is touched upon but not developed in Fortin 1980, 242). On the one hand, Varro thinks that civic religion avoids the lies and impurities of the poets' religion (*Civ.* 6.5): Varro is himself after all a monotheist (*Civ.* 4.9, 4.31, 7.6, 19.22). But Varro also thinks that civic religion avoids the intellectual obscurantism (*Civ.* 6.5) and impracticality (*Civ.* 3.4, 4.27, 4.31) of a purely philosophical religion. Brief consideration of Varro's allegorical method reinforces this interpretation of the civic theology as a compromise position.

The second half of the paper considers Augustine's reaction to Varro's *via media* theology. Within the *City of God*, Varro in books 6-7 occupies the middle position between the more straightforward polytheists whom Augustine refutes in books 1-5, and the more rigorously monotheistic Platonists he refutes in books 8-9. Literally and intellectually, Varro is in the middle: he represents an intellectually cogent version of polytheism that would enable it to be reconciled in some measure to a monotheistic system. The problems that Augustine sees with this compromise position are manifold, but they focus around a single overarching objection. Varro represents an elevation of the *civitas terrena*, in this instance Rome itself, over the truth of the *civitas Dei*—Varro cares about preserving the customs of a political order more than he does about truth (*Civ.* 6.2, 6.4, etc.).

Title: Romanitas between 'Pagans' and Christians: Christian Invective against Late Antique Roman Traditional Religions

Name: Jacob Latham

Late antique Christian polemic against Roman traditional religions has typically been construed as “shadow-boxing” against a defunct enemy or “trivial doggerel” re-mixing classical phrases, badly (Markus, 7-8; Cameron, 273). Not so. Targeting traditional religions performed crucial boundary work, distinguishing so-called “proper Christianity” and so also proper Christians from a “paganism [made] silly, stupid, and alien,” as Dennis Trout has

argued (Trout, 225). However, such polemic was not only a matter of internal policing, it also attacked ancient Mediterranean traditional religions and their adherents—and with good reason: they (both) were still alive and active, despite Neil McLynn’s premature obituary (McLynn, 318). And so, late antique Christian authors repeated classical criticisms of a still vibrant cult of Magna Mater, for example, both to question the *romanitas* (“Roman-ness,” a term coined by Tertullian) of its aristocratic adherents and to claim that Roman-ness for themselves.

From its arrival at Rome in the late third century BCE until the high empire, the cult of Magna Mater was viewed with anxiety, if not always hostility, by the Roman elite. In Late Antiquity, by contrast, aristocrats increasingly participated in and advertised their affiliations with the cult (Rauhala; Latham). Such participation was unsurprising—over the centuries the cult had achieved a prominent public position among the religions of Rome—but it did stand in tension with earlier classical literature, especially Martial, whose invective against the cult bordered on camp, and the Poet, Vergil. This same literary tradition also happened to confer elite cultural distinction as attested by the often bloated honors listed on statue bases (e.g. EDCS-18100570). That is, elites made themselves noble, notable and noticed, by means of *both* the Metroac cult *and* classical literature (even if their literary achievements were rather minimal as Ammianus Marcellinus [28.4.6-27] bitterly contended).

And so, anonymous Christian authors could pose as defenders of Roman-ness against “oriental” alterity by repeating the polemic of classical literature, a central pillar of elite Roman identity. That is, Christian invective exploited a fault-line between late antique religious practice and Roman literary tradition. “Parroting” classical literature was not antiquarian, but effective strategy. The aristocrats who participated in the rites of Magna Mater (like the *taurobolium* and public processions) as a means to establish a traditional Roman identity were now, according to classicizing Christian rhetoric, no longer Roman. Participation had become an accusation. In other words, Christian authors deployed classical Latin literature in an effort to claim Roman-ness from the aristocracy of Rome, its ostensible standard bearers, and to stake a claim on the city itself.

Session 42: Classics Graduate Education in the 21st Century (Organized by the Committee on College and University Education)

Title: POST-BACCALAUREATE PROGRAMS FOR THE 21st CENTURY

Name: Amy Richlin

In response to Dan-el Padilla Peralta’s call for serious change in our self-constitution to reflect changes in the present and future student body, Classics can look to our postbacc programs. After an historical overview, I will focus on my home institution, UCLA, especially during my time as postbacc director (2011-).

We draw largely from the west coast, with some adventurous souls from the Midwest and occasionally from overseas (from China to Russia). All postbacc programs attract students who want to build strengths; our students often show some or all of the following characteristics: first generation in college; switch from a major more acceptable to immigrant parents, like bioengineering; undergraduate experience that began at community college and worked its way upward through the echelons of the state university system; working full time alongside schoolwork; trained in a tiny program where they were often the only student in the class; undocumented, or living amongst the undocumented.

As a first-generation student myself, I feel kinship with this group, and aim to speak with them on the basis of shared experience. Also, because I speak at all kinds of schools all around the country, I am mindful that placement must aim at all kinds of outcome – that there are multiple worlds out there that a new PhD or MA could walk into. Our students have often seen the non-elite end of things; they know what that’s about. I also always promote K-12 teaching, as better paid and offering the opportunity to choose where you live. Like many in the profession, I try to maintain a relationship with local K-12 teachers, something I hope is true across the board at graduate departments. Our students – usually in groups of ten per year – form deep bonds of friendship, which I am happy to follow over the years as they support each other along the way.

At the same time, due to the lack of any curricular change ever in the blue-collar town where I grew up, I had the advantage of a very old-fashioned classical education from the age of eleven onwards. The postbacc seminar I teach every fall aims to fill in the large gaps in basic, taken-for-granted tradecraft that few postbaccs have ever heard of before: what is an apparatus criticus, what are the figures of rhetoric, what is meter, who wrote the dictionary. By the end of the course, they have it down; nobody leaves the course without an 87 or better on the sight meter test, they just keep taking re-tests until they can do it. Classical education survived from the age of Charlemagne until (just barely) today through the continuous oral transmission of these basics, and as long as we keep filling that gap and hungry students show up to have it filled, Classics will survive.

But UCLA is only one program, and a small one. A look at our new page of graduates will show how far we have gone towards meeting Dan-el's challenge: <https://classics.ucla.edu/post-baccalaureate-programs/program-graduates/> Take a look, and guess which one of these students waited tables 40 hours a week while she spent two years with us; guess which one threw boxes for UPS fulltime, on the side. *Pathei mathos*. This is what they bring to their future students. What we need is *funded postbaccs*, because there are more students out there who write me, every year, and they want to come, but not only can't they afford to add another \$10K to their student debt, they can't afford not to work fulltime. The University of Michigan's bridge MA is a start.

I once asked a postbacc in my intermediate Latin class if he didn't feel his brain expanding; he answered, "I feel like my brain has been *replaced*." I was pleased; but we don't replace their hearts. They bring those with them, and take them out into the world.

Title: Developing a Graduate-Level Pedagogy Course: A Test Case at Florida State University

Name: Michael Furman

Purpose:

The vast majority of graduate programs in Classics offer no formal coursework or training in pedagogy at either the M.A. or Ph.D. level. In many cases a 'Teaching Center' conducts a cursory (usually one- or two-day) university-wide, policy-based training prior to the first semester. Of the few programs which do list a pedagogy course in their catalog, inquiries found that many are 'ghost' courses (listed but never offered). These practices fail to reflect the growing importance of teaching in defining the role of Classics within the university and the shifting reality of employment options and outcomes for M.A. and Ph.D. students. This paper argues in favor of the development of a required pedagogy course *within* a Classics graduate program and provides a template for this development using Florida State University's *FLE5810: Teaching in Classics*.

Argument:

Ensuring that graduate students are excellent teachers is extremely important to both the health of the program and the job prospects of graduate students. In Spring 2019 at Florida State University, graduate students were the sole instructors for 85.5% of all undergraduates enrolled in 'introductory' Classics courses (<3000 level). This represents 36.5% of the total undergraduate enrolment in Classics and indicates that the first point of contact within a Classics department is likely to be a graduate student.

As a discipline, we only have one opportunity to make a first impression on a student, and that impression can determine whether a student will continue to take Classics courses. The application of 'thin-slicing' in the college classroom has been well documented by social psychologists but largely ignored by instructors. As Classics programs are facing cuts, enrollment gives us a quantitative justification for continued support and investment. By focusing on pedagogical training for graduate students, we provide the best conditions for undergraduate enrolment and retention.

Instruction in pedagogy is also critical to graduate student outcomes upon completion of their degree. Florida State University has found success with our M.A. graduates in particular. These students take FLE5810 before teaching

their own sections. This formalized training combined with independent teaching experience has allowed many of our M.A. graduates to find employment as teachers in private secondary schools throughout the country. For Ph.D. candidates hoping for an academic career, formal pedagogical training reflects the increasing prevalence of teaching-centric jobs (adjunct, teaching track, and VAP) in comparison to tenure-line openings, particularly as a first job straight out of graduate school. The question now is how do we design this training, and this paper lays out and explains (with examples) the guiding principles for FLE5810 at Florida State University:

1. At its core, this course facilitates innovation. FLE5810 allows graduate students take the pedagogical principles they learn and apply them to lesson and syllabus design. This results in new exercises and approaches which means our 'core' courses are constantly evolving.
2. Evidence-based approaches to teaching from other fields including social psychology and educational research are vital. Relying on anecdotes from our own experience stifles innovation and requires the indefensible assumption that every classroom is the same. We cannot hand graduate students a hammer when they might encounter a screw. We should provide them with a toolbox.
3. Active learning is essential to creating a successful learning environment for undergraduate students. The evidence is overwhelming that active learning is more effective than lecture, and to become dynamic teachers graduate students need to be familiar with active learning techniques. A handout of active learning resources accompanies this paper.
4. The best teaching is both reflective and expressive. Graduate students engage in exercises that help them define their teaching philosophy. This includes understanding current trends and debates in higher education. FLE5810 utilizes a weekly article review to fulfill this goal.
5. Students learn to be critical of teaching through the observation and evaluation of current faculty. The evaluation form accompanies this paper.

Title: Distance Technology and Graduate Classics Education

Name: Velvet Yates

Distance technology has helped level the playing field in Classics job placement; in many cases, no longer are graduate students required to scrape together hundreds of dollars to personally attend the SCS Annual Meeting, for the sake of one or two 30-minute first-round interviews. Search committees can easily simulate the in-person interview environment through readily available meeting technology, which is significantly more convenient and less expensive for the job candidates. This enhanced convenience and reduced expense should, in turn, produce a larger and more diverse applicant pool.

Can the use of meeting technology in distance graduate education likewise produce a quality experience with greater convenience and less cost, and therefore appeal to a more diverse pool of graduate students? That will be the question addressed in this paper. Practical aspects of delivering a live, distance graduate seminar will be discussed, as well as the logistics of delivering a hybrid seminar (with some students attending in person and some remotely). The question of whether a fully online graduate program is desirable, as opposed to a low-attendance program, will also be considered.

This paper will also address the question of appealing to non-traditional Classics graduate students, especially those who do not intend to pursue a career in higher education. Can a Classics graduate program maintain its quality and integrity without a mission to propel Ph.D.s into the academic job market? And does such a program automatically appeal to underrepresented groups, or is additional outreach desirable?

I will address these questions with the use of real-world examples, including a recording of an actual online graduate seminar.

Session 43: Citizenship, Migration, and Identity in Classical Athens

Title: Environment-based Identity and Athenian Anti-Immigrant Policies in the Classical Period

Name: Rebecca Futo Kennedy

In classical Athens, a citizen was a man born of two Athenian parents. But he was also imagined to be autochthonous, that is, indigenous and born of the Athenian soil. Autochthony goes beyond a simple myth of origins. The physical environment was imagined to shape a person: be it climate, geography, topography, or the soil itself, the environment seemed to govern both the physical appearance and moral character of a land's inhabitants. The land was thus fundamental in defining ethnicity. Space and place mattered to the understanding of identity-- from Hesiod to Hippocrates and Aristotle, Greek writings show a clear concern with the relationship between a people and their geographic, topographic, and climatic environments. It shaped, I argue, how Athenians understood who they were, what bound them together as a people, and how they defined otherness itself. Different geographies, topographies, and climates were assumed to determine different *ethnoi*.

Autochthony was an integral part of this intellectual trend to define ethnicity through geographical, topographical, and climatic influences. In this paper, I examine how conceptualizations of the human bond to a specific geography and climate (represented in earth-born and indigenous genealogies and in the Hippocratic *Airs, Waters, Places*, especially) might have informed Athenian thoughts on their identity by putting the myth of autochthony into the context of other types of environmental determinism with reference to a variety of texts including tragedy and oratory. I begin by examining the types of links the Athenians were attempting to create through this shared mythology and then examine how these links were then manifested in views on ethnicity and foreignness, which, in turn, impacted how they defined citizenship and treated metics in law.

I will argue that Athenian laws regarding citizenship and immigrants were premised on a notion that immigrants were incapable of 'adapting' to their new climate in Athens and overcoming their ethnic origins. No immigrant to Athens, therefore, could ever truly overcome the stigma of his place of origin since it would always be tainted with the blood of foreign soil or a foreign womb. I will discuss the evolution of the citizenship laws in relation to environmental ways of thinking and use as case studies, first, the treatment of metics under the establishment of the citizenship law in 451 BCE and its various fluctuations throughout the Peloponnesian War and, second, the restoration of the democracy in the aftermath of the Thirty. The demarcation between metic and citizen became increasingly harsh after 403 BCE in part, I argue, because there was a general sense of blame for the loss of Athens in the war on the laxity of the citizenship law's enforcement in the last decades of the Peloponnesian War and because of anxiety over inheritance and landownership in the face of high death rates from war and repeated plague. These prejudices and anxiety were rooted, I argue, in an understanding of environmentally dependent identity.

Title: Power Struggles: Neaira and the Threat to Citizenship

Name: Naomi Campa

Apollodoros' *Against Neaira* ([D].59) presents us with the prosecution of a foreign, manumitted sex worker for her alleged illegal marriage to an Athenian citizen. A naturalized citizen himself, Apollodoros frames power as a zero-sum game in which its illegitimate deployment comes at the expense of Athenian citizens. As Deene has shown, Apollodoros' performance of citizenship, including public prosecutions and a marriage to a citizen, is concerned with defending the boundaries of citizenship precisely because of his enfranchisement. While scholarship on [D.] 59 has illuminated the centrality of both the *oikos* to Athenian citizenship (Patterson, Bakewell) and connected the characterization of Neaira as a sex worker to her status (Glazebrook, Miner), the relationship between power and civic status has not yet been explored. This paper draws on Morriss' definition of power as the ability to effect desired outcomes, rather than limiting power to domination over other people. In *Against Neaira*, I argue, *kurios* and its opposite (*akuros*) are repeatedly deployed as indicators of power coupled with an expression of power as an ability to do "whatever one wishes" (*hoti an boulētai*). Tracing descriptions of the empowered and disempowered in the speech, this paper demonstrates that Apollodoros attempts to arouse fear in the jury through his portrayal of

Neaira as gaining power in the *oikos* and *polis*. By examining power, we may better understand the imagined threat the immigrant wife poses to the *oikos* and citizenship.

I will first show that the prosecution establishes proper citizens as empowered in contrast to the defendants. They take it for granted that the jurors should be empowered, or *kurioi*, to do “whatever they wish” and they highlight their own role in facilitating that empowerment (4, 12, 109). Neaira and her consort Stephanos are instead depicted as rendering the same jurors and the laws disempowered, or *akuroi* (13, 93). The proper attribution of power to citizens is complemented by the portrait of Neaira as someone who should not be empowered. Apollodoros employs the language of subjection to show that Neaira cannot do “whatever she wishes,” but rather that others do “whatever they wish” to her (20, 29, 33, 114). Whether as a slave or freedwoman, Neaira is not only a morally deficient outsider (Glazebrook), but also incapable of being empowered like a citizen.

Yet Neaira allegedly assumes power through her marriage. If, as in Apollodoros’ estimation, she has married Stephanos and passed off her daughter as a citizen, Neaira has effected desired outcomes and achieved practical enfranchisement. According to the prosecution, the illegitimate commandeering of power has consequences for the household and city. In the topsy-turvy world that Neaira’s empowerment represents, prostitutes, assumed to be foreign, are able to marry and have children freely with “whomever they wish” (112). The result is a reversal, where “the laws will become powerless (*akuroi*) and the ways of courtesans will become powerful (*kurioi*) to accomplish whatever they wish” (112). Insofar as foreign sex workers will share in the state as female Athenians do, this scenario amounts to non-Athenians performing citizenship (113). The phrasing recalls both the legitimate power of citizens and Neaira’s subjection. As a consequence of a power shift at the *oikos* and *polis* levels, citizens become like metics and metics, citizens.

By attending to the power struggles as presented by Apollodoros, we can better make sense of how Neaira as the specter of the metic wife threatens the *oikos*, and thus the city. Ultimately, I demonstrate that Apollodoros appeals to underlying notions of power in order to frame Neaira’s marriage as an immigrant intrusion into the *oikos* that imperils citizenship and the *polis*.

Title: Plataean Citizenship: Dual Identities

Name: Mary Jean McNamara

In *Citizenship in Classical Athens*, Josine Blok (2017) suggests the process by which non-Athenians were naturalized as Athenian citizens was one in which prospective citizens were “adopted” into the citizenry. Referring to Kymlicka (2002) and Walzer (1988), Blok defines citizenship as both membership in a community, and the ability to participate in the political activities of that community. I will explore the “adoption” of the Plataeans in 427 in terms of their membership, their ability to participate in the *politeia*, and the subsequent return of a contingent of Plataeans to Plataea.

In 427, a block grant of citizenship was awarded to a group of 212 Plataeans who endured a two-year siege of their city by the Thebans. The decision to enfranchise the Plataeans was motivated by their long-standing loyalty to the Athenians. The block grant of citizenship awarded to the Plataeans was unprecedented and may have been influenced by Simonides’s elegy frequently recited at Athenian symposia during the fifth century. The heroes of the Battle of Plataea commemorated in Simonides’s elegy were quite possibly the fathers, grandfathers, uncles, and cousins of the symposiasts. A little more than fifty years after the victory at Plataea, the Plataeans who received the block grant of citizenship may have had Simonides to thank for their award.

While the link between a drinking song and a citizenship decree may be tenuous, the fact that the Plataeans’ bravery was rewarded with a citizenship decree confirms that citizenship could be achieved through noble action as well as by inheritance, following the institution of Pericles’ citizenship law in 451/0 BCE. The adoption of the Plataeans prompted the Athenians to revise their concept of Athenian identity. By the end of the fourth century, the formulation of Athenian identity, which had originally been pinned on the myth of Athenian autochthony, became a public debate as Athenians regularly contested who had the right to Athenian citizenship. This evolution may have been sponsored in part by the aristocratic leanings of fifth-century symposiasts who saw the Plataeans as ideal Athenians, conspicuous in their bravery and their foreignness.

The Plataeans, foreigners who became Athenian citizens, challenged the myth of autochthony as they earned their citizenship through noble actions rather than through Athenian blood. Despite the citizenship grant, however, the identity of these new citizens as Plataeans persisted. This dual identity as Plataeans and Athenians meant that they were effectively a minority group among citizens within the *politeia*. The degree to which the Plataeans were assimilated into the *politeia* may be understood as a function of *habitus*, the analytical concept Bourdieu (1977) defined as "the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition." Instead of a "class condition," however, the Plataeans maintained their attachment to the city of Plataea, an attachment that undermined their "adoption."

In 386, a little over 40 years after the block grant of citizenship was awarded, a group of Plataeans left Athens, returned to Plataea, and refounded their city. This process of reverse immigration illustrates a conceptual alternative to autochthony, what I am calling, 'heterochthony,' being from two places, in this case, Plataea and Athens. The decision to return to Plataea refutes Siapkas's theory of heterological ethnicity, namely that "ethnic groups are no more than conceptual objectifications of ephemeral practices" (2004). The descendants of the Plataeans who received Athenian citizenship would have no reason to return to Plataea if ethnicity was an ephemeral practice. Instead, the identity of the Plataeans who received citizenship was similar to the experience of metics who represented what Kasimis (2017) calls "naturalized difference." The citizenship grant awarded to the Plataeans endowed them with the right to participate in the *politeia*, but their "naturalized difference" made integration as full citizens unfeasible.

Title: Immigration and Exclusion: A Comparative Study

Name: Jennifer Roberts

This paper explores criteria for citizenship in classical Athens and in the early United States as it affected both immigrant males and immigrant females. I aspire to integrate the work on Athenian citizenship by Loraux (1986) and Manville (1988), on images of immigration by Kasimis (2018) and Bakewell (2013) and on immigrant women in Athens by Futo Kennedy (2014) with thinking about citizenship and immigration in America's founding era, examining the sources collected in Hyneman and Lutz (1983) and analyzed by Smith (1997) and to explore these issues in the kind of cross-cultural context presented in the edited collection of Brettell and Hollifield (2014). I hope to show that the drive to define a nation and its citizens, and to define it in a positive way, is surprisingly similar in extraordinarily different circumstances. I believe too that this kind of comparative history will illuminate some of the seemingly unique problems of the classical city-states.

It is well known that Greek poleis were exclusive in matters of citizenship for both men and women. In Athens, limitation of the citizen body to the descent group was bolstered by an unusual myth. The god Hephaestus, so the story went, lusted after Athena, but the virgin goddess got the better of him, with the result that his sperm fell to earth, impregnating Ge. Erichthonios, the baby resulting from this unusual conception, was born literally from the earth thus ensouled by the forger god.

The subsequent claim of Erichthonios' descendants—the people of Athens—to be autochthonous took many forms. The autochthony myth involved not only descent from the earthborn Erichthonios but also sometimes undisturbed habitation in the land of Attica, sometimes democratic homogeneity within the citizen body. In Athenian thought, autochthony was good, its opposite bad. Who better to rule Greece than these very good people? One conspicuous example of non-autochthony, of course, was the purported descent of the enemy Spartans from Dorian invaders. Another, voiced by Alcibiades in the narrative of Thucydides (6. 17. 2-3), was the cities of Sicily, which Alcibiades dismisses as being of missed origins and concomitantly unstable.

Although early America might seem to be the very antithesis of Athens, a long-established city-state with imperial hegemony to justify, in fact the notion of a superior and homogeneous descent group could be and was articulated, and that in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Already in 1787 John Jay contended that Providence had been "pleased to give this one connected country to one united people—a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the same principles of government, very similar in their manners and customs" (Kramnick, 91). These words, it should be noted, sprang from the pen of a man whose ancestors were exclusively French and Dutch. Not quite autochthony—the population perceived as

indigenous to the land was in the process of brutal and bloody separation from it by massacre and disease—but distinctly evocative of the picture of the continuous Athenian history put forward in Athenian funeral orations and elsewhere. Some years later Samuel Morse proclaimed that this same Providence had permitted only the native-born to enjoy citizenship in the new American nation, a “family, separated from all others” to which no foreign-born person should “ever be allowed” admission, “no matter how well fitted for office, or how infallibly honest” (Morse, 17-22, 28). Xenophobia even extended to revoking the citizenship of American women who married foreigners (Bredbenner 1998); American men faced no such liability. Like Yi’s analysis (Yi 2014) of the liminal status of the Eumenides in Athens in the context of controversies generated by bride kidnappings among Hmong immigrants in the United States, this paper will examine the anxieties surrounding immigration, gender and citizenship manifested in classical Greece in the context of parallel concerns voiced in the modern world.

Session 44: From Illustration to Context: Figure-Decorated Pottery in Pedagogical Settings **No abstracts**

Session 45: Roman Cultural History

Title: Defining Neighborliness in Republican Rome: Plautus’ *Mercator*

Name: Jordan Reed Rogers

While several studies have investigated social relationships within the Republican city—including patronage (Hölkeskamp 2010), friendship (Konstan 1997, Burton 2004), and *collegia* (Liu 2016)—there has been a remarkable lack of research focusing on the social expectations and obligations of urban neighbors. When the social phenomenon of neighborliness is broached, it is typically in institutional or legal terms that privilege a static understanding of communal relationships (Palma 1988, Saliou 1994, Lott 2004, Bannon 2009). Recently, however, interest has shifted towards elucidating the dynamic social mechanisms by which Romans created and maintained their urban communities (Courrier 2014, Coffee 2017, Flower 2017), prompting a reexamination of ideals of neighborliness (Dutoit 1969).

To illuminate Republican ideals of neighborliness, I apply a sociologically inflected framework (Mann 1954, Boren 2006, McDonough 2017) of urban interaction to Plautus’ *Mercator* as a case study in urban neighborliness. I argue that the *Mercator* is best understood in light of discursive notions of neighborliness that serve to frame the actions and behaviors of Plautus’ characters for his Roman audience—an audience that experienced neighborly interactions daily and shared many of these same conceptions. Neighborliness, I argue, involves not only the mundane interactions of urban life, but also an overriding concern with the maintenance of individual and communal reputation. My analysis therefore focuses on two pairs of neighbors in the *Mercator*—the old men, Demipho and Lysimachus, and their sons, Charinus and Eutyclus.

Demipho and Lysimachus are representative of the often tense and obligatory neighborly relationship that interests Plautus in many of his plays. Upon first seeing his neighbor Lysimachus, Demipho connects him to the malicious *simia* of his dreams, a typically insulting characterization (*Merc.* 276). This initial meeting is notable for Lysimachus’ ironic sarcasm throughout and his begrudgingly vague offer of help to Demipho before departing (*Merc.* 325: *numquid vis?*). Demipho himself appeals to communal reputation when he refuses to bring Pasicompsa into his own home (405-11), preferring instead to ask Lysimachus to house the young slave girl on his behalf. Lysimachus’ subsequent purchase of Pasicompsa (499-500: *uicinus quod rogauit,| hoc emi mercimonium*), however, ultimately incites a scandal with his wife, Dorippa. Lysimachus, dreading his newfound reputation as a *leno*, can only reply with an old proverb—*aliquid mali esse propter vicinum malum* (773).

Plautus represents the neighborly relationship between the two sons, however, in a far more positive light. The audience is introduced to the youthful neighbors when Eutyclus addresses Charinus as his “friend and comrade and, at the same time, his next-door neighbor (*uicinus proximus*)” (475-6). Eutyclus offers his neighborly help in purchasing Pasicompsa but fails, prompting Charinus’ sudden threat of self-exile. To avoid blame for Charinus’ disappearance, Eutyclus sends *praecones* throughout the neighborhoods (*in vicis omnibus*) to find the young lover (662-7). Eutyclus’ seemingly selfish desire to prevent Charinus’ desertion of the neighborhood, however, is best understood as being prompted by a concern for his reputation in the community (*omnes dicent esse ignavia*). Similar to Demipho’s feigned appeal to communal reputation, Eutyclus’ actions are framed by the desire to avoid public

shame and, in doing so, to preserve the members of his neighborhood. Nevertheless, Plautus' judgment of these two examples of neighborliness is clear in the outcome of the play, as Charinus reunites with Pasicompsa while Eutyclus humorously assumes the role of patron to the disgraced Demipho (995).

Ultimately, Plautus characterizes a "good neighbor" as one concerned not only with the social niceties of communal living, but also with the maintenance of reputation for the individual and the entire community. As I argue, Plautus' presentation of neighborly ideals is not only important for our interpretation of his plays, but also reflects the social realities of urban life. By acknowledging the nuances of Republican ideals of neighborliness and their activation and subversion in Plautus' *Mercator*, we can begin to appreciate the often neglected and complex social relationships that characterized everyday life for those living in Rome.

Title: A Pastoral *Pathicus*? Juv. Sat. 9, Verg. Ecl. 2, and Patronage at Rome

Name: Cait Monroe Mongrain

In this paper, I will present a new reading of Juvenal 9, in which I argue that the quotation of Vergil's second *Eclogue* in line 102 (*o Corydon, Corydon*) is not an isolated reference but rather indicates a larger engagement with *Eclogue 2*, Vergilian pastoral, and ties into the satire's concern with patron-client relationships. While previous scholarship has noted the link to Vergil in *Satire 9*, this borrowing has most often been taken at face value as a well-known literary reference to a homosexual relationship in a satire focused on male homoeroticism. This paper will suggest that by mentioning Corydon, Juvenal not only reworks *Eclogue 2*'s narrative about Alexis and Corydon but also sharpens his critique of patron-client relationships in the Rome of his own day.

Previous scholarship on Juvenal has noted the satirist's engagement with pastoral (cf. e.g. Witke 1962, Grandsen 1970), as well as his frequent play with the Vergilian corpus (cf. e.g. Jenkyns 2012). In analyzing *Satire 9* in particular, however, Braund (1988, 157-8) is in the minority in seeing greater significance in the reference to Corydon, arguing that this inclusion is an ironic comment on Naevolus' *urbanitas*. Expanding upon Braund's work, this paper argues that *Satire 9* alludes to and plays with Vergilian pastoral throughout, functioning as a creative inversion of the pastoral, moving from *pastor* to *pathicus*, *rus* to *urbs*. The very format of the satire, unique in Juvenal's corpus as a dialogue, hearkens back to the amoebean exchange of pastoral, while the opening comparison of Naevolus to Marsyas foregrounds song competition in the poem. By calling Naevolus 'Corydon', the satiric speaker pokes fun at Naevolus' essentially urban character, mocking his glorification of a rural life (9.54-58), and ironizes Naevolus' laments about his capricious patron, casting the patron as a *crudelis Alexis*. I argue that this characterization of Naevolus as Corydon serves as a further ironic reworking of Vergil's narrative by picking up on the ending of *Eclogue 2*, in which Corydon urges himself to let go of his affection for Alexis and find *alium Alexin* (2.73). Although Naevolus sees himself as a Corydon, it is he who has been replaced. His patron has found his *alium Alexin*, and left Naevolus behind, despite the numerous services he has rendered.

This satiric engagement with the characters of *Eclogue 2* underscores the satire's biting commentary on the destabilization and corruption of the patron-client relationship in Rome. Naevolus as Corydon/Alexis straddles categories whose roles are no longer discrete: *puer* and *pater*, penetrated and penetrator, client and patron.

Title: Slaves and *Liberti* in Roman Military Inscriptions, 1st-3rd c. CE

Name: Adrian C. Linden-High

A remarkable number of Latin and Greek inscriptions from the first three centuries CE, some 915, mention slaves and *liberti* alongside Roman soldiers and veterans. About eight percent (80 texts) mention slaves, while the rest relate to *liberti* (835 texts). This starkly contrasts the literary evidence, which speaks of slaves rather than *liberti* in the company of soldiers. Close analysis of some especially detailed epitaphs suggests that the disproportionately large number of *liberti* epigraphically attested is tied to the distorting effect of testamentary manumission among soldiers and veterans. Though testamentary manumission likely also underlies many civilian inscriptions, it is of particular interest in military contexts in light of the special legal privileges granted to Roman soldiers.

Scholarship on slavery in the Roman military is sparse, and relevant inscriptions are particularly unexplored in a focus on the literary evidence (Rouland 1977, Welwei 1988) or in selective presentation of a few exemplary texts (Bennett 2007, Kampen 2013, Speidel 1989). Even Saller and Shaw (1984) do not comment on “military” slaves and *liberti* in their landmark study of family relations in the epitaphs of civilian, military, and servile populations, despite including 110 such texts (8 slaves, 102 *liberti*) in a ratio almost identical to my own findings. In contrast, Josephus, Tacitus, and other authors almost always use terms denoting slave status when mentioning servants alongside Rome’s forces (*calones*, *mancipia*, *δοῦλοι*, *θεράποντες*, and *οικέται*; rarely, if ever, *liberti*, or *ἀπελεύθεροι*).

The discrepancy between the two types of sources may be explained by a widespread use of testamentary manumission among soldiers and veterans. Such grants of freedom are explicit in four inscriptions in my database, *CIL* 6.32881, *AE* 1961, 17, *CIL* 13.8293, and *ILS* 8269. In each the grant of freedom is linked to the death of the soldier or veteran and the terms of his will. For example, in *CIL* 6.32881 (86 CE), L. Vafrius Epaphroditus is commemorated by Helius, slave of another soldier, as *manumissus testamento* (l. 3), “manumitted through the will” of L. Vafrius Tiro, centurio of legio XXII Primigenia. The slave Irolis in *AE* 1961, 17 (first c. CE) was freed in order to take care of the tomb of his master, decurio of an auxiliary unit (*ex testamento ... manumiserunt servom Irolem uti praestus sit eo sepulchro*, ll. 5–8). In addition to such explicit references to testamentary manumission, a further 9% (84) of my database’s texts include the words (*ex*) *testamento*, indicating a will, and a further 17% (156) mention *liberti* as *heredes*, heirs, also raising the possibility of a will.

Postulating a widespread use of testamentary manumission among soldiers also meshes well with our legal sources. Soldiers’ wills (*testamenta militaria*) stood in a privileged category of their own (Ulp., *Dig.* 29.1.1 pr). While civilian wills had to follow strict formalities to be valid, a much more lenient stance was taken towards testation in military contexts, both in terms of the form and the required qualifications of an heir (Champlin 1991, 56–58). Soldiers and veterans held special rights which allowed them to dispose freely, *sui iuris*, of assets, including slaves, acquired during military service (*peculium castrense*) in their wills (*Inst. Iust.* 2.12 pr). This would have made the *manumissio testamento* an exceptionally attractive and easy method of freeing slaves for soldiers and veterans.

The popularity of testamentary manumission among soldiers and veterans apparently explains why *liberti* so heavily outnumber slaves in inscriptions from military populations. This not only reconciles our conflicting literary and epigraphic record, but also is consistent with the special rights for soldiers and veterans described in our legal sources. The investigation thus throws into relief interesting commonalities and distinctions of Roman soldiers and civilian populations.

Title: A Second Coming of Age: Ritual Shaving as a Roman Rite of Passage

Name: Timothy M. Warnock

This paper examines a previously overlooked coming-of-age ceremony for Roman males – the first shaving of the beard, or *barbatoria*. I argue that this ceremony, distinct from the legal assumption of the *toga virilis*, constitutes a parallel rite of passage. It was a formative socio-religious ceremony, not confined to Roman citizens, that marked a male’s transition into full adult manhood.

There has been a great deal of study and debate over how Romans understood life stages and coming of age (Eyben 1993, Kleijwegt 1991, Wiedemann 1989). However, much of this work focused on the behaviors of Roman males in their teenage years and early twenties, never accounting much for coming-of-age ceremonies nor how Roman society culturally constructed the identification between a youth and an adult via physical appearance. Scholarship on Roman life stages has benefitted from the life course approach, emphasizing that an individual’s role and reception change with age, an idea articulated by Harlow and Laurence (2002). Furthermore, the matter of coming-of-age ceremonies and delineation of life stage based on presentation has been studied in relation to the assumption of the *toga virilis* (Davies 2005, Dolansky 2008). Such scholarship has helped to highlight the importance of visual presentation and socio-religious ceremonies in Roman perception of age and the catalogue of duties, obligations, and behaviors entailed therein.

While dress has been well-treated, scant attention has been paid to the highly visible trait that was so crucial in perceptions of age: facial hair. This paper reconstructs the socio-cultural importance of the coming-of-age ritual of

the *barbatoria*. Although the term itself is only explicitly attested in Petronius (*Satyricon* 73.6.2), the best description of the ceremony appears in Suetonius' *Nero*, in which he describes Nero's first shave: *barbam primam posuit* (12.4). This same passage reports that the ceremony involved a sacrifice, the placing of the shaven hair into a box, and its consecration on the Capitol. In the *Satyricon*, Trimalchio keeps his first shavings in a box in the household *lararium*, suggesting some variance in practice and that this ceremony was not confined to Roman citizens (29.8.4).

I will argue that there were two distinct coming-of-age ceremonies: one legal and associated with citizenship, the other social and unrestricted by legal status. Nicolaus of Damascus reports that Augustus assumed the *toga virilis* at the relatively common age of fourteen (4.8-10). However, Cassius Dio informs us that Augustus did not shave his beard for the first time until he was twenty-three, an age supported by epigraphic evidence (48.34.3; CIL 09, 06604). Ovid (*Tristia* 4.10.58), Juvenal (*Sat.* 8.166), and Martial (11.39) all speak of the first shaving in the absence of the *toga virilis*. Roman males, then, underwent two distinct coming-of-age ceremonies. That they might have happened at different ages changes how we understand male life stages in Roman culture. A male might receive his *toga virilis* and thus be eligible for participation in public life well before he was considered fully adult, as signified by his first shaving.

It is clear from the literary evidence that the presence of pre-*barbatoria* facial hair, characterized by its downy nature, was essential in delineating younger males from fully adult ones (Juv. *Sat.* 8.166; Ov. *Fasti* 3.59-60; Apuleius, *Met.* 5.8.3; Mart. 10.42; Cicero, *ad Atticum* 1.14.5.3). Given the visibility of this kind of facial hair, I argue that the *barbatoria* was a formative moment in a Roman male's life, as he would have been perceived by his family, himself, and the community to be fully adult. It represents a deeper cultural marking of male coming-of-age in which all classes and statuses participated. While assuming the *toga virilis* might have marked entry into public life, the *barbatoria* was the marker of physical adulthood.

Session 46: Ecocriticism

Title: Eco-criticism and the Wanderings of Odysseus

Name: Samuel Cooper

This paper revisits the question of the extent to which it is useful to compare the *Odyssey*, especially books 9-12, to the (early and later) modern literature of European exploration and colonization. While the focus of this question has tended to be on the *Odyssey*'s construction of a poetic anthropology or ethnography, this paper shifts the focus to the broader category of ecology, echoing a scholarly movement "beyond humanism" described in Bianchi et al. From this perspective, the Robinsonade becomes a later literary form of particular relevance. This paper argues that while the Wanderings of Odysseus combine a set of elements that would reappear as defining features of the Robinsonade, the *Odyssey* not only conjures but also undermines the fantasy of human technical triumph over strange ecologies.

Scholarship on the *Odyssey* as a poem implicitly concerned with exploration and colonization (even though its plot is explicitly oriented towards *nostos*) has inevitably been influenced by the "advanced (colonizer) vs. primitive (colonized)" dichotomy that is a fundamental feature of the rhetoric and ideology of modern European colonialism. At least since Murray a century ago, there has been a tendency to see Homeric epic generally as celebrating real or imagined cultural "progress." Influential work on the Wanderings as poetic anthropology (e.g. Segal, Vidal-Naquet, Redfield, Hartog) has seen in these tales repeated warnings against the "primitive," and more generally, a definition of the (normative) "human" against what it is not. Dougherty, shifting from anthropology to ethnography, makes a similar argument by way of explicit comparison with early modern European literature of exploration and colonization. A different line of thinking sees Odysseus the explorer in a more negative light. Horkheimer and Adorno pioneered this approach and explicitly linked the Wanderings to the later Robinsonade (48). More recently, Rinon (echoing Rutherford) argues that Odysseus the explorer is less "humane" than the Odysseus who returns to Ithaca, and that his colonialist approach to the land of the Cyclopes is particularly inhumane and myopic. Bakker offers perhaps the most ecological reading of the epic to date, arguing that excessive consumption of meat is the key crime all those who suffer: Odysseus himself (in the Cyclops episode), Odysseus' companions (on the island of Helios), and the suitors. Eccleston approaches Odyssean ecology by way of its reception in Cyrus Console's *The Odicy*.

This paper argues that it is indeed useful to compare the Wanderings to the later Robinsonade, for many of what appear to be the distinctively Homeric additions to and modifications of traditional folktale motifs anticipate the defining features of the Robinsonade. One example of this is the Cyclops episode's emphasis on Odysseus' technical ingenuity and desire to extract resources from an environment that is at once perilous, remarkably fertile, and lacking in technology (Glenn); another example is the Circe episode's linking together of peril, animality, feminine magic, and remarkable abundance. Yet it is a mistake to see the *Odyssey* as simply celebrating the triumph of human technical ingenuity over hostile (yet vulnerable) nature, as do some very one-dimensional versions of the later Robinsonade. For Odysseus' triumphs are inevitably only partial and temporary, and he is ultimately unable to preserve any of the resources he has extracted by force. One must also be very careful about characterizing the strange ecologies Odysseus encounters as "primitive," as this assumes a notion of progressive cultural and technological evolution with its own complex and nonlinear history. Perhaps unexpectedly, science fiction offers many versions of the Robinsonade in which, as in the *Odyssey*, strange ecologies prove more than a match for the human will to dominate and exploit (Csicsery-Ronay); this may reflect a reawakening to the mutability and unpredictability of nature. In their own historical context, the Wanderings of Odysseus likely reflect a deep awareness of and respect for the dynamic combination of opportunity, diversity, mutability, and danger that Horden and Purcell identify as hallmarks of the Mediterranean environment.

Title: Seeing the Trees: Reading Pindar in the Anthropocene

Name: Kyle Sanders

From leaf-shedding similes to the orchard of Laertes, trees have always been appreciated as a richly symbolic field in ancient literature (Henderson, Gowers). Within Pindar's epinikia, critics have described tree metaphors as a deep associative network (Segal, Calame) or even a "master symbol" in which victor, clan, poet, and broader community are figured (Carne-Ross). By virtue of their inherent versatility (many parts, species, and senses to appreciate), trees are useful poetic material for the occasional songs Pindar wrote.

At the same time, environmental histories of the ancient world have long emphasized the exploitative relationship between humans and trees (Amigues, Hughes, Thommen). Thus Plato in the *Critias* famously laments the deforestation of Attica. Likewise, to the limited extent that critics have articulated an ecological perspective in Pindar's poetry, the conversation has centered around how myths about the natural world validate narratives of colonial violence (e.g., Dougherty on Pythian 9) and "Euro-masculinism" (Eckerman on Olympian 7).

By contrast, this paper argues that "exploitation," is not a sufficient framework to describe Pindar's environmental ethic. For example, in Pythian 4, the poet deploys a riddle about the harvest of an oak tree to address a political crisis in Cyrene (q.v. Lattman). By posing the question of the intrinsic versus instrumental value of a tree, the riddle invites to conversation various disputing parties. In order to solve the riddle, and mend the social fabric, the text asks the audience to empathize with a non-human species.

Likewise, the poetic speaker of Olympian 3 somewhat anachronistically projects deforestation into the legendary past; Heracles confronts the nakedness of the Olympian landscape as a kind of cosmic injustice. The hero's peaceful negotiation for the olive trees of the Hyperboreans, likely a Pindaric innovation (Köhnken, Pavlou), engenders a site of memory and a lasting social good for humans. At the same time, the trees reap the rewards of protection and local veneration, which the text conditions via Heracles' reaction.

In sum, rather than focus on nebulous concepts such as "environment" or the natural world, this paper investigates how the Pindaric text encodes in discrete episodes on a small scale the interactions between two species, humans and trees. Accordingly, I show that the human-tree relationships in offer sites of inter-species cooperation and problem-solving.

Title: Retelling Rome's environmental history: Pliny's *Natural History* 18 and Columella's *De Re Rustica* 1-3

Name: Katherine Beydler

Scholarship on Pliny and Columella often focuses on their antagonistic relationship as the champions of two different agricultural ideals, mostly based on the hostile comments Pliny makes in Book 18 of the *Natural History* about the *De Re Rustica* (Frederiksen 1980, Beagon 1992, Noè 2002). This approach takes for granted how both texts use Roman mytho-historical farming *exempla* of figures like Cincinnatus, Curius Dentatus, and a generalized group of wise *antiqui*, to adduce those ideals. The farmer-leaders in Pliny and Columella are not monolithic, fossilized figures used uncritically, but contingent members of carefully constructed environmental discourses. As Matthew Roller (2004, 7) has argued, "The production of exemplary discourse is beset at every turn by instabilities, contradictions, and contestation...different aspects of an action carry divergent value."

I will analyze how they use *exempla* about the role of agriculture in society differently to communicate with members of their contemporary worlds, primarily elite estate-holders. The flexibility of the stories associated with the earlier Roman agriculture shows how past landscapes were dynamic participants in the creation of new narratives about land management. Furthermore, although close in time, the two authors are not exact contemporaries. Columella's text and *exempla* reflect a Julio-Claudian sensibility, and Pliny's a Flavian.

Pliny the Elder's protagonists, presented as civilizers of the Roman environment, are the kings; a narrative account of the establishment of agricultural practice begins with Romulus, appearing as a farmer instead of a shepherd. Throughout Book 18, instead of simply demonstrating upright morality, the examples Pliny uses continue to show how excellent leadership created productive new links between the rural landscape and its urban counterpart. Republican figures who lowered grain prices or gave grain away become heroes, in contrast to those same politicians portrayed as seeking kingship through popularity by authors like Livy. Pliny's stories forge a positive relationship between the past and the present, with Rome's successful Mediterranean management the inheritance of its wise first leaders.

Columella's *exempla* feature Republican figures whose agricultural practices demonstrated excellent personal and political morality. Throughout the text, however, Columella undermines his offerings of traditional practices by emphasizing their unattainability, a contrast with Pliny, whose stories are hopeful. For example, after praise of Cincinnatus and reference to Cato, Columella warns that the time when achieving such *exempla* was possible has passed: "If only these recommendations, old but outstanding in morality, which have now passed out of use were able to be achieved now (1.9.14)." This and other comments like it reinforce the irreversibility of changes to production and consumption by the time of Nero. The usual *exempla* were no longer culturally legible. The text also reinforces the difficulty of applying advice pertinent to Italy to agriculture that had spread over many provinces. An estate-holder cannot even expect to visit his estates regularly; in response to Mago's instruction that the owner of a country villa should sell his townhouse, Columella writes "This precept, if it were possible to be observed in these times, I wouldn't change, but now, civil ambition often calls us away and detains us even more often....(DRR 1.1.19)."

I will conclude by comparing each author's treatment of early Roman traditions, or in some cases, divergent use of the same story. Pliny's presentation of the leader-as-cultivator and unique inclusion of the kings points toward a proactive justification of Vespasian's right to reshape the Mediterranean through the redistribution and administration of provincial land. Columella's negotiation between what he describes as traditional values and the reality of his Rome could be read as part of the same anti-Neronian sentiment that others have seen in Columella (Gowers 2000, Requejo 2017). However, I read it as a response to the changes in Rome's physical and ideological landscape that had begun decades earlier as well as part of a literary program intended to create authority by emphasizing *experimenta* over *exempla*.

Session 47: The Lives of Books

Title: Imagining tablets and unseeing secretaries: real and imagined logistics of Roman literary production

Name: Joseph A. Howley

Roman literary culture depended on slavery, not only for the wealth and leisure to read and write, but also in practical terms: Romans relied on enslaved secretaries, copyists, and readers to facilitate their encounters with the written word (Winsbury 2009). In particular, authors used amanuenses to conduct research, take dictation, and assist with revision (Horsfall 1995, Habinek 2005). But when Roman poets imagine their own authorship (Frampton 2019) in material terms, they do so exclusively through the image of another tool: the waxed tablet. Building on recent work on hidden labor in Latin poetry (Geue 2018) and on the spectrum of material practices in which literary text sits (Howley 2017), this paper rereads the poetic motif of *tabellae* in light of what we know about Roman authorial work, and finds in it a device not only of self-fashioning but also of occluding, a material poetics that allows some material realities of poetic work—like pens and tablets—to be emphasized while others—like human labor—are obscured.

Textual materiality, the figuring of poetry's aesthetic qualities through physical books has long been understood as a way Latin poetry ties itself to Hellenistic antecedents and establishes its own distinctive aesthetic (Williams 1992, Bing 1998). Tablets, meanwhile, serve to figure the author's work-in-progress, enacting fantasies of composition and anxieties of plagiarism (Roman 2006, Seo 2009), as in Catullus c. 42 and 50 and Propertius 3.23, while also deflating the stature of literary composition by holding documents or ephemeral correspondence, as in Ovid *Amores* 1.11-12.

I begin by rereading these *loci classici* of poetic *tabellae* for the labor practices they imply or elide. I set the variability of the tablet's uses and functions (Meyer 2004) alongside the presence of the literate secretarial slave, who emerges from a range of literate enslaved roles within the household (Treggiari 1975). I then show how the figuring of the work-in-progress as a thing to be possessed, exchanged, lost, and handled aligns with the experience and position of the slave in the urban *domus*; I show that Propertius's lament that someone is using his tablets for bookkeeping, and his advertised reward for return, may be fruitfully reread in terms of the fungibility of enslaved skillsets, and alongside the collars Roman slaves wore promising rewards if, having run away, they should be captured and returned (Trimble 2016). Ovid *Amores* 1.11-12, likewise, become more ominous alongside the spectre of slave rape in *Amores* 2.7-8.

From here I turn briefly to Roman discussions of their own use of amanuenses, which emphasize the amanuensis as prosthetic extension of the self (Blake 2012, 2016) as well as the sheer pleasure that comes from dictating. This enables a new reading of Martial's *Apophoreta* (Johnson 2005) in which the tools of Roman writing are offered as *Saturnalia* gifts alongside slaves, and in which we can see these ideas of pleasure and satisfaction intersecting in the objectification of the enslaved body.

Why do only prose authors speak openly about the use of amanuenses? The answer, I argue, is that while prose authors (like Pliny the Elder) may be praised for orchestrating the labor of their secretarial slaves in pursuit of large-scale works of *studium*, Latin poets are at pains to center their own authorial identity as repositories of *ingenium*, and to frame that *ingenium*—and the work that translates it into poetry—as a disembodied, creative practice, one that could not plausibly involve other human beings (as, in reality, it often did). The tablet thus serves as a lightning rod for figuring poetic authorship, a material image by which the poet emphasizes their own creativity and, in so doing, occludes the work of their enslaved assistant. To supplement the much-discussed poetic *tabellae* with the silenced or minimized amanuenses allows us to paint a fuller picture of Roman literary production in its elite social context.

Title: The Ancient Entomological Bookworm: A New Chapter in the Shelf Life of Books
Name: Cat Lambert

The ancient entomological bookworm was a bibliographical phenomenon that book users encountered largely through its mysterious traces. This paper argues that the material circumstances of the bookworm shaped the poetic landscape of Roman Imperial literature. A name given to negative, vermiculate space, the bookworm functions as a way of envisioning decay and violence done to material texts—chapters of a book’s “shelf life” that fall under the category of “non-reading.” Attention to the very real ways in which bookworms shaped the written word deepens our insight into the poetic representations of books and readers.

By tracing the bookworm in ancient sources, this paper taps into a materially specific historical reality so as to defamiliarize the modern metaphor of “bookworm” and illuminate aspects of ancient book culture that encompass but also extend beyond reading into broader practices of textual handling, storage, and destruction (Howley 2017). As book historical work in other fields has shown (e.g. Price 2012), reading is but one among a number of practices to which material texts may be put. Moreover, understanding ancient reading requires careful attention to representations within historical, sociocultural contexts (Johnson 2000, McCutcheon 2015, Howley 2018, Frampton 2016, 2018). Tracing the bookworm—a meaningful yet understudied agent in ancient textual culture—offers us a way to construct a more capacious sociology of texts in antiquity.

I begin by assessing the evidence for the ancient historical bookworm. A range of Roman authors (e.g. Horace, Vitruvius, Ovid, Pliny, Martial) note that bookworms (*tineae/blattae*, used interchangeably) feed on papyrus book-rolls; Juvenal (7.24-26) may suggest that bookworms also consumed parchment. Papyrological, codicological, and microbiological evidence supports these literary sources (e.g. *PLond 256*, Hedges 2013). Lucian suggests that ancient readers were sensitive to the physical shape of wormholes bored through books (διαβεβρῶσθαι, κατακεκόφθαι, *Ignorant Book Collector*, 1). The evidence shows that bookworms tend to emerge from a nexus of imagery that associates the creature with decay (*caries*), age, and disuse (*situs*). In particular, the historical bookworm is directly tied to practical conditions of book storage (e.g. *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.1), which prompt readers and writers to question what happens to books in the dark.

I then turn from the historical bookworm to the poetic imagery and rhetoric of bookworms, showing how they operate at interfaces between the use, disuse, and abuse of material texts. In contrast to Roman book-burning—rejected by Roman literary culture as an act of violence (Howley 2017)—bookworms are treated as violent not because they efface texts (like fire) but rather because they *deface* them in a dark space when the material text no longer has contact with a reader. Ovid, for example, taps into the bookworm’s defacement of texts to evert for the reader the psychological trauma of exile (*Epist. Ex Pont.* 1.72), likening his mental deterioration to bookworm damage—signs manifested through negative space by an evanescent culprit who hollows out the *liber*/Ovid from the inside.

While bookworms enter the Roman literary landscape with Horace and Ovid, they cluster around the turn of the 1st century CE. In later imperial authors such as Juvenal, Martial, Lucian, and Ausonius, the poetics of the bookworm become integrated into a larger ethics of textual practices. This rhetoric closely links bookworms to a broader social network, foregrounding readers, handlers, and patrons—not authors—as possessing ethical agency in imperial book culture. Like the oblique passage of the bookworm through the papyrus roll, the idea of the bookworm in ancient literature unites perceptions and anxieties about books and their readers.

Title: Which classics come in red and green? The creation of the Loeb Classical Library canon.

Name: Mirte Liebrechts

Few of us nowadays would expect to find a translation of Photius’ *Bibliotheca* or Alcuin’s *De Fide Sanctae Trinitatis* among the red and green Loeb Classical Library volumes, as Byzantine Greek and Carolingian Latin are often relegated to different research areas than ‘classical’ Greece and Rome. A first draft of the project, however, dating to 1910, reveals the original intention to include both of these ancient authors and to extend its overall scope

to the fall of Constantinople. Why were these objectives abandoned? Is this related to the fluidity of the definition of ‘classical’?

I investigate the early development of the corpus of the Loeb Classical Library (LCL) between 1910 and 1920, in order to demonstrate the dynamics underlying the creation of scholarly publications in the field of classical studies and to explain possible discrepancies between intentions and outcomes. The first ten years of the bilingual series’ existence have been crucial for the ways in which it has taken shape. Nevertheless, the choices and processes that led to the publication as we nowadays know it remain unexplored.

This paper ties in with an increasing interest in classical publications (e.g. Most 1999, Gibson and Kraus 2002, Henderson 2006, Stray 2007, Kraus and Stray 2016) and the dynamics of the classical canon (e.g. Formisano and Kraus 2018). I argue that a more comprehensive insight into the mechanisms of (classical) canon formation can be gained by taking the organisational side of publishing a book series into account too (e.g. Spiers 2011). Both internal processes, such as negotiations between multiple stakeholders, and external circumstances, such as copyright or availability of texts, are decisive for the way in which long-term projects take shape.

The intention to incorporate ‘all that is of value and of interest in Greek and Latin literature’ (Loeb 1912) in the book series may lead to an initial diagnosis of ‘hyperinclusivity’ (Pollock 2015, as cited in Güthenke and Holmes 2018). Yet, a closer analysis shows that in fact a selection process was clearly in place. I take the actual order of appearance of the LCL volumes as a starting point, as this is revealing for the series’ remarkable publication strategies. For example, neither Homer nor Virgil were among the first 60 volumes, whereas the Apostolic Fathers and Quintus of Smyrna were. Secondly and more extensively, I turn to the affairs that generated this result.

The inclusion of ‘all interesting and valuable texts’ brought along many challenges, not least due to contrasting interpretations of this statement. Based on unpublished letter exchanges between the series’ patron James Loeb, the editors, and publisher William Heinemann, I highlight the differing views of several stakeholders – and especially disagreements between American and English classical scholars – to incorporate specific texts or authors. Additionally, I pay attention to the implications of rivaling publishers and legal constraints. By doing so, the reasons why some volumes were renounced, while it was deemed vital to include others, will become clear. The ‘classical’ is continuously reshaped and amended, both deliberately and involuntarily.

Session 48: Chorality

Title: Whirling in Their Midst: Choral Intonations in the Iliad

Name: Amy N. Hendricks

This paper focuses on representations of singing or dancing groups in Homer’s *Iliad* and argues that, even when the term χορός is not present, these groups can still be interpreted as “choral.” Recent works by Gagné and Hopman (2013) and Budelmann and MacIntosh (2013) highlight the importance of “chorality” and its numerous applications to the study of ancient Greek poetry. Building on several treatments of choral poetry and its performative significance (Calame 1977; Herington 1985; Nagy 1990; Stehle 1997), new approaches to the broader sociocultural role of the chorus and its complex symbolic range have enabled a deeper understanding of chorality. Carruesco (2016) defines chorality as a “symbolic construction . . . and a cultural paradigm which informed different fields of the community’s experience” (69), inviting further consideration of the way this concept might have operated separate from the performance of choral poetry itself. Scholars have nonetheless largely overlooked the representation of choral poetics within non-choral poetry, particularly early epic. By recognizing these representations of choral modalities as part of a developing literary motif, I argue that Homeric epic provides an early articulation of the relationship between literary analogue and cultural practice and further demonstrates the communal importance of the chorus.

Although the term χορός is infrequent in the *Iliad*, choral groups appear in a variety of contexts. Commentary on the chorus in the *Iliad* (Edwards 1991; Webster 1970; cf. Tsagalis 2008) has tended to focus on the three choral scenes contained in the “Shield of Achilles” (18.491-496; 18.567-572; 18.590-606), even though only the last of these contains the word χορός and it is used to indicate a physical space, not a group in performance. Building on these discussions, I demonstrate that even on the Shield, choruses are not consistently associated with a specific verbal

signifier. The scenes on the Shield suggest that when a particular group consisting of individuals of the same age and/or sex participates in dancing and/or singing as a collective, these features signify chorality for the audience. While the choral scenes on the Shield are all associated with a sense of celebration and even reproduction, it is also possible to read the *Iliad*'s three major scenes of lament (the Nereids for Patroclus/Achilles, 18.35-69; the Achaeans for Patroclus, 18.316-24; Andromache/Hecuba/Helen for Hector, 24.718-24) as choral. The lament of the Nereids, for example, is not described as χορός, but several features convey this to the audience: the collective status suggested by their sisterhood and patronymic (Νηρηϊδες, 18.38; Murnaghan 2006), the gestures and movements performed in unison (αἶ δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι / στήθεα πεπλήγοντο, 18.50-51), the prominent (if prototypical) *choregos* figure of Thetis, and the call and response structure (ἐξῆρχε γόοιο, 18.51; Alexiou 2002). Through the inclusion of these scenes, it becomes possible to trace a stronger choral motif in the *Iliad*, which illustrates its importance both within and outside of the text and its ability to resonate with the audience in a variety of contexts.

By engaging with the chorus both as a visual object in performance (especially through the descriptions on the Shield) and as a simple point of cultural reference (as at 3.392-4, 15.506-508, and 16.179-186), the poet draws on the rich symbolic significance of a communicative medium familiar to the audience from their own experiences as viewers of and participants in choral performance. Through a multi-level reading of the chorus as both a literary symbol and a significant social practice outside the text, I argue that the poet is at one time able to utilize the chorus as a simple idea and as a complex performative interaction in conversation with an audience personally familiar with the full visual and social potentials of choral performance.

Title: The Chorus Leader in Early Hexameter Poetry
Name: Emmanuel Aprilakis

This paper examines references to choral performances in early hexameter poetry in order to offer an analysis of the figure of chorus leader. It endeavors to highlight the prominence of this figure in what we can reconstruct of early choral performance. Ultimately, this analysis has serious implications for our understanding of the performance form of archaic lyric and classical drama.

It has long been recognized that ancient Greece was a song-dance culture rooted in a tradition of choral performance (articulated by e.g. Herington 1985, Bacon 1994/5, Rutherford 2001). Although the earliest extant texts intended for choruses are the seventh-century *partheneia* of Alcman, it is no surprise that mentions of group song and dance abound in even earlier literature. Indeed, the hexameters of Homer, Hesiod, and the *Homeric Hymns* feature a plethora of references to choral activity, which has been thoroughly investigated by Nicholas Richardson (2011). His focus was not specifically on the leader of these groups, though many of the passages he cites testify to the significance of this position. Thus, this paper takes the chorus leader as its focal point and aims to demonstrate the inherence of this figure to the chorus as far back as the literary evidence stretches.

A variety of genres of group song appear in early hexameter poetry, including victory-song, lament, and wedding-song (for the performance context of *paianes*, see Rutherford 2001; *threnoi/gooi*, Alexiou 2002; *partheneia*, Calame 2001; *hymnoi* generally, Furley/Bremer 2001). Here is not the place to provide an exhaustive compilation of references to choral song and dance, but this paper does seek to show that across the body of poems under examination, each of the works attributed to Homer and Hesiod and an array of the *Homeric Hymns*, the profusion of mentions of choral activity are rife with language of leading. And this prevalence is not restricted only to a certain type of occasion, but is apparent across the different genres of group song here featured.

As it presents the dynamism of the chorus leader in early hexameter, this paper offers three categories of roles assigned to this figure: 'direct leader,' 'accompanist leader,' and 'antiphonal leader.' Remarkably, a scene in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* displays each of these three roles simultaneously as the gods exult on Olympus (182-206). The passage begins and ends with Apollo, unsurprisingly, as he inaugurates the festivities by playing a charming song on his lyre. Apollo, assuming the role of 'accompanist leader,' incites a group of divinities to dance—the Muses, Graces, Seasons, Harmonia, Hebe, and Aphrodite all dance holding hands. And this chorus is not lacking its own internal, or 'direct leader,' as Artemis is recognized as standing out among the group. Finally, Ares and Hermes are a bit further removed, identified as sporting among them, yet clearly separately, practically in

responsion to the group as ‘antiphonal leaders.’ This extravagant passage is the exception, and most passages dealt with feature a singular leader. For instance, as the maidens play the ball-game, Nausicaa ἤρχετο μολπῆς and is compared to Artemis, herself just noted as an archetypal ‘direct leader’ (Hom. *Od.* 6.100-9). Hesiod also presents Apollo as the archetypal ‘accompanist leader,’ as he plays his lyre and the Muses ἐξῆρχον αἰοιδῆς (Hes. *Sc.* 201-6). For ‘antiphonal leaders,’ the *Iliad* furnishes a wealth of examples, with its *threnoi* kicked off by an intimate, to whom a group of attendants responds with cries—for example, Andromache, Hecuba, and Helen all ἐξῆρχε γόοιο for Hector, after which their companions respond, ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναικες (Hom. *Il.* 24.719-76).

Where the archaic lyric of Alcman spotlights a χοραγός, and classical drama puts onstage a κορυφαῖος, early hexameter characterizes its chorus leader with the verb ἐξάρχω or a semantically related variant, which appears across the three categories presented. Still, the scenes discussed herein can shed light on our understanding of later choral performance, especially as they exhibit the deep-rootedness of these leaders to their choruses.

Title: Male Lament and the Symposium

Name: Gregory Jones

In ancient Greek literature, as in life, lamentation was not an exclusively female activity. Men and women were, however, expected to mourn differently and their respective modes of lament were gendered in substantive ways (Suter 2008; 2009). Scholars have long recognized the significance of elegy as a vehicle for men’s lament, especially in relation to the symposium; like professional *threnoi*, threnodic elegy prioritized consolation for the living and praise of the dead, often by way of sympotic imagery (Nagy 1999; 2010; Derderian 2001; Alexiou 2002). At the same time, literary representations of lament in sympotic contexts (e.g. *Odyssey* 4. 76-234, Archilochus fr. 13, etc.) are commonly read as negative examples of unusual or unwanted behavior at odds with male conviviality (e.g. Steiner 2012).

This paper examines the symposium as a traditional, if sometimes contested, locus of male lament and seeks to demonstrate a continuity of form and function in different threnodic performances generated and uniquely shaped by symposia, where, after all, poetry thematizing death was routinely performed (Murray 1988). The evidence presented indicates that men drinking together commonly performed various types of lament, usually involving other men and the wider community.

I begin with a brief discussion of Homer’s representation of men’s *gooi* in *Odyssey* 4 arguing that these lamentations are treated as a normal activity within the banquetting context. Menelaus himself says that he often enjoys (τέρπομαι) lamenting in his halls and kindles desire for mourning among his guests, who, like their host, exhibit masculine restraint and stop themselves from overindulging in lament (100-3, 183-212; cf. Cairns 2009). Peisistratus’s counterclaim that he does not take pleasure in lamentation after dinner (though he approves of it and praises his dead brother with a lament of his own) and Helen’s administration of a *pharmakon* to ease their grief (193-202, 219-34) highlight the tensions between pleasure and pain inherent in sympotic male lament. I suggest that we reconsider several elegiac works that echo the dynamics of this episode, including the song represented by Archilochus fr. 9, which was likely performed at a symposium and appears to have been explicitly threnodic; in citing it Plutarch (*De aud. poet.* 6.23b) plainly says the poet is lamenting (θρηνῶν) his brother-in-law, while the fragment itself concerns funeral rites. Archilochus fr. 13 (thought to be a self-contained song) and 11, which call for an end to grief in favor of cheer, may therefore be read as commentaries on self-moderated “real lament” performed by men at symposia as exemplified by fr. 9 and *Odyssey* 4 (cf. Nagy 2010).

At Theognis 825-30 we again find a juxtaposition of sympotic pleasure and grief, but in this case the singer commands his fellow symposiasts to stop reveling and start lamenting (“bewail the land that is being destroyed,” πένθει δ’ εὐώδη χῶρον ἀπολλύμενον). The kind of performance invoked here may be described as a city lament performed over wine, for which there is direct evidence in the form of a skolion (*PMG* 907) that laments the destruction of the Alcmaeonid fort at Leipsydriion (“aiai! Leipsydriion, betrayer of comrades...”) and praises the dead in an egalitarian manner comparable to that of the *epitaphios logos*. Other skolia could be classified as laments, including some versions of the Harmodios song (*PMG* 894, 896), which offer consolatory praise of the dead and echo ritual cries of lamentation through repetition of the *ai* diphthong (see Nagy 2010; Jones 2014). Theopompus’s (fr. 65) description of symposiasts “reclining softly upon couches singing in lament

(οἰμῳζοντες) the Telamon song to one another” also suggests that such skolia were indeed threnodic and were sung antiphonally in the ancient style of ritual lament. Both sets of skolia were likely tied to Athenian state cults and ritual laments performed in honor of Ajax and the Tyrannicides. Finally, I briefly suggest that sympotic spaces steeped in Dionysos, who was no stranger to death and heightened emotion, were naturally conducive to the performance of lament.

Title: Choral identity and the slave trade in 5th century Athens.

Name: Aaron J. Beck-Schachter

In this paper, I will argue that the status of the chorus in Euripides *Iphigeneia among the Taurians* reflected the dynamics of the 5th century slave trade between Greece and the Black Sea region. While Iphigenia is Greek, is unclear exactly who the women attending the priestess are or how they got to the Taurian Chersonesos. Each *parthenos* who accompanies Iphigenia is characterized as a slave (δοῦλα), purchased in war and undergoing heavy hardship (*IT* 1075–77; cf. Hall 2014; Kowalzig 2013). In the culminating *aition*, Athena orders that the chorus shall be returned to Attica, but their release occurs separately from Iphigenia, and is accomplished by the barbarian Thoas, not the women themselves (1475–85). Generally, the status of the chorus in the *IT* recalls that of a suppliant who, when present at a sanctuary, could become literally a possession of the god, and thus analogous to a valuable material dedication (Pleket 1981). A member of the chorus in Euripides’ *Phoenissae* declares in the context of their travel from Tyre to Thebes “I became a servant (λάτρης) of Apollo, equal to *agalмата* of wrought gold.” (Eur. *Phoen.* 220–1). The Phoenician women are travelling to Delphi both as choice offerings (ἀκροθίνια) and servants (δοῦλοι) to the god. In the *Ion*, when Creusa is a suppliant at the altar of Delphi she is the property of the god. Just like Ion in his role as temple servant (λάτρης), she “give(s) (her) body as sacred for the god to possess.” (Eur. *Ion* 1285). This type of cult service could be a joyous obligation or a burden, or both. It could presumably be incurred for a variety of reasons and for periods of varying duration (Chaniotis 2011). Such temple servants or priestesses who would be dedicated to and serve a goddess were a conspicuous features of Herodotus’ descriptions of the alien customs of foreign sanctuaries in the Black Sea region, the Near East, and Egypt. These elements, both real and imagined, were then taken up by the ethnographers and geographers who subsequently embroidered the myth of Iphigeneia and Orestes (e.g. Strab. 12.2.31–4 C557–8, Comana in Cappadocia). However, there are indications that these traditions were more than a simple bricolage of stories and legends. In the period in the late 5th century, the Black sea region was a key contributor of goods and slaves to Athens (Braund & Tsatskheladze 1989; Gavriiliuk 2003) while the Attic Delia and its theoriai would have provided ample opportunity for economic and commercial activity inspired by the ancient sanctuaries of the east and relating to the possession and movement of non-citizen people. In the *Hecuba*, the Trojan women of the chorus refer to the festivals of Delian Artemis in direct relation to their fate as slaves (Eur. *Hec.* 455–74). In the *IT*, the chorus’ status as Greek but (apparently) non-citizen servants or *hierodouloi* is juxtaposed against their clearly stated desire to dance at Delos and, by extension, participate in Athenian society (*IT* 1096–100). This participation would likely have included their incipient status as indentured servants or sanctuary (i.e. public) slaves.

Session 49: Latin Poetics and Poetic Theory

Title: Neoteric Questions

Name: Jesse Hill

Scholarship on Neotericism – that late Republican literary *thing* that Catullus is supposed to have been associated with – has been bedevilled with uncertainty. Were the Neoterics a tight-knit school of poets who broke from the earlier Latin tradition as, e.g., Lyne 1978, Schmidt 1996, and Johnson 2007 have thought? or was Neotericism instead a messy and wide-ranging literary movement (Alfonsi 1945, Bardon 1952, Hollis 2007)? or should we rather, like the sceptics Courtney 1993, Lightfoot 1999, and Stroup 2010, doubt that the thing existed in any form, throwing scare quotes around “Neoteric” and cognates whenever we are driven to write them?

This paper proposes a model for answering those questions that harmonises, I hope, some of the best of what the above scholars have written on the subject. Building on the treatment of movements and schools in English poetry (Jarrell 1980, Burt 2009), I argue (1) that the term Neotericism, whether or not it was used as such in antiquity, usefully describes a literary development that did in fact emerge in the late Republic, perceptible both to us and the

Romans (Cat. 95, Cic. *Or.* 161, Suet. *De gramm.* 16.3), and (2) that we can and should conceptualize this development as *both* movement *and* school. It is the former – an elastic and dynamic literary movement: the *Zeitgeist* of the late Republic – in, e.g., Cicero’s *Aratea* and Lucretius’ *De rerum natura*, works which, in their hyper-Alexandrianism, allusive creativity, and central aesthetic goals, have less in common with the poetry of the 2nd century BCE than they do with the poetry that is usually called “Neoteric” (in drawing attention to these poems’ Neoteric qualities I follow many scholars: Alfonsi 1945, Courtney 1993, Kenney 1970, King 1994). And it is the latter – a unified school – in the tightly bound network of poets active in the 50s (at minimum: Catullus, Cinna, and Calvus), friends who wrote the same kinds of ultra-erudite, inward-facing verse, in a mannered style so identifiable as to be closely imitated (Verg. *Georg.* 4.453-529; *Ciris*) and parodied (Cic. *Att.* 7.2; Pers. 1.93-5).

My paper claims, therefore, that the Neoteric *Zeitgeist*, discernible in most of the Latin poetry of the late Republic, found a particularly concentrated manifestation in the Neoteric school of the 50s: Catullus, Cinna, and Calvus pushed the tendencies of their age to an extreme. This model makes the most sense when we realise that Neotericism was not, as Anglophone critics of the 20th century so firmly believed, a violent break from earlier Latin poetry, effected by the sudden advent of Parthenius at Rome (an *aetion* already well criticized by Crowther 1976 and Lightfoot 1999); it was rather an evolutionary phenomenon, a stage in the long process of Hellenization – or rather, Alexandrianization – that had been affecting Latin poetry at least since Ennius, *dicti studiosus* (*Ann.* 209), set pen to papyrus. Catullus, Cinna, and Calvus, then, did not just push the tendencies of their age to an extreme – but the tendencies of the Latin tradition itself.

Not only does this paper thus introduce an evolutionary model for understanding Latin literary history that legitimizes and reconciles apparently disparate perspectives, allowing us, in effect, to have our cake and eat it too (Neotericism defines both movement [i.e., a loose and diverse unity of poets of the same era who share many of the same tendencies] and school [i.e., an in-group of poets intimately connected by social and literary ties]); it also invites us to reconsider the relationship of the Neoteric school to the poets of the earlier Latin tradition. For when the poetics of Catullus are seen as a development of, rather than an aberration from, that tradition, the antagonism that many critics have read into his allusions to Ennius, for instance, seem far less comprehensible. The approach of Zetzel 2007 might well be worth pursuing further.

Title: Philodemian Poetics in Horace, *Satires* 1.2

Name: John Svarlien

As Horace begins to wrap up the case he is making in *Satires* 1.2 about the frustrations and perils of adultery, he brings in two Greek erotic epigrams. At lines 105-8, he quotes from and paraphrases a poem by Callimachus (*AP* 12.102 = *Ep.* 31 Pf.) to illustrate the frustration an adulterous affair entails. At lines 120-2, he claims that Philodemus models in one of his epigrams a much more sensible approach to managing male libido. Horace’s point here, scholars have maintained, is that the writings of an Epicurean like Philodemus are a much better guide to safe sex than the *versiculi* of an Alexandrian aesthete. What has not been registered and fully appreciated is the fact that the one time Horace names Philodemus he cites him not as a moralist but as a famous poet (see Cic. *Pis.* 70) whose epigrams are very much in the Hellenistic tradition of Callimachus, Posidippus, et al.

As Sider (1995: 45) notes, “any philosopher of poetic theory who himself writes poetry invites us to read the latter with the former in view.” Horace’s contemporaries would have read Philodemus’ epigrams as a concrete expression of his poetics as laid out in his treatise *On Poems*.

Philodemus claims that a tight nexus of συνθέσις τῆς λέξεως (*compositio*) and διάνοια (*res*) is essential in defining poetry *qua* poetry. Any alteration of the *compositio* of a line of verse will necessarily change the meaning of the verse and, consequently, of the poem as a whole. Horace deliberately subjects Callimachus’ epigram to paraphrase, abbreviation, syntactical rearrangement (metathesis), generic transformation (symptotic-erotic epigram into Roman verse *satura*), and contextual reorientation (transposition from a Hellenistic book of epigrams to the Horatian poetry book of *Satires* I). These changes to the συνθέσις τῆς λέξεως of Callimachus’ carefully crafted epigram alter, according to Philodemian poetics, the διάνοια (thought content) of the original. This presents a serious problem. Horace’s ostensible purpose is to use what he alleges to be the thought content of the epigram as evidence to support his own claims about the best way to manage male libido. In *utilizing* Callimachus’ epigram in this fashion, Horace

misreads or at least misrepresents Callimachus' epigram. Indeed, Horace does not read Callimachus' epigram as a poem; he is interested only in the practical lesson he claims can be extracted from the poem.

We can put Callimachus' epigram side by side with Horace's rendering of it and offer a detailed comparative study. Horace practices metathesis on the original text and he ignores the meta-poetical dimension of Callimachus' epigram, to point out just two ways Horace misconstrues Callimachus' poetry in order to make the poem a protreptic tool.

There are good reasons to recognize irony in Horace's use of Callimachus in *Satires* 1.2. Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995 and Freudenburg 1993 in their reading of *Satires* 1.4.39-63 have identified clear lines of connection between Philodemean and Horatian poetics: the tight nexus of λέξις and διάνοια is an essential principle in both. In this passage from 1.4, where Horace reviews different contemporary notions of poetry, he artfully demonstrates the impossibility of metathesis in poetry while at the same time seeming to disavow that he is a poet. In what amounts to a studied misreading of Callimachus' epigram in *Satires* 1.2, Horace illustrates the truth of a fundamental principle of Philodemean poetics: any alteration of the *compositio* destroys the delicate weave of λέξις and διάνοια that defines good poetry. Horace directs the reader to look back to *Satires* 1.2 when he quotes verbatim 1.2.27 at 1.4.92. This paper will show how 1.2, with its references to Philodemean poetics, prepares the reader of *Satires* I for Horace's more extended treatment of poetry and the contemporary critical theory wars about poetry in *Satires* 1.4.

Title: 'Poeticness' as a Continuous Variable: Rethinking Prosaism in Horace *Odes* 4.9

Name: Patrick J. Burns

In his study of Latin poetic diction *Unpoetische Wörter*, Bertil Axelson presents a compelling argument that Horace uses a particularly prosaic vocabulary in the *Odes* (Axelson 1945: 108–11; cf. Wilkinson 1959; McDermott 1982). So convinced is Axelson of the prosaicness of the closing lines of *Odes* 4.9 that he prints these verses “without line breaks to mark its stylistic character, which may be safely called ordinary prose (*ordinären Prosa*).” Since publication, *Unpoetische Wörter* has produced a productive debate, often critical of Axelson's work, on the use of Latin poetic diction (e.g. Ernout 1947; Williams 1968; Watson 1985; Lyne 1989). Ernout (1947, 68) expresses the critique well, namely that Axelson's “simple listing [of word frequencies], purely statistical and comparative in nature, without an examination of usage in context” is insufficient for judging poetic style.

In this paper, following recent work in computational literary study (Underwood 2019; Piper 2017; Piper 2018; So 2017; also, McCarty 2004), I revisit Axelson's argument about prosaism in *Odes* 4.9 precisely with an “examination of usage in context” by recasting the study in new methodological terms, namely by leveraging digital text analysis to construct a literary model of “poeticness” in Latin literature. The method for this paper is as follows: 1. a tagged corpus of Latin verse and prose is used to model the probability of words occurring in either category; 2. each word in a given work is assigned a poeticness weight; and 3. these weights are plotted in narrative space, that is they are plotted such that the weight is given along the *y*-axis and the position of the word on the *x*-axis (i.e., first word at *x*=1, second at *x*=2, etc.). An example of the resulting visualization for *Odes* 4.9 can be seen at this link: <http://bit.ly/scs-2020-unpoetic-abstract-img-1>. Using a literary model to define poeticness allows us to “describe continua instead of sorting everything into discrete categories” (Underwood 2019: 20). What if rather than label a word like *uxor* as unpoetic, we instead label it as 10% poetic and 90% unpoetic? Modeling literary vocabulary as falling along a spectrum of poeticness leads to both a more nuanced measurement of individual words—one greatly assisted by computational power and storage—and a measurement that can be extended more productively to surrounding context.

I begin with a reading of *Odes* 4.9 that concludes that Axelson's readerly instinct is correct and that the diction in the second half of this poem is, according to the model, comparatively unpoetic. In the remainder of the paper, I move towards increasingly distant readings of Horace, from the other poems in *Odes* 4 to the *Odes* overall to his entire multigeneric corpus, as an exploratory analysis of quantifiable moments of unpoeticness in his works.

In the wake of recent debate on computational literary studies (e.g. Da 2019 and responses in the corresponding *Critical Inquiry* forum), this paper demonstrates how a computational approach to a Latin literary critical problem can help, as one critic writes (Algee-Hewitt 2019), “[present] new kinds of evidence, often invisible

to even the closest reader, alongside carefully considered theoretical arguments, both working in tandem to produce new critical work.” Accordingly, I revisit by way of conclusion Gian Biagio Conte’s distinction between “exemplary” models and code “models” (Conte 1986). Much large-scale digital literary critical work on Latin poetry (e.g. Coffee et al. 2012) has focused on diction matching and the search for explicit allusive activity, what Conte sees as the exemplary model. This paper uses a systematic valuation of poeticness to gesture toward the “poetic memory” aspect of Conte’s work, that is the code model, or a “series of phenomena that could be otherwise registered only piecemeal, in uncoordinated, discrete details,” expanding the range of Latin literary critical problems that can be addressed through computational analysis.

Title: The Poetics of Wormwood: Bitter Botany in Lucretius and Ovid

Name: Paul Hay

This paper examines references to wormwood in Roman literature (primarily the works of Lucretius and Ovid) and argues that modern readers must contextualize these references alongside ancient botanical knowledge about wormwood to understand their placement in Roman poetry. Previous scholars (such as Kilpatrick 1996 and Shearin 2014 for Lucretius; Davisson 1985, Stevens 2009, and La Bua 2015 for Ovid), while recognizing the plant’s importance, have treated poetic references to wormwood as simply a well-known rhetorical trope of bitterness or as a generic marker of medicine, but have failed to analyze them in light of real-life wormwood usage. By ignoring ancient lore about the properties of wormwood and its variety of uses in antiquity, modern readers of Latin poetry overlook many other layers of symbolic import in these references that ancient readers (for whom wormwood was a common substance in their daily lives; cf. Totelin 2018) would have better understood. I argue that wormwood serves not simply as a symbol for gustatory bitterness but as a nexus for medical discourse and anxiety about literary notoriety.

Lucretius mentions wormwood six times throughout the *De Rerum Natura*, most famously in his repeated image of the honey-rimmed cup of wormwood medicine given to a child; indeed, Lucretius refers to Epicurean philosophy explicitly as a bitter wormwood juice (one that seems somewhat harsh, *tristior*, to the unaccustomed). Several ancient sources (Celsus, Pliny the Elder, Dioscorides, Aelian, Aristotle) write that wormwood, in its medicinal capacity, is a purgative and a diuretic, prescribed for maladies like jaundice and liver abscesses, and can keep away pests such as bowel worms. Thus Lucretius as the reader’s doctor (cf. Mitsis 1993) signals that the process of reading the DRN to achieve *ataraxia* is like reducing the swelling or inflammation within the body, and various other features of the DRN (such as the long litany of proofs of the mortality of the soul) can be explained as a literary enactment of this purgative process. As Epicureanism is a totalizing philosophy (with its physics and its morals being inseparable and mutually supporting), contemporary readers of Lucretius would understand that one would need to purge oneself of any competing ideologies before fully accepting the teachings of Epicurus.

Decades later, and perhaps with Lucretius on his mind, Ovid mentions Pontic wormwood three times in his exile poetry (*Tr.* 5.13.21, *Pont.* 3.1.23, and *Pont.* 3.8.15, called *tristia absinthia* in the last two). Ovid’s invocations of the wormwood-covered plains of Pontus relate to his fear of being silenced into poetic oblivion. Relegation to Tomis effectively ended the urban, urbane life of Ovid in Rome; only through his literature could he survive symbolically and maintain his voice (Natoli 2017), and his wormwood-infused poetry helps protect that voice. Pliny informs us (*NH* 27.52; cf. LiDonnici 2001) that wormwood was mixed into ink as a method of warding off mice and other pests that might eat the papyrus (and destroy the literature written thereon). As wormwood in ink was meant to help preserve physical poetry books for posterity, so does the appearance of wormwood in Ovid’s exile poetry (and its stated influence, along with the rest of Pontic culture and geography, on his literary production; cf. Gaertner 2005) reflect his desire to stave off oblivion in Rome through continued publication. These wormwood references fit alongside other examples of late-period Ovid’s literary anxiety, such as worries about Roman library inclusion identified by Blum 2017, and the contemporary concerns, noted by Pliny (*NH* 13.79-89), regarding poor or scarce writing supplies in the early first century CE.

The poetry of Lucretius and Ovid is infused with wormwood, both textually and symbolically. When contextualized in light of ancient botany, these symbolic layers emerge to reveal complex rhetorical purposes. The references to wormwood in Lucretius and Ovid thus serve as a useful case study for what a reading steeped in contemporary botanical lore can offer to our understanding of Roman poetry.

SIXTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS

Session 50: Literary Banquets of the Imperial Era (Organized by the International Plutarch Society)

Title: “Always and Everywhere:” Early Greek Poetry, Local Identities, and the Universal Homer in Plutarch’s Symposia

Name: David Driscoll

Much scholarly attention has been paid in recent years to local identity in the Imperial period (e.g. Jones 2004 and the papers in Whitmarsh 2010), including in Plutarch’s *Quaestiones Convivales*, where characters assert their civic and regional identities as part of a pattern where “shared Greek culture is formed from Panhellenic diversity” (König 2007: 63). Relatively little attention has been paid, however, to the dynamics surrounding early Greek poetry and local identity in these symposia (though see Bowie 2013). This paper argues that the QC’s symposiasts treat Homer differently from other poetry, namely as unlocated in space. The kind of Homeric universalism expressed in the symposium hence looks quite different from the ‘omnipresence’ often attributed to him in the imperial period: rather than a Homer with “myriad local identities... which satisfied local needs” (Hunter 2018: 2; cf. Kim 2010: 164-8), Plutarch’s symposiasts construct a universal Homer with no local or regional identities whatsoever.

First, I survey how Plutarch’s symposiasts link poet and place. These characters often identify early poets with place: e.g. the otherwise unknown (possibly invented) poet Aristomache is linked with her home of Erythrae and her victories in epic at the Isthmia (5.2.675b). Particularly important is the common association made between Boeotia and the poets Hesiod and Pindar: characters from Boeotia are more likely to quote these authors, and in one telling moment the character of Plutarch is expected as a Boeotian to use Hesiod as evidence for his argument (9.2.738a). By contrast, while Homer’s characters and narrative are at times linked with specific locations (e.g. the Hellespont: 4.4.668f, 8.8.730c), the symposiasts reject connecting Homer and individuals’ tastes in Homer to place. These characters hence find inappropriate to the symposium conversation about Homer’s birthplace and life: for example, the character of Plutarch “scorns” (5.2.675a: *καταβαλὼν*) the story of the contest of Homer and Hesiod at Chalcis. Furthermore, unlike the moralizing proverbs drawn from Greek history, the lessons drawn from Homer’s narrative are universal: while Boeotians learn from the Persian War, etiquette drawn from Achilles’ and Eumaeus’ hospitality must be at hand “always and everywhere” (7.4.703f: *ἀεὶ... καὶ πανταχοῦ*).

Second, I demonstrate in two close readings some of the interpretative payoffs, where characters engage in sympotic games preferring this ‘placeless’ approach to Homer to localizing interpretations of Homer. First, a playful exchange trades on the Homeric term *Ἀχαιικός* (4.4.667e-f). The conversation is characterized by puns and poetic vocabulary touching on their names and local identities: Symmachus (literally “fighting along with”) is asked to “defend Poseidon” (*οὐκ ἀμύνεις τῷ Ποσειδῶνι*), and Polycrates misuses the poetic term *ἀμφιάλος* (5xOd., 1x Pind., 1x Soph.) to describe Symmachus’ peninsular hometown of Nicopolis. In this context Symmachus’ unique reference to the Gulf of Corinth as the “Achaean sea” (*τῆς Ἀχαικῆς... θαλάττης*) should be read not merely as a flattering reference to Polycrates’ home of Sicyon at the edge of the region of Achaea, but also against imperial debates on Homer’s usage of *ἀχαιικός* (e.g. Str. 8.6.5; cf. QC 2.1.631b). Symmachus’ use deviates from interpretations of the Homeric *ἀχαιικός* as referring to the whole of the Peloponnese and implicitly critiques scholarship into Homeric geography. Second, Plutarch’s brother Lamprias engages in etymological games undermining efforts to find Greek dialect in Homer (8.6.726d-727a). Parallels in verbal structure between Lamprias’ speech and the scholia suggest parody of Homeric glossing (e.g. 8.6.726f: *τὸ κεράσαι ‘μισκῆρε’ καθ’ Ὅμηρον~ Σ Π. 1.423 D: ὁ δὲ Ἰσκαανὸς ποταμὸς ἐστὶ καθ’ Ὅμηρον*). Lamprias implicitly argues that if Homer contains local forms of Greek (cf. Montanari 2012), one must also accept that Homer contains e.g. Latin *miscere* under the form *ἔμισγε*. Lamprias begins his etymological games with a derivation of *cena* from the Greek ‘community’ (*κοινωνία*), and it is tempting to connect this universal Homer with the universalizing ideology of the Plutarchan symposium: for the conversation to be “common” (1.1.614e: *κοινὸν*), so too must the most prestigious early Greek poet.

Title: Theognis at Dinner: Metasymptotics through Time
Name: Sara De Martin

The focuses of this paper are Athenaeus' appropriations of metasymptotic lines known as by the Greek archaic poet Theognis, and the functionality of such reuses for the construction of Athenaeus' own sympotic conversation. The Theognidea are renowned as an anthology of elegiac metasymptotic poetry: composed to be performed at symposia, they mention or deal with the symposion or its activities, like much other Greek archaic poetry (see Hobden 2013: 25-65). In the last decades, they have been recognised and studied as the most generous ancient source of information on archaic sympotic singing dynamics (mainly thanks to the then ground-breaking studies of Massimo Vetta on sympotic repartees, from the 1980s on). Yet, interestingly, most Classical and post-Classical sources do not appear to share our 'sympotic notion' of the Theognidea: with just one exception (Pherecr. fr. 162 K.-A., where the sympotic hexameters Thgn. 467+469 are quoted), all Classical and Hellenistic sources quote lines of Theognis dealing with ethics, not broaching sympotic themes. Most of Theognis' lines quoted by Imperial authors are not metasymptotic either: they are highly gnomic couplets with ethical relevance. In this horizon, Athenaeus stands out for being the first Imperial author interested in Theognis' sympotica. Out of six Theognidean quotations in the *Deipnosophistae*, three are quotations of symposion-themed lines (Thgn. 500 at Ath. 2.37e, Thgn. 993-996 and 997-1002 at Ath. 7.310ab, Thgn. 477-486 in Ath. 10.428c).

The archaic notion of the symposion as 'elite practice' underlies the representation of the banquet in the Theognidea and is implied in Theognis' advice concerning sympotic attitudes. In this presentation, I will show how Athenaeus' metasymptotic reuses of Theognis' lines are forgetful of such archaic notion while being functional to his own representation of the symposion as an occasion of learned display and luxurious indulgence. To this purpose, where relevant, I will make comparisons with other reuses of archaic metasymptotic poetry in Athenaeus.

My overall aim is to show how the gnomic Theognis, 'teacher of wisdom' for the other Classical and post-Classical authors, becomes a lover of *hedypatheia* for Athenaeus (Ath. 7.310a), who takes up Theognis' ever-applicable metasymptotic lines to add to his own sympotic conversation. In other words, I will show how the inherent gnomicity of Theognis' metasymptotic lines (see Wecowski 2014: 56) allows, through their actual or fictional reperformance, to recreate the chronotope of the symposium –regardless of the ideological underpinnings (or of the lack thereof) of each specific literary instantiation of the chronotope itself.

Title: Macrobius' Misreadings: Exploring Plato's *Symposium* in the Late Antique Latin West
Name: Katherine Krauss

Macrobius' Late Antique *Saturnalia* is widely considered to be one of the latest sympotic texts, but one of the few examples surviving in Latin (König 2012). Despite Macrobius' heavy use of Greek literary symposia from Plato to Plutarch, scholars have been reluctant to posit any meaningful relationship between Macrobius and his Greek forerunners. They have instead deemed the *Saturnalia* to be full of errors when translating passages from Greek into Latin, and consequently have focused only on looser, generic affiliations between the *Saturnalia* and its Greek predecessors (Flamant 1977, Goldlust 2010).

This paper challenges both of these scholarly assumptions. It will take as its focus a discussion about the merits of Plato's *Symposium* held by the banqueters Praetextatus and Avienus at the beginning of Book 2 of the *Saturnalia*. In the course of this exchange, Plato's text functions not only as a model or paradigm, but also lies at the heart of a meditation on the relationship between the Greek and Roman, the classical and the Late Antique symposium.

Tracing this multifaceted engagement with Plato sheds light in turn on Macrobius' knowledge of Greek. At *Saturnalia* 2.1.5, Avienus compares the relative sobriety of his friends' gathering with Agathon's symposium, where, according to him, one of the guests invites a flute girl to entertain Agathon and his companions. As no such invitation is extended in the *Symposium*, scholarship has focussed on detailing how this error came to be produced, questioning Macrobius' access to Plato or his comprehension of Greek.

When subjected to fuller literary analysis, however, Avienus' 'miscomprehension' of Plato does not reveal Macrobius' scholarly shortcomings but rather his methods of reading earlier sympotic works. Unlike his imperial predecessors, who turned to Xenophon when revelling in the material and spontaneous pleasures of the symposium itself (LaValle Norman 2017), Macrobius imagines Xenophon and Plato along a continuum. At Saturnalia 2.1.5, Macrobius purposefully manipulates Avienus' memory of the Symposium in order to create a multi-layered intertext which resonates with both Plato's and Xenophon's Symposium. In so doing, Macrobius introduces an emulative approach towards Plato's text which complicates its exemplarity for the Saturnalia.

By arguing for the literary significance of Macrobius' 'mistranslations', I hope to advocate a rereading of the Saturnalia which illuminates the important role played by Greek literary traditions, both classical and imperial, in shaping Late Antique culture in the Roman West.

Title: Gellius' Convivial Scenes and Roman Intellectual Identity in the *Noctes Atticae*

Name: Scott J. DiGiulio

Within the *Noctes Atticae* (NA), the Antonine author Aulus Gellius often includes symposiastic and convivial scenes, incorporating Greek literary traditions of miscellanistic writing into his project. These scenes have received significant attention for what they reveal about cultures of reading in the Roman world (Johnson), and the ways in which they negotiate between Greek and Roman intellectual models, as the debates staged in Gellius' dining scenes often pit representatives of both cultures against one another (Holford-Strevens, Gunderson, Keulen, Howley 2014, 2018). While in these settings Romans may engage in games of sophisms and riddles or other prototypically Greek intellectual endeavors, Gellius' convivia are central venues for negotiating a distinct identity throughout the NA, balanced between Greek and Roman habits of mind. In this paper I argue that one set of clustered convivial scenes near the end of the work illustrates this particular intellectual identity, with Gellius offering both positive and negative models for his paradigmatic Roman through their behaviors in banquet contexts.

Throughout the NA, Gellius aims to construct an idealized convivial scene, and does so by looking to the Republican past. To provide one model, he quotes Varro, who presents various features of the ideal convivium, including the number of guests, the fare, and, perhaps most importantly, the shape of the conversation, which should be useful while still intellectually pleasant (*iucundos atque invitabiles et cum quadam inlecebra et voluptate utiles, ex quibus ingenium nostrum venustius fiat et amoenius*, 13.11.4). Underlying Varro's, and by extension Gellius', claims about the convivium is a culturally conditioned sense of utility and pleasure; if the convivium is an opportunity to read and relax, and to indulge in some of the seductions of learned conversation, nevertheless there needs to be some form of usefulness that can be derived. Gellius' discussion of the Varronian convivium highlights several key elements of the scene, and as a result this chapter serves as a cipher for reading the banquet scenes throughout the rest of the NA.

This proposed model appears at odds with the behavior of a number of Gellius' characters in banquet and sympotic scenes, including several otherwise authoritative characters; Gellius uses these scenes to scrutinize proper Roman intellectual conduct, as chapters featuring Julius Paulus and Fronto, (19.7 and 19.8) demonstrate. On the walk home from a simple banquet at Paulus' estate, Gellius pores over the language of the texts he had heard read during the party, setting aside the poeticisms that, in his mind, have little place in proper oratio (19.7.13); in reviewing these readings, he appears to focus on a practical reapplication of what he has heard. Gellius also claims to have visited the consular and imperial tutor Fronto often in his leisure time, and always to have left with greater knowledge (19.8.1). However, he concludes at the end of the episode that, while dining with Fronto was often educational, nevertheless his focus was in encouraging the hunting down of rare words (19.8.16), a Greek vice that Gellius has previously rebuked (e.g. 2.9). Unlike the proper habits modeled by Gellius, Fronto's behavior at his own convivium demonstrates a misappropriation of Greek intellectual traits, despite Fronto's exemplary status. Similarly, in the indulgent last convivium of the work at the house of the poet Annianus (20.8), the meal and its entertainment offer relatively trivial explanations of natural phenomena drawn from Plutarch, a far cry from Gellius' salutary, if modest, meal and intellectual process at 19.7. Much like the model proposed by Varro, Gellius implies here that balance is essential not only to a proper convivium, but for the cultivated Roman mind of his time.

Title: On Having Many Acquaintances: Friend-Making in Table Talk
Name: Bryant Kirkland

Plutarch's *Table Talk* asserts the "friend-making" (philopoios) effect of commensality (612D), aligning the work with Plutarch's broader interest in the subject of friendship (O'Neil 1997) and with an important topic of philosophic consideration (Baumbach and von Möllendorff 2017: 140). Yet *Table Talk*'s participants avoid direct discussion of friendship and of how the symposium helps to forge it, leaving readers to discern an implicit ethics of amity. While friendly repartee can be found in, for instance, collective acts of recall (Oikonomopoulou 2011: 109-23) or the permissive atmosphere of ingenious answering (König 2007: 70-5), we may still wonder how Plutarch's explicit pronouncements about friendship inform this text. In this paper I focus on the structuring of select exchanges, and on Plutarch's comments on friendship in his fourth preface, to argue that he uses the sympotic format to present models of amicability more flexible than in his more directly philosophical works. *Table Talk*'s interest in balance essentially requires that non-intimates participate in the banquet, the better to enact a broad mode of sociality (see Eshleman 2013: 149-53). Yet even as conversation among friends is expanded to less intimate acquaintances, who may become friends, Plutarch seems to operate with a relatively loose definition of friendship ab initio.

I first discuss Plutarch's *On Having Many Friends*, especially the view that friendship occurs between people in full agreement (96F), following a process of judgment (94B; Van der Stockt 2011: 28-36). I show the incompatibility of these ideas with early moments in *Table Talk* centered on the judgment needed for throwing dinner-parties, occasions when agreement proves elusive and deep friendship may seem doubtful. I focus on 1.2, where the interlocutors leave unresolved the issue of whom to invite and how to seat them. Plutarch's programmatic recusatio as judge (616F) echoes his brother's refusal to judge his friends (616C), and I suggest that the work begins by revealing the difficulties of judgment, and the attendant need for an openness at odds with Plutarch's resolute endorsements in *On Having Many Friends*.

Plutarch breaks Senecio in slowly to the work's style of sociality, for it is not until the book 4 preface that Plutarch explicitly relaxes his definition of friendship. I then show how the conversation at 4.4 picks up threads from this preface. Polycrates and Symmachus undertake answers, but Symmachus agrees to do so on condition of being supported (667E). *Parrhēsia* is not an individual matter here but is conditioned by the desire for social alliance. Notably, this exchange occurs when Plutarch has been relatively reticent, after his earlier admission (4.2) that in speaking on a "common topic" (*koinon ... logon*) he makes no progress (665E). His solo effort is implicitly contrasted with the sociable tack adopted by Polycrates and Symmachus, who affirm the prefatory point about parties as sites for making connections.

Later, discussion of symposium invitations (7.6) reveals how dinners, if not always serving deep friendship, nonetheless may foster incipient acquaintanceship – though not always for the host. Plutarch says it is not "strange" (*atopos*, 708D) to let invitees bring friends, especially if they believe the host likely to view an unknown person as an "opportunity for friendship" (*philiās ... archēn*, 709E). Yet friend-making in 7.6 often seems less about the symposiarch's accruing new intimates and more about his providing an atmosphere that sparks connections between others, again bending the ideals of *On Having Many Friends*, and, I suggest, testing even the book 4 preface, since here the symposiarch is meant to foster friendships not his own. I invoke the conclusion of Lucian's *Toxaris* (62-3) to show how rivals, absent a judge or symposiarch, can pronounce themselves friends through efforts of persuasion, affirming principles voiced in *Table Talk* (614C, 745C-D). The suspended judgments of *Table Talk* apply, then, not only to its questions but also to its friend-making: each gathering reopens social possibilities. But for this to be possible, Plutarch must himself reopen the borders of his definitions.

Session 51: Problems in Performance: Failure and Classical Reception Studies

Title: Discomfort in Performance? Aigeus Seduced in Euripides' *Medea*

Name: Ronald J. J. Blankenburg

In this paper I will highlight a possibility, already fully exploited in a performance by Dutch theatre company Aluin (Utrecht), to interpret the well-known and fascinating scene between Medea and Aigeus in Euripides' *Medea* as a fine example of seductive pragmatics. Rather than falling in with Aristotle's famous complaint that Aigeus' appearance in Corinth is unexpected and therefore improbable, or even reprehensible given the tragedy's plot, Aluin

approached the encounter as not only crucial for the play's plot and fully effective, but also (and especially) artful, and as an excellent example of the way words are put into action before an audience that is able to judge the skill of both the poet and the actors. Some discomfort may remain though: other interpretations of the scene exist, and the company's choice may easily disturb audiences expectations and experiences.

Seductive? Yes: when Medea happens to run into the Athenian king Aigeus passing by Korinth on his way home (Euripides' *Medea* 663-758), *she* immediately seizes the welcome opportunity to turn this chance encounter into a guarantee that the outcome of any attempt to take revenge on Jason, his new future spouse and her father will be successful for her. Addressing Aigeus as a confidant and as a potential lover, Medea forgets for a moment the judicial terminology she used on Jason and Kreon (only to resume it in her words before the chorus, immediately after Aigeus has left) and uses all her gender-specific resources (personal feelings, I-/we-speech, flattery, affective asyndeton, engendered speech) to seduce this unexpected friend in need. Her unprecedented show of feminine manipulation and power, evidenced in the wording of her request and in the suggestive deixis of actions, gestures, and postures, may well have shocked the contemporary Athenian public, as well as Aigeus' all too willing and servile reaction - especially in the light of recent scholarly literature considering Aigeus the 'model Athenian citizen'.

Modern re-performances often struggle with the representation of the Aigeus-scene. Acknowledgement of its existence in a (modern) (re-)performance of *Medea* would be, in Aristotle's view, a guarantee for a failed performance. Aluin's interpretation of the encounter as Medea seducing the king surely, I argue, yields rewarding result.

Title: Euripides, Ultra-Moderniste: H.D. and Avant-Garde Failure

Name: Kay Gabriel

This presentation takes up the poet and dramatist H.D. through the lens of her engagement with Euripidean drama. Specifically, I offer a reading of H.D.'s 1917 "Notes on Euripides" in order to illuminate H.D.'s ambivalent relationship to the failed avant-garde desire, as Peter Burger polemically describes it, to "restore art to life."

In 1986 Rachel Blau DuPlessis lamented the chauvinistic sidelining of US poet Hilda Doolittle in the canons of Anglo-American literary modernism: designated by Pound as "H.D., Imagiste" in a letter to Poetry magazine editor Harriet Monroe to introduce his own Imagist movement, H.D. figures in many historical surveys of modernism—Kenner's *The Pound Era* (1971) chief among them—in the ancillary role Pound invented for her. Since Barbara Guest's biography *Herself Defined* (1984) and Blau DuPlessis's *The Career of That Struggle* (1986), H.D. scholarship has attended more precisely to H.D.'s modernist poetics, including her translations and adaptations of Sappho and Euripides. Against the impression of H.D.'s formal conservatism, Diana Collecott asserts that H.D.'s "Sapphic modernism" deranges and creatively repurposes her classical antecedents. Eileen Gregory meanwhile excavates H.D.'s extensive adaptation of Euripides, while Katerina Stergiopoulou's recent dissertation argues for the modernist, rather than classicizing, inflection of H.D.'s Euripidean adaptations.

My argument departs somewhat from these discussions of H.D.'s modernist *bona fides*, typically parsed in the vexed terms of sufficiently disjunctive form. Instead, I look to H.D.'s active participation in the forging of what Fredric Jameson has described as an "ideology of modernism"—in the discursive markers that lend a historical moment the status of a decisive, epochal rupture with history. H.D.'s "Notes on Euripides" suggests that she repurposes the ancient dramatist in this explicit capacity. Speculating about Euripides' lost plays, H.D. writes: "What did these plays contain, how did they approach life? Surely, in some ultra-modern spirit if the surviving plays are any clue to the lost ones. ... How would 1917 London have acclaimed such anti-war propaganda? Work that out and you will have some idea of the power and the detachment of the Attic dramatist." On the one hand, in lending Euripides the status of an "ultra-modern spirit," H.D. invokes the dramatist in the explicit terms of historical rupture. And on the other, in suggesting the political efficacy of his artistic antipathies, she looks to Euripides as an icon of the avant-garde desire to "destroy art as an institution" (Burger 1974, 88)—the desire, in other words, for an artistic iconoclasm with revolutionary social force.

Despite her personal conservatism, this desire commits H.D. to the "proximity to social revolution" that Perry Anderson argues characterized the period of modernist cultural production—and in that capacity, the date of 1917 speaks the louder as a marker of the February and October revolutions in Russia that effectively ended the First World War and ushered in the experiments of "actually existing" socialism. In my contention, H.D.'s engagement with Euripides under the cast of the avant-garde provides the ground for her vexed and ambivalent modernism, fixed between a romantic anti-capitalism and the utopian invocation of a future temporality. When coupled with what Burger argues to be the failure of the historical avant-garde to fulfill its promise of restoring art to life—of, in other words, overcoming the alienated life-world of capitalist modernity—H.D.'s "ultra-modern Euripides" discloses a certain hollow utopianism, the promise of a plethoric, liberated future in name only. But by this token, H.D.'s avant-garde Euripides signals at least the generative quality of Euripidean tragedy for thinking and staging the desire called cultural revolution.

Title: Bernini's Two Theatres and the Trauma of Classical Reception in Seventeenth-Century Rome

Name: Edmund V. Thomas

This paper explores the unsettling impact of classical reference and allusion on the commedia dell'arte of seventeenth-century Rome. Recent studies of Baroque theatre have drawn attention to the interconnections of contemporary politics and performance (Burke 2012) and with the court culture of dissimulation (Snyder 2009), and to its dependence on an aesthetics of effect producing emotional and bodily affects in the audience (Fischer-Lichte 2012). Less attention, however, has been paid to the role played by the pervasive classical tradition which lay behind these performances and their receptions. The focus of this paper is a commedia dell'arte written, staged and performed by the architect Gian Lorenzo Bernini in 1637 which bewildered its distinguished audience of cardinals, prelates and knights by revealing in the course of the drama that theirs was not the only comedy being performed, but simply the mirror image of another play being simultaneously presented to a second, fictive audience of courtly theatre-goers like themselves on the other side of the stage. Despite the ostensible success of the drama and the insistent demand for its re-performance, Bernini refused to put it on again. The official explanation was that one of the cast was ill, but there were rumours that "other mysteries" lay behind his decision. Some have interpreted this as "orders from above" (Fraschetti 1900, 263). This paper reconsiders the mystery of why such an apparent success was not repeated in terms of the disquieting influence of the classical tradition. Bernini's stage device of a double stage in which two theatres were brought face to face had disconcertingly recreated the elder Pliny's report of the two theatres sponsored by Gaius Curio in 52 B.C., recently re-familiarized in Giambattista Marino's sensational poem the *L'Adone* of 1624 (Coy 1983). Pliny's image of the conquerors of the world left precariously exposed in their rickety seats, "hanging on a contraption and applauding their own danger", yet "doomed to perish at some moment", left the aristocracy of early modern Rome contemplating their own implication in a narrative of overweening imperial power. What seemed like a typical theatrical device of the seventeenth-century stage playing on dissimulation and the strategy of surprise ("la meraviglia") was imbued with distressing realities and insecurities about the impermanence of power by its echoes of the self-destructive tendencies of ancient performance. The pervasiveness of the metaphor of the *theatrum mundi* in contemporary performances could leave no doubts about the implications of Pliny's image of the subjugators of the globe trapped in a double theatre with all the conflicted subjectivity of conquerors of the world experiencing the trauma of subjugation themselves. The exaggerated displays of emotion provoked by the performance were not only at odds with the demands of court culture to keep emotions in check, but through the allusion to classical text occasioned introspective responses outside the domain of the theatre where emotional catharsis was acceptable. At a time when the increasingly elaborate theatrical performances of Baroque Rome could be regarded as symbolic recompense for a loss of political and military power, the resonances of the two theatres erected by Curio and their interpretation as a metaphor for the dangers of world conquest came far too close to the bone.

Title: The Birds Doesn't Take Off: Aristophanes' Victorian Burlesque and Why It Failed

Name: Peter Swallow

This paper examines *The Birds of Aristophanes* (1846), a Victorian classical burlesque by James Robinson Planché, which was unique for being the only burlesque to directly parody Greek Old Comedy. It also marked an unexpected failure for the playwright whose earlier classical burlesques, notably *Olympic Revels* (1831) and *The Golden*

Fleece (1845), had been smash box office hits with remarkably long runs. More importantly, the failure of this spectacular production, despite star performers and elaborate special effects, arguably precipitated the retreat of Aristophanic comedy from the Victorian popular theatre altogether. This paper briefly describes the recent and immediate cultural context of the production, its critical reception, Planché's own reflections and the ensuing absence of ancient comedy from the Victorian popular imagination, before exploring the reasons for its failure.

A significant reason for the failure of Planché's *Birds* was the audience's lack of familiarity with the source text. Victorian burlesque theatre took well-known stories and parodied them. Planché's *The Golden Fleece* (1845) was inspired by the '*Antigone* after the Greek manner' staged at the Royal Opera House, which had opened in January the same year with music composed by Mendelssohn; it therefore mixed a parodic retelling of an established myth with a send up of theatrical conventions adopted by 'serious' Victorian attempts to stage Greek tragedy. *Birds* failed because its audience had no foreknowledge of the plot of an Aristophanes play, thus precluding its effectiveness as a parody. Likewise, a Victorian play-going audience was aware both of the conventions of Greek tragedy adopted by performances such as *Antigone*, and the parodic reinventions of those performances for classical burlesque. They were not familiar with the performance conventions of a Greek comedy because they had not *seen* a Greek comedy performed before Planché. For this reason, it was easier to burlesque a tragedy than it was to turn an Old Comedy into a burlesque.

On another level, *Birds* failed because Planché did not make it a comedy. Victorian burlesque normally works by adapting the appropriated story with contemporary references, puns and songs set to popular music. Some of these generic features appear in *Birds*, but interpolations are infrequent. By and large, Planché remains remarkably loyal to his source text. Not only is the overall plot retained (until the end), but many of the same individual scenes are carefully replicated. There are no new parodic scenes. And at the same time, many of the Aristophanic jokes from the source text are not translated. One of the play's biggest problems is that it isn't funny. Planché would later defend himself against accusations of failure by claiming that his 'ambition [had been] to lay the foundation for an Aristophanic drama, which the greatest minds would not consider it derogatory to contribute to'.¹ But the audience had no desire to see a more serious kind of burlesque.

Planché attempted to use his serious burlesque didactically by layering it with a reactionary political message. Most burlesque writers 'were somewhat rebellious or disaffected members of the middle class', but Planché was 'decidedly conventional and by no means disaffected.'² This political outlook comes across in *Birds*. Although Cloudcuckooland has been set up throughout the play as a newly egalitarian society, the burlesque ends with it collapsing. Mostly middle-class and therefore in many ways excluded from power, the audience is told that they are excluded *because they are naturally inferior*. The authority of the ruling classes, hardly in any practicable doubt, is given moral and religious justification. And Planché repeatedly stresses the didactic nature of his argument. It is hardly surprising, then, that the audience considered *Birds* to be a failure.

Title: Challenging Expectations: The notorious productions of Peter Sellars' *Ajax* and Anatoly Vasiliev's *Medea*

Name: Marios Kallos

The paper will use two modern productions of ancient Greek Drama to explore what constitutes a 'failed' performance and how, in retrospect, some such performances have been recast as a success. Looking at Peter Sellars' 1986 production of Sophocles' *Ajax* (performed at the Kennedy Centre in Washington, D.C.) and Anatoly Alexandrovitch Vasiliev's 2008 production of Euripides' *Medea* (performed at the ancient theatre of Epidaurus), I will argue that a 'failed' performance requires external expectations (which may or may not be met) and is therefore different than a bad production (though it can be both), and that critical reception in the moment need not coincide with retrospective perceptions.

In 1984 Peter Sellars, at the age of 26, was appointed director and manager of the American National Theatre, despite his reputation as the *enfant terrible* of contemporary American theatre. Two years later his production of Sophocles' *Ajax* would mark the end of his brief tenure, with audiences polarized by his radical directorial choices and board members exasperated by expensive productions and low box office returns. Anatoly Vasiliev's *Medea* brought the prominent Russian director to the ancient theatre of Epidaurus, where his

interpretation of *Medea* was met with profound hostility, to the point that Jason (played by Greek actor Nikos Psarras), broke off from the lament of his children and in response to the persistent booing of the audience shouted, 'Give me a break!' The audience answered back, 'Give me a break! That's what we've been asking for'. Both productions, as I will argue, meet the definition of a 'failed' performance on a number of fronts, yet both in retrospect have been deemed to be significant productions of classical plays and both directors have gone on to ever more illustrious careers, particularly in Europe.

Using pre-opening promotional materials, I will examine how the shows were being sold and therefore what can be said about the expectations for it in advance. I will then look at reviews of the show, with attention to what aspects of the production are being focused on and what that can tell us about how the shows were perceived in the moment to 'fail'. And finally, I will look at the afterlife of the shows, especially how they fit into the larger narrative of the careers of the directors. I will argue that the idea of a 'failed' production needs to be considered within a much larger theatrical context, including both the immediate critical context in which it is performed and the expectations which frame that context, as well as a chronologically wider lens that allows us to see how a given production fits into the larger narrative and trajectory of both the individual artist but also the reception of ancient Greek drama.

Title: Dionysus on Tour: Cross-Cultural Performance in a Beijing Opera *Bacchae*
Name: Melissa Funke

In 1996, the Chinese National Jingju (Beijing Opera) Theatre and the American New York Greek Drama Company collaborated on a cross-cultural production of Euripides' *Bacchae* which was presented in both China and the United States and funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities with its largest grant ever given up to that point. With the intention of both breaking conventions of Beijing opera and using Chinese practices to gain access to the original fifth-century Greek practices, this 1996 *Bacchae* featured actors trained in Beijing opera, music based on reconstructions of ancient Greek music with choral passages sung in ancient Greek, and traditional Chinese instruments modified to accommodate ancient Greek music. The costumes were modified versions of those typical of Beijing opera with full masks.

At a time when cross-cultural productions of Greek tragedy were becoming quite popular with audiences in China and Taiwan (e.g. Hebei Bangzi Theatre of Hebei Province's 1989 *Medea* or Contemporary Legend Theatre's 1995 *Oresteia*), the Beijing debut of *Bacchae* was met by Chinese critics with great skepticism and concerns over the dynamic of cultural imperialism at play in this production. Tang Xiao-bai, for example, wrote that the production could not be seen as equal cooperation, because it "(took) for granted that a theatre form from the periphery must orient itself toward the theatre form of the (West)... The West cooks its own soup, in which (Beijing opera) is thrown as a suitable ingredient." Administrators with the Chinese Ministry of Culture expressed concern that the production departed too far from tradition. On the other hand, this production was quite popular with audiences, who gave it a standing ovation at its debut in Beijing.

Looking at this production in the context of other Chinese opera productions of Greek tragedy from the same period, this paper will explore the ways in which cross-cultural productions of ancient plays can "fail". In the case of *Bacchae*, I consider various aspects of each theatrical tradition: how Greek tragedy is treated as raw material for adaptation against the aspects of Beijing opera (the "host" tradition) that were preserved. I focus on what it means to treat the performance conventions of a living theatre tradition as analogues for ancient practices and how assumptions of Greek tragedy's intrinsic value contribute to the exoticizing and decontextualizing of these practices. Finally, I will trace responses to this production by both Chinese and American critics and audiences to examine how different groups can receive cross-cultural productions and how a production can succeed for one group while failing in the eyes of another.

Session 52: New Perspectives on the Atlantic Façade of the Roman World (Seminar)

Title: Building the Atlantic Super-Seaway in the Roman Period

Name: Greg Woolf

This paper argues that the Roman period saw a transformation of the maritime infrastructure of Atlantic Europe, with consequences that extended well beyond the end of the political unification of the region.

The prehistoric societies of Europe's oceanic coastlines—from modern day Portugal to the Netherlands, and including the British Isles—formed relationships with each other since the fourth millennium BCE. These relations were expressed in connected phenomena such as megalith building, rock art, and the exchanges of metalwork and ores that characterise the Atlantic Bronze Age. Information flowed easily along the seaways, and precious objects moved huge distances. Various forms of mobility were articulated by kinship, diplomacy and trade. Cunliffe's *Facing the Ocean* (2001) provides a vivid recent account of this. Most maritime travel was, however, by small sewn-plank vessels propelled by oars (van der Noort 2011, Dunkley 2014).

The arrival of Roman expeditions at various points on the Atlantic seaboard changed all of this. Information about the Atlantic, reliable and unreliable, had been collected by authors of Greek and Latin texts from the third century BCE (Roller 2006). But it was the military expeditions of Caesar, Germanicus, Caius, and Claudius that culminated in a network of new routes in the North Sea and the Bay of Biscay as well as across the English Channel. Army supply explains the rationale for some of these routes but not all of them, and changes in maritime technology also opened up new opportunities for entrepreneurs, builders, and consumers.

Roman vessels were not the first sailing ships in these waters, but some were significantly larger in size than indigenous craft. Nevertheless there are analogies to be drawn with the consequences of the Mediterranean navigation revolutions discussed for a much earlier period by Broodbank in his *Making of the Middle Sea* (2013). The larger ocean going vessels of the Roman period permitted the transportation of objects in bulk for the first time—sometimes across the open sea—notably transporter amphorae and building stone. These vessels required larger and more elaborate harbour facilities than those used by the smaller craft employed for the exchanges of luxury goods in the late pre-Roman Iron Age.

This paper will look at the evidence for changes in scale in the early Roman period, on the basis of maritime technology and also the emerging network of ports built to accommodate larger vessels, mainly in estuaries like those of the Garonne, the Thames, the Humber, and the Rhine (cf. Morillo *et al.* 2016). A recent conference at Nantes (*Les ports romains dans l'arc atlantique et les eaux intérieures*) revealed the extent of information becoming available for riverine/maritime installations that connected land and sea routes into integrated systems of the kind described for other regions by Adams 2007, Campbell 2012, and Laurence 1999.

This focus on infrastructure will allow improved understanding of the growing volume of evidence for Roman trade in bulk in the Atlantic, including papers such as Carreras and Morais 2012 on amphora-borne commodities; the calculations of Schäfer and Warnking on the relative costs of different routes to the garrisons on the Rhine (Schäfer 2016); and the arguments of Rubio-Campillo *et al.* 2018 for the importance of Atlantic trade routes based on amphora stamps.

Title: Atlantic Commerce and Social Mobility in Southwestern Iberia

Name: Carlos F. Noreña

This paper examines the recursive relationship between geography, commerce, wealth, and upward social mobility in southwestern Iberia, in the Roman imperial provinces of Baetica and Lusitania.

The paper begins at the epicenter of this corner of the Atlantic world, the city of Gades, which dominated the whole area around the Strait of Gibraltar (the "Circle of the Strait"). A well known passage in Strabo (3.5.3) makes explicit the connection between maritime commerce, the concentration of wealth in Gades, and the spread of equestrian status there and the promotion of its local elites into the imperial administration (Shaw 2006: 23-31). The argument

draws on the latest evidence for ceramic workshops in southern Iberia, which produced the amphorae that carried Baetican olive oil up the Atlantic corridor to Britain and the Rhine delta (Carerras and Morais 2012: 431-33); for the major fish-salting facilities on the coast (Lagóstena *et al.* 2007; Currás 2017); and for what seems to be a burgeoning whaling industry around the southern Iberian peninsula in the Roman period (Bernal Casasola 2010). Together, this evidence highlights the distinctively Atlantic maritime resources and connectivities upon which the social power of Gades and its elites was based.

The paper then turns to the “ripple effects” of this nexus of commercial enrichment and political advancement further up the Lusitanian coast, in and around the estuary of the Tagus river. An overview of the historical geography of this microregion establishes the ecological parameters within which this process unfolded. Discussion focuses on a dossier of inscriptions recording the achievements of a successful equestrian family, the Corneli Bocchi. We have four inscriptions (*CIL* 2.35, 2.2479, 2.5184, *FE* 60 [1999], no. 275)—two statue bases and two monumental plaques—referring to three generations of Corneli Bocchi in the first century CE. All four texts record municipal honors for members of this family, and as such are interchangeable with countless other such dedications from the first two centuries CE (Morais 2010). The career patterns that can be reconstructed reveal, over the course of two generations, supralocal promotion into the Roman military administration and provincial imperial cult.

The specifically Atlantic dimension of this family’s ascent to provincial prominence is suggested by the find spots of these four inscriptions: Scallabis, Olisipo, and Salacia—all located in the port and harbor areas of the Tagus estuary—and Tróia, the site of the single largest fish-salting factory in the Roman empire. Given this spatial distribution, so the paper argues, the wealth of these Corneli Bocchi surely came from commerce in general, and very likely from the exploitation of Atlantic maritime resources in particular. There are further hints of this family’s prominence in this sector of the Roman Atlantic. According to Pliny the Elder (*NH* 37.9.24), for example, yet another Cornelius Bocchus discovered (and presumably made a fortune through the extraction of) heavy rock-crystal from the Ammiensian mountains in Lusitania. And prosopography suggests that these Corneli Bocchi were descendants of a freedman or family member of Bocchus I, king of Mauretania, enfranchised by L. Cornelius Sulla in the late second century BCE. The flowering of this family in the first century CE, in other words, stems from deep roots in this transcontinental stretch of Rome’s Atlantic façade.

The paper concludes with a broader argument about the historical dynamics of this sector of the Roman Atlantic. It attempts to show, above all, that the incorporation of this Atlantic region into a Mediterranean empire catalyzed a process of imperial integration here that can be loosely paralleled elsewhere in the Roman world, but that was also structured, deeply, by the particular geographical features and resource set of this oceanic zone.

Title: The Atlantic Histories of Late Antique Ireland

Name: Elva Johnston

This paper will offer a new analysis of Irish social communities between the first and fifth centuries CE (concentrating primarily on the fourth and fifth), situating the island within the material and interpretative parameters of the Roman Atlantic West.

The history of Late Antique Ireland is frequently assumed to begin with the missions of Palladius, appointed as the first bishop for the Irish believing in Christ in 431 CE, and that of Patrick, a Romano-British bishop who flourished at some point in the fifth century. The combination of a fixed date and texts (Patrick’s authentic writings) has skewed scholarship, maximising interest in religious change and minimizing research on everything else. Furthermore, debates have tended towards the *sui generis* with the fifth century functioning as the explanatory horizon for all early medieval cultural achievements in the seventh century and later. Effectively, it is treated as a point of origin rather than as an era of transition. For various historical and historicist reasons, not least debates around nationality and politics, the formative nature of interactions with the Roman West, particularly Britain, but also further afield, have been underappreciated or ignored. An unintended consequence is that Irish developments have been largely peripheral or even absent from consideration of the Roman Atlantic West. Yet, the island’s position as the major Roman Atlantic maritime frontier and its ongoing permeability to its neighbours, continuing and amplifying patterns present from prehistory, show that a reassessment is necessary.

This has now begun to be addressed in various ways. The major breakthroughs have been archaeological. Late Iron Age Ireland is now far better understood than it was even a decade ago. The number of identified unambiguously Roman objects has increased substantially through a combination of new discoveries and reclassification. Major research in identifying trading networks, across the artificial boundaries imposed by religious change, have been particularly important in positioning Ireland within broader frameworks, including the ecological and geophysical. Historians have lagged behind in comparison: pre-Christian Ireland is rarely considered in academic circles, apart from polemical debates concerning conversion to Christianity. Central developments, such as the adoption of the epigraphic habit from arguably as early as the second century CE, have had merely niche application. This is despite the fact that Ireland's earliest vernacular literacy is based on an appropriation and adaptation of the Latin alphabet that predates serious Christianization. The usage of the so-called ogham script across Late Antiquity is one of the most important forms of continuity in a period that experienced changes in belief, expansions in settlement, and the emergence of major political power blocs. Intriguingly, the distribution of the script, found almost exclusively on free-standing perpendicular cut stones, contrasts with that of portable Roman objects. These latter have an eastern distribution while the ogham stones are found primarily in south-westerly locations. To complicate matters further, ogham inscriptions are also found among Irish or partly Irish speaking communities in western Britain. These distribution patterns have the potential to unlock differentiated responses among Irish-speaking communities (broadly defined) to developments in the Atlantic West.

This paper has two related aims. Firstly, it will introduce scholars to the types of sources available for writing histories of Ireland, ones that situate it *relatedly* on the Roman Atlantic rim. It will also suggest how Irish experience can function as a comparator that enriches the way we think about Roman influences on the Atlantic littoral but also in other frontier regions.

Title: The Ocean of Mount Atlas: Atlantic History and/in the Ancient World
Name: Nicholas Purcell

The counterpointing of Mediterranean and Atlantic histories is a natural corollary of the particular trajectory of European power in the world from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and it has gained authority and fame from the contribution of Fernand Braudel to the theory and practice of both Mediterranean history and its supplanting by a new Atlantic order. The substitution of a world of Atlantic exploration, exploitation, economic innovation, warfare, and imperialism for the older centralities of the Mediterranean basin has been central to mainstream grand narratives of European (later "Western") economic and political domination and the marginalisation of the Moslem world. "Mediterranean to Oceanic" is a microcosm of such narratives.

At the same time, many crucial aspects of the formation of the Atlantic world are rightly seen as continuations on an oceanic scale of historical formations characteristic of the Mediterranean, as has been said both of ecologically devastating landscape-practices and the slave-trade. Oceans, and especially the Atlantic, have thus become implicated in self-regarding and critical histories of European global power, and have come to stand for certain sorts of economic and colonial success. They lend themselves to the rhetoric of scale and efficiency.

The worlds on which ancient historians work have to include the Atlantic façades of the European peninsula and the Maghreb. The historiography of later periods raises significant challenges for how we do this, which are complicated by the ways in which that historiography was itself shaped in part by ancient literary texts, such as Caesar and Strabo, which themselves propose certain schematic differences between Mediterranean and oceanic spaces, societies, and cultures. The place of "Phoenicians" in the ancient history of Mediterranean-Atlantic interaction is especially complicated, bridging the gap as it does between African and European sections of the north Atlantic littoral.

This paper aims at contextualising ancient accounts of the Atlantic, in two broad ways, both informed by new directions in maritime and very large-scale history over the last years. The first takes its cue from ancient ocean theory and looks at the Atlantic alongside the other oceanic space which it falls to ancient history to examine, the Indian Ocean. The second builds on the "micro-global" theory of recent years to investigate the actual movements of people and things in and around the ocean-Mediterranean interface "from below." In both cases the comparative

approach may help offset the schematisms of the larger dichotomy between different strands of thalassology, and help immunize against certain sorts of Atlantic exceptionalism.

Session 53: Neo-Latin in the Old and New World: Current Scholarship

Title: Turks as Trojans: Intertext and Allusion in Ubertino Posculo's Constantinopolis

Name: Bryan Whitchurch

Ubertino Posculo's decision to study Greek in Constantinople in 1452 thrust him into the heart of a cataclysmic event which ushered in a new world order: the capture of the city by the Turks in 1453. Enslaved to a Turk, ransomed, then captured by pirates and nearly sold into slavery a second time before his ultimate escape, Posculo began composing the Constantinopolis shortly after returning to Italy in 1455. This epic poem recounting the fall of Constantinople consistently portrays the Turks as Trojans (Teuceri), but in doing so participates in a thriving controversy of Posculo's time about what name to use when referring to the Ottomans. On one side of the controversy were a small minority of humanists who characterized the Turks as Trojans, thereby implicitly assigning them a place in a classical tradition that rendered them noble and worthy of inclusion with the rest of West. In opposition were the vast majority of humanists who called for crusade to retake Constantinople. Essential to the resulting crusade literature was an insistence that the Turks were not Trojan, but rather of Scythian descent by rendering their name as Turci (Hankins). A rhetoric of alterity thus developed facilitating the demonization of Turks. Between Posculo's consistent characterization of Turks as Teuceri and occasional description of Constantinople's capture as revenge for what the Greeks had done to Troy many centuries earlier, one would assume that Posculo sympathized with the Ottoman invaders. An ubiquitous disdain for Greeks appears to corroborate such an assessment, but Posculo likewise consistently disparages the Turks by highlighting their intemperance, their violence, and barbarity. Posculo even concludes the epic with a hope, albeit feeble, that the city will be retaken in a crusade. Speaking in general terms about humanistic literature of the period, both Hankins and Philippides suggest that Trojan epithets in the Constantinopolis are mere monikers put in place for their classical feel. Meserve instead argues that the valence of Teuceri is limited to the opening lines. I contend that the Trojan epithets are too pervasive to be brushed aside this easily, especially when evaluated alongside the use of intertext and allusion. Throughout the Constantinopolis, Trojan Turks take on the role of the invading Greeks from Posculo's epic models while the Greeks subsume the role of defending Trojans doomed to destruction. Where flood waters fed by melting snow in the Iliad characterize the fierceness of a Greek warrior pursuing Trojans who are in retreat, in the Constantinopolis Trojans are the pursuers: tenor and vehicle have exchanged places as Greeks flee from Teuceri who pursue them; it is a calculated inversion of a tradition revered by Posculo and his audience. Mehmed II (the Magnus Teucer), in his last speech before the final assault on the walls, appropriates figurative language from texts composed in antiquity to console a mourning Cicero or a pious Christian under the care of Ambrose only to pervert the metaphor by using it to incite his men to battle-lust and rapine. As such, Mehmed plunders the texts of antiquity just as he will soon plunder the city. I argue that instead of evoking sympathy for the invaders, Posculo's characterization of the Turks as Trojans aims to enflame his Venetian readership who claimed Trojan lineage through Antenor as noted by Hankins. Yet even here the Deus o velit in Posculo's parenthetical plea for crusade at the end of the Constantinopolis resides squarely in the realm of the subjunctive, at a distance from knowing with certainty God's will and consequently the reality of the painful failure that the epic strives to depict. Herein the poem betrays an unresolved tension, notwithstanding the confidence Posculo conveys in his judgements upon coward and hero from the poem of Book 1 onward. One is furthermore reminded that however much we might like to value humanists for their relativism, they endeavored into the new world of Ottoman hegemony with robust chauvinism and prejudice.

Title: Exemplarity in Petrarch's Africa

Name: Annette M. Baertschi

Exemplarity was a longstanding cultural practice in antiquity, directed toward transmitting and perpetuating ethical norms and values as well as establishing historical consciousness and identity. From early on, poetry played an important role in the process of educating by verbal example and inspiring younger generations to emulation. In this paper, I would like to explore the use of exemplarity in Petrarch's unfinished Latin epic Africa (published posthumously in 1397). Conceived as a response to the more traditional medieval heroic poems, the Africa was

designed to introduce a new kind of classicism and to promote Petrarch as the leading intellectual and scholar-poet of his era.

For Petrarch, classical literature provided invaluable models that he could productively appropriate and re-interpret according to his own vision, choosing from a variety of sources what was useful for his composition. His selection was based on an intimate familiarity with the Roman (and indirectly Greek) writers as well as an appreciation of – and respect for – the exemplary nature of their work.

In this paper, I will focus particularly on the unhappy love story of Sophonisba and Massinissa that Petrarch recounts in the fifth book of the *Africa* and that is a prime example of his notion of creative imitation as a fusion of multiple models and generic traditions. I will show that he draws on Livy for the historical facts of the episode, but models the poetic design on Vergil, *Aeneid* IV, thus not only recreating Sophonisba as a new Dido, but also illustrating his successful re-appropriation and amalgamation of key texts from antiquity. In addition, I will argue that Petrarch reworks important themes and imagery from Roman elegy, especially Ovid's *Amores* and *Heroides*, in his portrayal of Massinissa. By combining epic and elegiac elements, Petrarch expertly manipulates the reader's sympathies and adapts the morally problematic story for a Christian context.

Finally, I will demonstrate that Petrarch uses the love story of Sophonisba and Massinissa to showcase exemplary behavior and paradigmatic actions, both positive and negative. The episode thus also sheds light on the construction and function of exemplarity in the *Africa*, a work that itself exemplified a new type of literature, and the standards – poetic, didactic, and ethical – it aimed to set.

Title: Rhyming Rome: Luther's *In Clementem Papam VII*

Name: Carl P.E. Springer

Martin Luther's relationship with the city of Rome is not uncomplicated. When the young Augustinian friar first caught sight of the eternal city (probably from Monte Mario) in 1510 or 1511, he says that he dropped to his knees and saluted it as "holy" (*Salve, sancta Roma!*). To judge from his own reminiscences of his youthful trip years later, it seems that his attitude towards the city changed completely during the course of his only visit there. He was appalled at the evidence of greed and lust on the part of the Roman clergy and began to doubt whether painfully crawling up the *Scala sancta* was actually efficacious. Most scholars would agree that by the end of his life, Luther's attitude to the city of Rome had changed completely, from respectful love to vehement hatred. If there is a hell, he opined, repeating an Italian proverb, Rome must be built over it.

In this paper, I will take a somewhat different approach, arguing that the kind of vitriolic anger Luther expresses in his late treatise "Against the Papacy in Rome, Founded by the Devil" (1545) deserves to be situated within its appropriate emotional context. For the first half of Luther's life, after all, the bishop of Rome was his spiritual father. Luther's "hatred" of the Pope should perhaps be likened to the feelings some adolescent sons have for their fathers, in other words, something other than the more detached antipathy of later Protestants who never visited the city of Rome or ever belonged to the Roman Catholic church. Luther's coarse and sometimes abusive language in this respect also deserves to be reconsidered. Such discourse offends the modern reader but was really not all that uncommon in more Rabelaisian times than ours. We should also consider the possibility that this prolific author cultivated a literary persona, not so very different perhaps than Juvenal's, a persona developed over the years to meet the expectations of his readers. Not infrequently, Luther represents himself as a plain-spoken, even angry commoner, not particularly gifted with words, but in fact he was raised in a well-to-do household, was very well educated, and became one of the best-selling authors of his age. In fact, Luther's literary persona may be part of a consciously constructed "brand" and not at all representative of his true feelings towards Rome.

As evidence for this point of view, I will analyze a short poem of Luther's written sometime after Clement VII (1523-1534) became pope. The original manuscript has been lost and there is some doubt as to whether Luther himself wrote the poem. (Frings does not analyze the poem in his study of Luther's Latin poetry.) I will argue that the poem is indeed Luther's, based on its playful, mocking tone and the kind of elaborate punning which we discover in his other Latin poems. Most significant of all, I will also argue, is the fact that in the poem he calls Rome "ours" (*nostram...Romam*; see *WA* 35, 599), years after he had been excommunicated. We know that Luther

continued to think and write about Rome, the ancient Republic and Empire as well as the contemporary city, his entire life long, and in fact refers to the city in 1546 in his last written statement (*WA Tischreden* 5, 317-8). This poem is evidence of his continued identification with the city which he so loved ... and hated.

Title: Aztec Physicians in Greco-Roman Garb

Name: John Izzo

This paper analyzes the ways in which the authors of the *Libellus de Medicinalibus Indorum Herbis* used intertextuality and allusions to Greco-Roman culture as tools to defend indigenous medical practices against European prejudices. In the year 1536, a group of Franciscan friars established the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco (Mexico City) in order to educate Aztec (henceforth Nahua) young men in the liberal arts (Silvermoon 2007, Emmart 1940). In 1552, two men associated with this school, a Nahua physician named Martinus de la Cruz and a Nahua Latinist named Joannes Badianus, wrote the *Libellus* (a medicinal herbal guide) as a gift to Spanish colonial officials and the royal court in Spain. This paper argues that the authors of the *Libellus* employ allusions to classical literature and culture throughout their work for several reasons: to increase their authority and demonstrate their *humanitas* (as defined by their European oppressors), to elide some distinctions between New and Old World medical practices, and to preempt and defend their knowledge and culture against racially motivated colonial prejudices.

Scholars who analyze the *Libellus* have been primarily interested in discerning and separating its Nahua medical theories from its European ones (Gimmel 2008, Triviño 1995, Del Pozo 1991, Hassig 1989). Andrew Laird, however, briefly discusses some of the stylistic features of its preface and suggests that its rhetorical style may have been influenced by the elaborate and sophisticated speech patterns of Nahua oratory (Laird 2010). Other texts written by Nahua Latinists of the Colegio de Santa Cruz have received more thorough attention for their mobilization of classical allusions (Laird 2016a, 2016b, 2010, Romero 1990); however, the *Libellus* itself remains largely understudied in this regard.

In the first section of this paper, I analyze the language of the opening sentence of the *Libellus*. There, the Nahua physician describes himself as *medicus...nullis rationibus doctus, sed solis experimentis edoctus*. Read out of its historical context, these words would appear to signal that the authors viewed indigenous medical knowledge as in some way inferior to formal, European-style medical training. However, for those educated in the classical canon, this phrase possesses a very different valence. It bears an allusion to ancient medical practices in Greece and Rome – the rivalry between Rationalists and Empiricists. Picking up on language used by Pliny and Celsus, Martinus de la Cruz lays claim to being an Empiricus and asserts the merits of his experiential, rather than theoretical, medical training. Like so many other elements of the *Libellus*, this language also makes reference to the early modern cultural context, as the preference for *experimenta* aligns with contemporary medical developments in Europe (Ragland 2017, Ogilvie 2006), including the practices of Andreas Vesalius, who was at that time the physician in the royal court to which the *Libellus* was to be sent.

As another instance of this reappropriation of the Classics against colonial knowledge structures, I investigate the significance of a direct citation of Pliny's *Natural History* in the *Libellus*. In the discussion of medicine used to remove dried saliva, the authors directly quote and name Pliny. This citation, along with the use of Plinian language throughout the text, defines the authors as Plinian researchers, perhaps even new Plinys themselves. In addition to a discussion of the parallels with Pliny's own text, I elaborate upon the cultural significance of this reference in the Spanish colonies, where Pliny as researcher, writer, and imperialist had become a model for Spanish intellectuals and explorers including Mártir de Anglería, Fernández de Oviedo, Bartolomé de las Casas, José de Acosta, and Francisco Hernández (Moreno 1986). In making allusions like this, Martinus de la Cruz and Joannes Badianus thus stake powerful claims for indigenous knowledge and autonomy. I conclude my paper with a brief delineation of other possible references to classical texts in the *Libellus* and directions for further research.

Title: Galileo the Immortalizer: Classical Allusions in the Dedication of Sidereus Nuncius
Name: Benjamin C. Driver

This paper will examine Galileo's classical allusions in the dedicatory preface to *Sidereus Nuncius*. The treatise memorializes Galileo's discovery of four moons that orbit Jupiter which he famously observed with his telescope. He dedicated the treatise to his patron Cosimo II de' Medici (1590-1621) and conspicuously makes almost direct quotations from Cicero, Pliny the Elder, and Propertius throughout this preface. The passages that he quoted primarily involve deification and poetic memory. Indeed, Galileo updates and adapts an ancient Roman discourse about divinization, generating his own latter-day deification of Cosimo II. I will argue that Galileo's allusions and the literary memory of his readers lead to the conclusion that Cosimo II's deification is superior to those of Julius Caesar and Augustus.

Ultimately, I contend that Galileo is divinizing Cosimo II in his preface. He quotes Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, a text that was very popular in Galileo's day, and one dealing explicitly with deification. Where Cicero writes "circos suos orbisque conficiunt celeritate mirabili," Galileo writes, "cursus suos, orbisque conficiunt celeritate mirabili." Galileo, like Cicero, gives primacy to *virtus* as a prerequisite for divinization. Galileo, however, pays less attention than Cicero does to civil service as a requirement for apotheosis. In addition to Cicero, Galileo quotes Pliny the Elder. In discussing Caesar's comet, Galileo writes, "Graeci cometas, nostri Crinitas vocant," imitating Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* 2.89, a few sections down from which the encyclopedist also mentions Julius Caesar's catasterism. Galileo, differently from Pliny the Elder, qualifies Caesar's catasterism as *frustra*, later alluding to the much greater stature that Cosimo II will attain. Since the Christian god (*Syderum Opifex*) imbued Cosimo II with divinity from birth, his name will bestow glory on the stars rather than vice versa.

Lastly, Galileo echoes a line found in Propertius *Elegiae* III.2.20, a poem about the immortality a poet can offer to his subject. In discussing the lengths that men have gone to in order to honor worthy people, Galileo writes that "Pyramidum, ut inquit ille, sumptus ad Sydera ducti." In quoting this passage, Galileo connects his own duty with that of the poet as the one who bestows immortality. Throughout, he utilizes highly divinizing language such as *immortalia*, *in omne tempus*, and *lucidas illas sedes*. I follow scholar Linda A. Koch's work on Medici iconography, specifically the Tabernacle of the Crucifix of Piero di Medici (1416-1469), to establish the Medici family's tradition of embedding their rule in an ancient, authoritative past. I use L.B.T Houghton's scholarship on Naldo Naldi and Aurelio Lippi Brandolini to demonstrate a poetic link between the Medici court, Augustus, and Jupiter. Isabella Pantin's commentary on *Sidereus Nuncius* is a useful text for clarification. The work of Mario Biagioli helps us understand Galileo's relationship to the Medici court and the patronage networks that existed therein. Additionally, his work on artist and early art historian Giorgio Vasari's *Apartment of the Elements* and *Apartment of Leo X* evinces the purposeful connections that the family made to Roman divinities. Scholar Spencer Cole helps to establish relevant *topoi* of divinizations in ancient literature, and how Cicero struggled to appropriate Greek practices of apotheosis toward a Roman deification based on *virtus* and civic benefaction. These are the *topoi* which Galileo then appropriates. By examining this preface, we can understand the connections between Galileo and his ancient precursors as a mirror for the Medici's conceived relationships with Roman divinity and the ancient past.

Title: The Pax Augustea in Fascist Italy: A Catholic Response to the Augustan Bimillenary
Name: Nicolò Bettgazzi

This paper investigates the reception of the emperor Augustus in the Latin literature of Italian Fascism (1922-1943), and specifically in two poems by the Jesuit poet Vittorio Genovesi: *Roma Caput Mundi* (1935) and *Ara Pacis Augustae in Urbe restituta* (1938). It shows how in these Latin poems Genovesi advocates the leading role of Christianity in ensuring the historical continuity between Augustus' Empire and Fascist Rome. The pervasive presence of Augustus in the Fascist notion of *romanità* (Romanness) has been noticed and explored (Nelis, 2011), along with the initiatives to celebrate the rebirth of Empire in Fascist Italy through the bimillenary of Augustus' birth in 1937 (Arthurs, 2018). Less attention, however, has been paid to the ways in which Augustus and the Augustan period were used to promote a Christian vision of Roman antiquity and contemporary Italian society.

Roma Caput Mundi begins with Genovesi asking why Augustus is being evoked with such great honours (1-3). The poet then directs his gaze toward Rome's ancient ruins, which he identifies as the symbols of pagan religion. The

central section of the poem celebrates the advent of Christianity (58-160) and Augustus' role in paving the way for its triumph (101-108). Genovesi voices his fear that new wars may tear the whole world apart (167-238), unless Rome regain its authority as the centre of a universal mission based on the Christian message (239-261). Each of these themes reappears in *Ara Pacis Augustae in Urbe restituta* (15-37), written for the reconstruction of the *Ara Pacis* (completed in 1938). Genovesi interprets the monument as a symbolic counter-example to the hostilities spreading all over Europe (38-56) and as a prefiguration of that lasting peace which only Christendom can ensure (63-71).

This paper offers a new perspective on the different roles of antiquity and the Latin language during the ventennio fascista. Recent research on the cult of Roman antiquity in Italian Fascism has shown that Latin became the *lingua Lictoria*: that is, a medium used to celebrate the regime and its connection to Roman antiquity (Lamers – Reitz-Joosse, 2016). However, the archival research that I recently conducted in Rome brought to light many Latin texts which played a different role. As the official language of the Roman Catholic Church, Latin was often used to evoke the providential mission of Christian Rome and to define the role of Italian Fascism in fulfilling this mission. The analysis of texts such as Genovesi's can deepen our understanding not only of the different attitudes of the Church vis-à-vis the Fascist regime, but also of the ways in which the Christian interpretations of antiquity contributed to elaborating alternative models of coexistence between Fascist and Catholic culture. By emphasizing the interrelation between Augustus, the *Pax Augustea* and Christianity, Genovesi anchors Fascist Italy in both Ancient and Christian Rome (see Sluiter, 2017). He achieves this, to mention but two examples, by emphasizing the contrast between ancient Rome's ruins and Rome's Christian symbols (e.g. St. Peter's Basilica; *Roma Caput Mundi*, 62-66) or by endorsing the Christian interpretation of ancient authors such as Virgil and Horace (*Roma Caput Mundi*, 50-52, 69-73; *Ara Pacis Augustae*, 54-56). A crucial analogy between Augustus and the Fascist regime underlies Genovesi's poems: like the Roman emperor, Mussolini is but the minister of divine providence, and this is what defines the historical correlation between the two leaders.

Session 54: Administrative Appointments: A Contribution to the Dialogue on the Present and Future of Classics, Humanities, and Higher Education from Administrative Perspectives

Title: Toward a New Institutional Future of Classics

Name: Joy Connolly

Having enjoyed for over two centuries a privileged (though much debated) status in American higher education, the field of Classics now confronts serious existential challenges in colleges and universities across the country. Classics joins other humanistic disciplines, notably history and other departments of language and literature, whose undergraduate majors and enrollments in core disciplinary courses are falling, whose retiring faculty are being replaced with contingent hires instead of tenure track lines, and whose graduate fellowship funding is being cut. Ben Schmidt of Northeastern University, a keen observer of trends tracked by Humanities Indicators and the Department of Education, has noted that the post-2008 decline of undergraduate interest in humanistic studies has not stabilized with the economic recovery, despite the fact that the recovery's impact was experienced by well-off families who have historically pursued the humanities in significant numbers. Rather the trend appears to reflect "a new set of student priorities, which are being formed even before they see the inside of a college classroom...students seem to have shifted their view of what they should be studying – in a largely misguided effort to enhance their chances on the job market" (*The Atlantic*, August 23, 2018).

At the same time, growing awareness of the discipline's history of bolstering elitist and exclusionary values and practices has generated an internal call for Classics to be dismantled from within.

What is the best response? Consider these two possible paths forward:

A fight for the status quo. Faculty continue to struggle to retain department status, replace each retirement with a tenure-track line or a lecturer, and sustain current levels of fellowship funding for graduate students. In wealthy universities, this strategy will likely result in at best a continuation of the current situation or a slow decline in

institutional support. In less wealthy schools, faculty who put their eggs in the *status quo* basket are unlikely to prevail against the current trends. It is not impossible to imagine a world in which only the richest institutions will be able to afford Classics departments as we know them today. Elsewhere, it will fall to the remaining tenured faculty dispersed to departments like History or Literature to convince administrators as well as their colleagues to preserve tenure lines and graduate fellowships in the study of the ancient Mediterranean in their new departmental homes – not an easy fight. One real danger here is that faculty will be so absorbed in the battle for basic resources that they will lose opportunities to think critically about Classics’ nature as a field, its values and goals.

Creative re-design. Faculty and graduate students take matters into their own hands, form alliances with colleagues in other departments and programs, and develop a new vision. Likely partners include but are not limited to art history, anthropology, various language and literature fields, religion, philosophy, history, area studies (including American Studies), and linguistics. I will discuss two alternative approaches that transcend the traditional departmental model.

Amidst these organizational challenges is a chance for the field to tackle deeper questions. What knowledge do faculty in Classics departments most value? How has it changed over the past 150 years? How does our research, and particularly the highest-status research topics, relate to the teaching we do? How do we make the most of the fact that interest in the humanities is growing among the least privileged American students, those enrolled in community colleges?

I aim to bring my ten years of experience as an administrator to bear in articulating both the larger issues and several concrete actions that faculty and students can take to inform themselves about administrative priorities on their campus and – should they wish – to redesign the institutional shape of the field.

Title: Maine Public Classics

Name: Jeannine D. Uzzi

Why are you still teaching Latin and ancient Greek? What can you do with a classics major? These are frustratingly familiar questions, questions that despite our best attempts, classicists have failed to answer to the satisfaction of almost anyone outside academe. In 2004, APA President Jim O’Donnell organized a Presidential Panel called “The Future of the Ancient Past.” On that panel I suggested that classics desperately needed a connection “to the here and now, to the practical, to the present.” I was not wrong, but it was not until 2014 when I began reading ancient texts with combat veterans that I discovered a way to make that connection explicit.

On that same 2004 panel I asserted, “[c]lassics...is facing three options: work to change the market-driven system of education in this country, embrace that market and find a way to work within it, or accept a guild-like existence in which classics is taught only in the most elite private institutions. Perhaps none of these options is attractive, but option three would not only represent a great loss: it is offensive. Option one seems to me the battle classics is already losing. Option two, finding a way to work within a market-driven system of education...is the option that at least holds hope for classics. If the system can’t be changed, and I’m not convinced it can, classics must find a way to compete within it.” Fifteen years later, these options still ring depressingly true. This is because classics continues to face two fundamental challenges: familiarity and imagination. Most people do not know what classics is, and even those who do sincerely cannot imagine what one does with it. Not only has classics’ stock not risen since 2004; it may be even lower today than it was then. After attending the *Inside Higher Ed* symposium “Higher Ed in an Era of Heightened Skepticism” in D.C. last year, I was forced to accept that at this point in American history, not only is classics a hard sell, but there are few worse marketing tactics than combining the word “liberal” with the word “arts” (Busteed, 2018). This is not only a pithy sound bite; it is absolutely true. The very brand under which classics has been living is part of the problem.

After that 2004 panel, Jim O’Donnell asked me where I was teaching. “The University of Southern Maine in Portland,” I replied. “Well, you won’t be there in ten years,” he predicted, “or, if you are, you’ll be dean.” He was almost right: eleven years later I was provost. How this came to be is important, and it demonstrates the grim reality of option three, above; even more important is what I have learned since that panel. In 2014, three unusual things happened to me: my academic program was eliminated, and I was retrenched from my tenured position at USM; I

was given the unusual opportunity to practice applied public classics; and I was unexpectedly invited back to USM to serve as provost. The convergence of these events was for me serendipitous, instructive, and transformative. I was violently extracted from my life as a classics professor while at the same time being immersed in the most engaging and inspiring teaching experience of my career, reading the *Odyssey* with combat veterans.

The veterans in my group opened my eyes to powerful new readings of texts I had been teaching for two decades. Without knowing it, they gave me answers to questions that have relentlessly dogged me and the discipline. Reading ancient texts with combat veterans reminded me of the provocation I had written in 2004 and helped me articulate the practical positive effects of studying classics. My experience in applied public classics has convinced me that only by forging deep connections between classics and the lay community will we gain the perspective necessary to address public skepticism about classics, the humanities, and the liberal arts.

Title: Different Strokes for Different Folks: Three Universities, Three “Classics”

Name: Patrice Rankine

The purpose of this paper is to present “the Future of the Classics” from my perspective as the Dean of the School of Arts & Sciences at the University of Richmond, and Professor of Classics. Others on the panel will speak from their perspectives – large publics, graduate versus undergraduate – but I will focus on three different frameworks for the study of Classics at the college level: a large, public institution, where Classics is part of a large School of Languages and Cultures, where enrollments matter and can make or break a program; a small, liberal arts college, where having the discipline of Classics brings caché but rests on the back of a single, “program builder;” and a well-heeled, top 25 liberal arts university, where Classics is not at all under threat but where liberal arts majors, in general, hover in the fiftieth percentile, business and other, pre-professional majors threatening to edge out the liberal arts.

In my paper, I will draw from my experiences to use each of these three institutions as case studies for instantiations of the Classics in the present, and its future. I will draw from a broad body of essays on the place of liberal arts in higher education, or liberal arts under threat; and I will draw from my case studies to demonstrate how three different institutions have approached the problem of Classics’ future.

My argument is that adaptability is essential to the survival of Classics at many institutions. In my discussion, it will be important to differentiate the institutions in my case study from elite institutions, like Yale or Stanford, where Classics is not at all under threat. At many institutions, however, Classics is embedded within broader liberal arts offerings. Colleagues must, from an administrative standpoint, put away their sense of the discipline’s purity – whether in terms of departmental structure, philology over the “studies” approach – for adaptability, and more specifically, the issue of *influence*. Classics can have influence, a role to play, in broader arguments regarding the utility of a liberal arts education.

I will draw from my experience to give examples. Recently, a Classicist at my institution lit up the room at an admissions day event for prospective students when she spoke about “the Classics” as a microcosm of all of arts and sciences. That is, with the various disciplinary approaches of art, material culture, language, sciences, politics, etc., the arts and sciences *are* the Classics writ large, an argument that Cicero would have applauded. This is one of the many examples from which I will draw to demonstrate how colleagues have made the argument for the future of the Classics at these various institutions.

As a member of an underrepresented group, I will say a word about the Classics in our ever-diversifying institutions. Not only should the Classics adapt to survive, but it must. Its adaptability toward intellectual and human diversity is essential to its relevance to Generation-Z students, who will be the most diverse student body in the history of American education.

Title: How Can Administrators Support Public Outreach and Digital Humanities?

Name: Sarah E. Bond

How can departmental and university-wide administrators work to better encourage, support, and assess scholars interested in public outreach and digital humanities projects? This talk explores how higher education administrators can work together with both Classics faculty and students in order to encourage collaborative digital scholarship targeted to the public.

The first portion of the talk focuses on the need for Graduate College administrators to reassess Masters and PhD thesis standards for students in order to allow for the acceptance of more multimodal content. This content might include geographic visualization, network visualization, textual analysis, or the 3D modeling of cultural heritage. Such “born digital” approaches to scholarship go beyond the traditional, analog thesis template developed in the German academy of the 19th century, and allows for more flexibility in what is considered valid research. Challenging students to develop digital research methods not only prepares students for employment outside of the academy, but also help them to create content more readily interacted with by the public. The University of Iowa’s creation of summer funding grants for graduate students to develop new digital projects to supplement their dissertations is but one example of how to encourage and support such aims. Moreover, new graduate initiatives such as the NEH’s NextGen PhD program and the “Beyond the PDF” movement encourage both dynamic and non-traditional graduate scholarship that encourages students to focus more heavily on public outreach as a core objective of their graduate experience.

The second half of the paper addresses how administrators can integrate these same graduate objectives into reworked tenure and promotion standards for faculty and permanent lecturers at their university. Acceptance of new and different content for Masters and PhD theses can only be achieved if we also address outdated research expectations and how we define “scholarship.” Faculty are more likely to engage in blogging, public outreach, and digital humanities if they are rewarded for doing so in terms of salary and recognition. As scholarly organizations such as the American Historical Association (AHA) and Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) have gestured to assessment models for digital scholarship, we must move beyond the standardized but archaic metric of articles and monographs as the sole means of measuring who should attain permanent employment. Standardized rubrics that allow administrators unfamiliar with public Classics and digital humanities to do uniform assessments of digital projects and public content are essential, as are qualified digital content reviewers within the academy.

As this talk underscores, administrative support for public outreach and digital humanities projects must go far beyond funding. Money may be the first step, but sustained engagement with public digital humanities content can only be achieved when we begin to modify our expectations of what academic scholarship is in the modern day. Embracing collaborative, digital, and non-traditional research in Classics not only invites new and diverse voices to be a part of our field, it welcomes the public to the study of the ancient Mediterranean in new ways that most traditional monographs and journal articles simply have not been able to achieve.

Title: Anchor Institutions and a Challenge to Classics, Humanities, and Higher Education

Name: Joseph M. Romero

Universities serve multiple goals: the purest pursuit of knowledge for its own sake; the formation of character; development of the whole person or individual capacities, especially critical thinking; preprofessional training; norming in a culture’s traditions and certification for transmission of that culture. In other ages, it was the path to the soul’s salvation. For millennia institutions of higher education have served the goal of producing qualified citizens aware of and ready to assume certain social responsibilities. Somewhere in here, occasionally, there has even been room for *revolution*, where universities actively contribute to social change.

In this paper, I will describe a movement in higher education that challenges and reorders the priorities of institutions less single-mindedly focused on identifying and providing solutions to the greatest challenge to our democracy, inequality. An *anchor* is an enduring institution, one that sees itself as permanent, who partners with other anchors to make a difference in the communities where they live. Often these are institutions of education, health, businesses, arts organizations, but also governments, community development corporations, philanthropies,

and more. What kind of difference do they hope to make? They look to the needs of their communities, and while the U.S. is exceptionally diverse—urban, rural, more or less wealthy, varying concentrations of race and ethnicity—the problems are depressingly similar.

Too often, it comes down to race, though class runs a close second. Americans with darker skin and whose first language is not English have fewer opportunities for—and, consequently, disparate impacts in—education, housing, public safety, health, and employment. Anchor institutions are committed to providing opportunity through collective action, pursuing strategies to make a difference in these areas in accordance with their financial and individual capacities.

As an example of an anchor university I single out Rutgers University-Newark because, though many anchor universities do inspiring work, in my travels in 2017-18 as an American Council on Education fellow, where I was privileged to survey the higher education landscape from a presidential point-of-view, I saw nothing so ambitious as what Chancellor Nancy Cantor is doing at Rutgers-Newark. Picture a card-carrying member of the Association of American Universities and an arm of a flagship state university, there in the heart of Newark, New Jersey, too often used as a punchline rather than the name of someone's home. Make no mistake: the challenges are real. Most of the labor force commutes into and away from Newark, while its residents are too often underemployed, less healthy, inhabit substandard housing, have access to emergency rooms but less often health care or grocery stores or safe playgrounds. The city's school system has been the subject of well-publicized, and unsuccessful, efforts to reform.

Now picture that same institution fulfilling its mission as an R1 institution while expanding it to address the needs of Newark. They are making a difference. And they do so, quite openly, by tackling root causes: by trying to reconstruct an unreconstructed America.

The references to race and disparate impact are intentional, which brings us back to my theme: if higher education and its leadership is, finally, a quest for *relevance*, which we pursue in a variety of ways enumerated above—especially preprofessional programs—what could be more relevant than to identify and eradicate the barriers that prevent your neighbors from accessing the American dream? Surely there is more room for the case for *relevance* in higher education than future job security or new markets that can be exploited by the discovery of new technology and much else that is also part of our charge.

I leave Classics with two questions: in a university devoted to remediating the inequities of race and class—which are, too often, the same thing—what roles should the humanities play? Secondly, if not resistance or stasis, how can Classics *lead* the humanities in fulfilling these essential purposes of higher education in an American democracy, social justice and social transformation?

Title: The Undergraduate Major in Classics Revisited: Ten Years Later
Name: Kenneth Scott Morrell

Emerging from a series of inter-institutional programs sponsored by Sunoikisis, the Center for Hellenic Studies undertook a study of the undergraduate major in classics from 2006 to 2008, with funding from the Teagle Foundation. Among the goals of the study were (1) to determine from the perspective of faculty members and majors what constituted the discipline of classics, i.e. what were the typical constituent components of a major program of study in the field, and (2) to examine the relationship between the goals of classics programs and the overall missions of the institutions.

The findings of the study appeared in a special issue of *Liberal Education* on Liberal Education and the Disciplines 95.2 (2009): 14-21. As part of that study, the team collected data on the programs at sixty-nine colleges of the liberal arts, five universities that offered terminal master's degrees in classics, and ten universities, five public and five private, that offered doctorate degrees in the field. Those data provided a snapshot of the discipline in the United States at that moment, which is now ten years ago.

This presentation will return to that set of data and compare it with the most recently published data and provide some quantitative observations about what has happened over the last decade and what the trends suggest. It will also review the efforts of Sunoikisis and other organizations to foster inter-institutional initiatives during that period and offer an assessment of the outcomes and challenges of collaboration on a curricular level among institutions of higher education.

Session 55: Women in Rage, Women in Protest: Feminist Approaches to Ancient Anger (Seminar)

Title: Putting Pressure on the Patriarchy: The Subversive Power of Women's Anger in Ancient Greek Literature and Magic

Name: Suzanne Lye

This paper explores women's anger and its perceived efficacy in the ancient Greek imagination. From Demeter's wrathful defection from Olympus in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* out of anger at the abduction of her daughter (Nickel 2003) to a magical binding spell from as late as the 3rd century C.E. (Pachoumi 2013: 313), women found effective expressions for rage, thus challenging the roles and behaviors impressed upon them by patriarchal power structures in their given societies. In these narratives, angry women respond creatively to difficult situations brought about by male figures who hold power over them, either legally or emotionally. From immortal goddesses to lowly mortals, women had to comply with their own marginalization and become outcast when angry, even when their anger was caused by transgressions against their roles as wives or mothers. In this paper, I argue that women in ancient Greek literature are portrayed as having two viable strategies for expressing their anger and resisting their dismissal by patriarchal structures: withdrawal and magic. Even when leading to violent expression (e.g. Clytemnestra, Procne), women's anger must operate "under the radar," often appealing to divine forces and occult practices as a response to legal powerlessness. Despite the limitations placed on them, these women successfully used these outlets to effect change in their situations and subvert the intentions of domineering male figures in their lives.

This paper uses case studies drawn from both literary and documentary sources. In the first section, I discuss Demeter, Calypso, and Circe as Archaic prototypes for women's anger and examine specific tropes their stories establish for the expression of female anger. These goddesses' withdrawal to the edges of divine society represents disengagement from activities that reinforce the rule of Zeus. In the second section, I look at an Athenian court speech by Antiphon, featuring a wife accused of accidentally poisoning her husband when giving him a love charm to keep his affections. In the third section, I look at the myths of Medea and the Lemnian women as cautionary tales of female anger that show male anxiety over female agency and over their use of magic and violence to challenge their male relatives' behaviors. Both Apollonius Rhodius and Euripides, in the *Argonautica* and *Medea*, respectively, portray fake compliance and ultimately violent expressions of anger by women using magic and covert operations.

In the final section, I look at evidence of female anger in binding spells and curse tablets, magical tools that offered direct challenges to power structures that regularly subordinated women's desires to men's romantic whims and financial control. The first case study illustrating aggressive female magic features Simaetha performing a magical ritual against her wayward lover, which gives him the option of returning to her or dying, should her spell fail (Theocritus' *Idyll* 2). While this is a literary scene, it mimics magical rituals found in actual spells commissioned by women in a similar position. In the corpus of erotic spells, there are five extant with definitively female users who engage in binding spells against male victims. The spells, though few, indicate that everyday women had access to such magic – and used it. Real women thus are shown to engage in a type of aggressive erotic magic originally thought by scholars to be the realm of men or literary heroines (Pachoumi 2013; Faraone 2001). In one of the most striking cases of female anger in the magical sources, a woman named Artemisia asks the gods to punish the father of their deceased daughter for depriving their child of proper burial rites (*PGM* XL). The women who enact these spells are engaging in a pattern of dissent that echoes the actions of Demeter, Calypso, and Circe from centuries earlier. They demonstrate the persistence of both withdrawal and magic as effective strategies for women to express their anger. As a result, these women put pressure on patriarchal structures to make space for female agency and desires.

Title: The Problem of the Angry Woman and Herodotus' Use of Tragedy in Two Athenian Logoi

Name: Erika L. Weiberg

Two passages in Herodotus' *Histories* stand out for their unusual representation of women, who act neither rationally nor in a way that preserves family or cultural norms (typical motivations for female agents in Herodotus: see Dewald, Gray, Blok). These are the Athenian women who murder the lone survivor of the Athenian expedition against Aegina (5.87) and the Athenian women who stone to death the wife and children of an Athenian man who advocated cooperating with Persia (9.5). Dewald (1981, 100) has argued that the first passage "springs from a complex of misogynous folk motifs, including the Pentheus motif," while the two episodes together present "female violence as the complement and mirror of male violence." This paper focuses on a neglected aspect of these two passages, the women's anger, and argues that Herodotus appropriates a tragic perspective on the problem of the angry woman that diverges from his approach to representing women elsewhere in the *Histories*. The first part of the paper focuses on identifying anger terms in each passage, while the second links these Herodotean women with their tragic counterparts, analyzing the misogynistic trope of the angry woman through the lens of recent feminist writing on misogyny and anger (Chemaly, Cooper, Manne, Traister).

In both passages, Herodotus employs a version of the phrase δεινόν τι ποιησαμένης (5.87.2; cf. δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι, 9.5.2) to describe the emotional reaction of the women when they learn that their husbands have died and the Athenian men when they hear Lychidas's proposal. Because the women's response in 9.5 is described as a mirror image of the men's, it is implied that they too experience this emotion. Although δεινόν plus a form of ποιέω in the middle voice has not been analyzed alongside the other ancient anger terms (*cholos*, *menis*, *nemesis*, *thymos*, *orge*) in recent scholarship (e.g., Braund and Most, Konstan), I argue that it is an important term for a specific type of anger in Herodotus: indignation sparked by the perception of unfair treatment, often resulting in rebellion or revenge (cf. 1.13, 1.127, 2.133, 2.161, 3.155, 4.33, 4.147, 5.33, 5.41, 5.42, 7.1, 7.35, 7.163, 8.15-16, 8.93, 9.33, 9.53, 9.94, 9.107). We can conclude, therefore, that these women's actions are motivated by their indignant anger against, in the first case, their perception of an unfair war and, in the second case, the threat posed by enemies in their midst.

Dewald is correct to identify in these passages a connection with mythological motifs; moreover, the fact that both passages depict groups of Athenian women implies a connection with the angry women of Athenian tragedy (Allen). Scholarship on Herodotus has analyzed his appropriation of the formal, thematic, and linguistic elements of tragedy (Fohl, Lesky, Laurot, Saïd, Chiasson, Griffin, Baragwanath). Building on these studies, I argue that Herodotus critically engages with tragic representations of women in these two passages, modifying tragic techniques and motifs in order to embellish a quintessentially tragic theme: the excesses of war, which infect men and women, the *polis* and *oikos* alike. Unlike his treatment of the Atys/Adrastus story, however, which is patterned after tragic plots, these isolated scenes employ a pastiche of tragic figures, techniques, and props: the angry, vengeful wife (Clytemnestra, Medea), the herald, the chorus of women speaking and acting in tandem, weaponized dress-pins (Hecuba, Hermione, Jocasta), and the shocking murder of children (Hecuba, Medea). In both episodes, as in tragedy, the violence of war is marked as out-of-place and excessive when transferred to the domestic sphere and perpetrated by women. In these two episodes, Herodotus employs tropes from tragedy in order to represent Athenian fears about the anger of women and the violence of war brought home. Through these stories, finally, he gives a rare glimpse of women's collective anger in action.

Title: *Irata Puella*: Gaslighting, Violence, and Anger in Elegy

Name: Ellen Cole Lee

The women of elegy are powerful, beautiful, and, often, angry. But why? In the elegiac poet-lover's imagination, his mistress is usually outraged for one of three reasons (or all three, in the case of Propertius 3.23):

- (1) she is jealous of her lover's relationship with another woman (e.g., Tibullus 1.6)
- (2) her lover has made her wait for his attentions (or his gifts) (e.g., Propertius 1.3, 2.29a)

(3) someone has been impugning her reputation (e.g., Propertius 1.4, 2.29a).

If she is not angry for one of these reasons, the poet-lover ascribes her anger to generalized passion: she is angry with him because she has been overcome by emotion (e.g., Propertius 3.8). In other words, if her anger cannot be attributed to one of these reasons, she is angry because she is in love with him, because she is excessively emotional, and, essentially, because she is a woman.

Curiously, these reasons reflect precisely the justifications the elegiac narrator gives for being angry with his mistress: jealousy (e.g., Ovid, *Amores* 2.5), waiting (e.g., Propertius 1.18), being compelled to give gifts (e.g., Propertius 4.5), and being unfairly maligned by her (e.g., Propertius 2.9). It appears that the lover-poet cannot imagine a reason for his mistress being angry with him that differs from his own justifications for anger. However, whereas his reasons for anger are often fleshed out into rhetorically masterful arguments, the justifications imputed to the mistress's anger are represented as trifling and easily dismissable, mere obstacles to the couple getting down to the business of love. The poet-lover gaslights his mistress to make it appear that his rage is justifiable, but hers is irrational (for the concept of gaslighting, see Abramson, Manne, McKinnon), reproducing a gendered double standard for men's and women's anger (cf. Chemaly, Cooper, Traister).

The starkest rhetorical contrast between the anger of the poet-lover and that of the elegiac mistress occurs in the context of relationship violence. The *puella* is represented as passionately violent in her rage, striking both her lover and her rivals, often with little justifiable provocation. Her physical abuse is invariably feeble, sexualized, or both. In Propertius 3.8, the mistress's teeth and fingernails do no permanent damage to the lover, and the marks they leave are suggestive of the erotic bites and scratches left on the lover's body after sex. In contrast, the lover-poet often emphasizes his restraint in *not* reacting violently to his justifiable anger at his mistress. In Propertius 2.5, the lover-poet lists the physical abuses he will not commit against his mistress (striking her, ripping her clothes, breaking down her door), preferring to abuse her in his poetry instead. This *praeteritio*, however, effectively serves as a veiled threat of physical violence, a reminder to the mistress that the lover could hurt her if he wished.

Elegiac poetry is, of course, rife with stories of rape, assault, and relationship violence in the context of narratives that, while claiming that women assert a dominant position within the heterosexual relationship, actually maintain structural gender inequalities. Previous scholars have studied how Latin poets, even as they purport to reject traditional gender roles, prioritize male desire by violently silencing women's voices (Fredrick, Greene (1999 and 1998), James, and Richlin). Gender-based violence, as represented in elegy, serves to stifle the voices of women, producing narratives that remember male perspectives and dismiss women's. As I argue, the poet-narrator of elegy consistently gaslights his mistress, putting words in her mouth to present her as an angry woman whose rage is unjustified and irrational. He paints her as physically and emotionally abusive, even as his own rageful rants threaten her with implicit (and, sometimes, explicit) violence. With her outrage dismissed and her safety imperiled, it is no wonder that the elegiac mistress is angry.

Title: *Furor Frustrated: Policing Women's Anger in the Pseudo-Senecan Octavia*

Name: Mary Hamil Gilbert

Misogyny, as philosopher Kate Manne defines it, requires women to be the givers of what she terms "feminine-coded goods," such as sex, love, and children, and to shun "masculine-coded perks," like leadership, authority, and power. Its primary function within a patriarchal society is to punish women who renounce the role of perennial giver. Octavia seems to be just this sort of deviant woman at the beginning of her eponymous play. She refuses to provide Nero with sex, children, and affection out of anger at her brother's untimely death (108-14, 287, 537). By the end of the play, however, Octavia's anger is replaced with a docility more suited to her gender: she dreams of becoming a nightingale who weeps alone (921-23) and obediently boards the boat Nero has prepared for her execution (969-71). What happens to her abundance of rage (*dolor ira maeror miseriae luctus*, 176)? This paper takes seriously the claim that anger can be an empowering emotion for women (Chemaly, Traister) and proposes to elucidate the complex web of patriarchal trappings that bind Octavia's emotions in light of feminist writing on misogyny and suppression of women's anger (Carson, Lorde, Manne).

The first section of this talk argues that the misogyny of Octavia's nurse paves the way for Nero's violence against her person. When Octavia expresses in private her desire to kill her husband (174), the nurse is quick to remind her of what society expects of women: "Nature has not given you the courage (*vires*) [for revenge]...instead, win your hard husband over with submission (*obsequendo*, 175-77)." I suggest that our modern tendency to oversimplify the systemic function of misogyny has distracted from the nurse's complicity in the suppression of Octavia's anger. Furthermore, a focus on the Nurse's policing of Octavia's transgressive behavior reveals a tendency in classical scholarship to treat misogyny on an individual level, as a characteristic of particular men, as opposed to a complex socio-political system.

The second section of this talk considers how the recent deaths of Messalina and Agrippina inform Octavia's fluctuations between anxiety and anger. Patriarchal societies reward female obedience and raise some women up as models on the grounds that they advance patriarchal interests. However, because patriarchy defines women in terms of function, it treats women as interchangeable. Memories of domestic violence plague Octavia throughout the play (Ginsberg, Kragelund). In her opening monologue, for instance, she recalls the abused face (*oraeque foedo sparsa cruore*, 17) of her dead mother. Because Octavia's primary source of confidence comes from her distinguished lineage (e.g. 89), the murder of her female relatives together with the impending marriage of Poppaea to Nero shake her confidence by intimating her essential interchangeability.

This focus on misogyny from the perspective of its victims can also elucidate the way Nero's present treatment of Octavia effects Poppaea's dawning dread about her own situation (690-94), the final topic of my talk. Building on the well-established link between Poppaea's anxiety and the epiphany of Agrippina's ghost (Boyle, Dupont, Kragelund), I argue that Poppaea's nightmares also reveal that the public mistreatment of Agrippina and Octavia has limited her own emotional horizons. Like Octavia, Poppaea comes to suspect her own 'functionality' along with the uncomfortable truth that the progress of some women can intensify misogyny against others.

The swift extinguishing of Octavia's anger, followed by the extended portrayal of Poppaea's burgeoning terror, highlights the way misogyny can 'catch on' to powerful women (Beard) and instill terror in potential rebels. Even though there exist for Octavia and Poppaea models of effective, angry, (albeit less than perfect) women, this play suggests that the empowering effects of female anger were never really available to them. To the contrary, both women are best understood not merely as victims of a single, hateful man, but also as casualties of Roman society's misogynistic backlash against women who hold power.

Session 56: Lucan, Statius, and Silius

Title: Why Did It Have to Be Snakes? Animals, Knowledge and Dread in Lucan and Nicander

Name: Colin MacCormack

Scholarly treatments of Cato's encounter with the Libyan serpents in Lucan's *Bellum Civile* (9.607-949) have revealed it as one of the poem's most confounding and thematically dense sections. Over the last several decades, scholarship has highlighted how its engagement with various literary and allegorical traditions paint a complex, even subversive, portrait as Cato and his forces struggle across the desert (Johnson 1987, 35-66; Batinski 1992; Bartsch 1997, 29-35; Leigh 2000). Building on these works, this paper discusses how Lucan's snakes engage with Greco-Roman zoological traditions, particularly as represented in the most extensive and well-known poetic treatment of venomous serpents: Nicander's *Theriaca*. Whereas prior analyses of the two works have primarily concentrated on the extent to which Lucan drew ophiological knowledge from Nicander (e.g. Cazzaniga 1957), such an approach obscures their shared poetic features and aims. Through spectacular but horrifying presentations of snakes and their bites, both Nicander and Lucan similarly manipulate knowledge so as to construct uniquely dark and threatening poetic worlds. Beyond merely aping his Hellenistic predecessor, this paper argues that Lucan expands Nicandean aesthetics and themes, emphasizing the unknowability of nature and deadly consequences such ignorance brings.

The first section of the paper explores the stylistic and generic hallmarks surrounding venomous snakes in Nicander's *Theriaca*. While attuned to Hellenistic tastes, such as a heightened interest in "the particular," and heavy incorporation of technical learning (cf. Fowler 1989, 110-36), Nicander presents a decidedly darker world than the didactics of Aratus and Hesiod or the bucolics of Theocritus, as animals actively conspire to do harm (Sistakou

2012; Overduin 2014). Not only is the poem's natural world willfully malicious, Nicander deliberately deploys biological/zoological knowledge to impose a lingering sense of dread. In contrast to the 'unforeseen' (ἀπροϊδήεις) strikes which threaten would-be victims (cf. *Ther.* 2, 18), the poem furnishes readers with various 'signs' (σημα) distinguishing each species, with special care and attention devoted to graphic descriptions of their venom. For example, concerning the *haemorrhous* or 'bloodletter' (Σημα... αἱμορροῦ... ἐνίψω; 282), the reader learns exactly how their body will deteriorate if bitten. The poem, in hyper-realistic detail, describes how the venom enters the system, breaks down the body's integrity and causes progressively dire hemorrhaging throughout (298-308). By design, such knowledge does not just inform, but fascinates and terrifies.

The second section of this paper turns to how this tradition of snakes manifests in Lucan. Despite some overlap within and across species (Cazzaniga 1957), Lucan was not solely dependent on Nicander for zoological knowledge and Roman authorities, most conspicuously Aemilius Macer, probably also exerted significant influence (Courtney 1993, 107-9). Though pulling from a broader pool of material, the *Bellum Civile* nevertheless taps into an approach towards animals exemplified and likely popularized by Nicander. Like his Hellenistic predecessor, Lucan emphasizes colorful visuals and almost clinical detail, with heavy smatterings of gore. When a 'bloodletter' strikes poor Tullus, Cato must behold 'greater spectacles' (*maiora spectacula*) as his follower violently haemorrhages from his entire body (9.805-14). As Leigh (1997, 265-91) has shown, such scenes deliberately invoke spectacle and gladiatorial combat, creating a sort of inverse *venatio* wherein Cato becomes spectator to his men's deaths. Moreover, Lucan expands upon the Nicanderean contrast between seen and unseen, known and unknown. He overtly states the ascribed mythic aetiology behind Libya's serpents is false and 'no care or labor' (*non cura laborque*) can unearth its *vera causa* (9.619-23). Unprepared for his opponent, Cato can only watch as his men suffer unaccustomed deaths from surprisingly tiny wounds (*insolitasque uidens paruo cum uolnere mortes*; 9.736). It is only through the intervention of the Psylli, who alone know the necessary charms and medicines, that the Romans survive (9.890-949). Like in Nicander, such specifically curated knowledge works in deliberate ways. Juxtaposing graphic yet informed violence with the ignorance and overreach brought by civil war, Lucan's snakes craft an appropriately dark and intimidating world for his epic.

Title: A Requiem for Pompey in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*

Name: Andrew M. McClellan

The final 160 lines of Lucan's *Bellum Civile* 8 describe the makeshift funeral of the slain Roman general Pompey the Great on the Egyptian shore (8.712-872). The funeral is carried out by a follower of Pompey named Cordus who, despite his best efforts, makes a mess of things: the funeral is hurried, half complete, distorted, and ritually corrupt. Lucan belabors the perversion of Pompey's funeral, castigating Cordus with narratorial interjections bemoaning the manner of Pompey's ending. But these rites represent only part of a much larger picture of Lucan's extended requiem for Pompey. Despite all the attention given to Pompey's tragic demise (e.g., Schnepf; Narducci; Esposito; Loupiac, 167-72; Erasmo, 109-27; Galtier, Mebane), nowhere in Lucanian scholarship has anyone yet pulled together all of the features relating to his extended death rites. I here fill that gap. My method is to proceed through the poem, analyzing the ways in which Lucan highlights pieces of funeral ritual that serve to highlight the inadequacy of Pompey's actual funeral in Egypt. The focus of these extended rites is above all *absence*: Pompey will never receive the funeral imagined for him by the poet and his characters.

Many of these rites appear in the form of "negative enumeration," in which Lucan or his characters imagine a better set of circumstances for Pompey's funeral (for this rhetorical device, see Bramble, 52-3). I begin with the elaborate dream sequence at the start of Book 7, in which Pompey envisions being cheered by the Roman populace in his own theater. But this happy dream, an "empty apparition" (7.8: *uana... imagine*), which casts Pompey back to his youthful exploits, quickly degenerates into Lucan's own reminder of the realities of the present campaign (7.24-8), which precipitates a movement from joy to sorrow. The theater of applause becomes a theater of silent mourning, and the formerly joyous Roman audience is now imagined publicly celebrating its dead leader in a somber *funus publicum* with ritual lamentation. Thus, at the outset of the major battle of the poem (and the war) at Pharsalus, Lucan focuses on the public funeral for Pompey that will not take place (7.37: '[the people] *would have* wept for you'), positioning the reader chronologically *after* the battle and Pompey's defeat. The war, in other words, is a lost cause, and the poet's focus has already shifted to Pompey's impending solitary death and burial; the size of the imagined audience for the public ceremony highlights Pompey's striking funerary isolation in Book 8 (cf. also: 8.729-42, 806-22; 9.55-62).

I then demonstrate how Pompey's extended funeral takes on further permutations. In dialogue with earlier epic substitute funerals (Andromache's funeral rites over the absent Hector in *Iliad* 22 and Dido's quasi-funeral for the fleeing Aeneas in *Aeneid* 4), Lucan has Pompey's wife Cornelia perform a surrogate burial for Pompey using his garments, medals, and armor (9.174-9) as a counter to the rites performed by Cordus. Cato provides a eulogy *in absentia* for Pompey (9.190-214), an odd epideixis full of ambivalence and skewed praise. And Lucan warps the standard epic *topos* of the catalogue of troops by imagining Pompey's forces as arrayed not for battle but as participants in Pompey's funeral parade (3.290-2). These and various other funereal features, taken together, create a full picture of the sort of "grand" spectacle Lucan imagines Pompey would have received at Rome. Lucan, I argue, creates a multiplicity of funerals or funeral contexts for Pompey, none of which reflect the rites he actually receives. But in their fragmented, scattered state, these rites too feign propriety and recall the fragmentation of Pompey's own mutilated body and the body of the Republican cause he represents by synecdoche.

Title: *Velut Mater Agnoscens. Hypsipyle's Recognitions in Statius's Thebaid*

Name: Diana Librandi

Statius's *Thebaid* offers a paradigmatic case study of the negative effects of civil war on recognition. The enmity between Eteocles and Polyneices, in fact, feeds on the fact that in spite of their kinship the two cease to recognize each other as brothers. After all, both were born from a failed recognition, from the womb of a mother who fails to recognize that Oedipus is her own son. This paper argues that against the backdrop of the Theban saga in which failures of recognition are the norm, Hypsipyle stands out as a paradigm of successful recognition and, therefore, as a counterpoint to Jocasta's shortcomings.

The significance of Hypsipyle's cluster of recognitions remains largely unexplored in the scholarship (cf. in particular Vessey 1970 and 1973, Nugent 1996, Scaffai 2002, Casali 2003, Heslin 2016). Yet, it is notable that Hypsipyle performs three recognitions in the space of a single book (*Thebaid* 5). First, she recalls recognizing (5.268: *agnoui*) her grandfather Dionysus, despite his unusual and mournful appearance, when recounting to the Argives her attempt to smuggle her father out of Lemnos during the Lemnian women's slaughter of male kin; second, she recognizes the dismembered body of the baby killed by the Nemean snake as that of her nursling, Opheltes, a nefarious sight (5.592: *agnoscitque nefas*); third, she recognizes her long-lost sons, Thoas and Euneus, as she sees their faces, the signs of their shields, and the name of their father, Jason, embroidered in their cloaks (5.725-6: *ut uero et uultus et signa Argoa relictis | ensibus atque umeris amborum intextus Iason*).

After introducing Hypsipyle's recognition skills in the first scene (5.265-9), Statius extensively dwells on the character's maternal recognitions. Hypsipyle, a nurse with maternal feelings (5.608: *dulcis imago natorum*, 5.617-8: *ubera materna*), reacts at the sight of Opheltes' lifeless body as a winged parent whose little birds are devoured by a snake (5.599-601: *uelut aligerae sedem fetusque parentis...illa*). More importantly, in that she recognizes and collects the baby's scattered limbs (5.605), Hypsipyle acts like the mourning mothers of the *Thebaid* (3.126-132) and thus stands in stark contrast with Jocasta's conspicuous absence (12.331: *ubi mater?*) from the battlefield where the lifeless body of Polyneices waits to be recognized and buried. Hypsipyle's mastery over recognition in the third scene (5.715-730), especially in that it ultimately leads to reunification with her children, recalls by contrast Jocasta's inability to recognize her long-lost son Oedipus in spite of his speaking name. In a way that evokes Oedipus's search for his biological parents and his fortuitous arrival at Thebes, moreover, Hypsipyle's sons stop at Nemea by chance on their journey in search of their mother (5.715-30: *causa uiae genetrix*).

To read Hypsipyle's recognitions against Jocasta's mis(sed)recognitions adds nuance to the widely accepted claim that the Nemean digression and, within it, the Hypsipyle episode engage in programmatic ways with the *Thebaid* as a whole (Vessey 1973, Gibson 2004, Agoustakis 2010). The cluster of recognitions of *Thebaid* 5 casts Hypsipyle as the paradigm of the *mater agnoscens*, capable of generating a poetic space that allows for a reflection not only on recognition as a maternal duty, but also on the importance of recognition for averting civil war. The joyful encounter with her two long-lost sons, in fact, results from a type of recognition generally forgotten on the Theban fields, i.e. the mutual recognition between mothers and living sons, which, if performed by Jocasta, could have diverted the Theban fratricidal war from the start.

Title: Seeing Double: The Temporality of Theseus's Shield in Statius's *Thebaid*

Name: Jasmine A. Akiyama-Kim

In the final book of Statius's *Thebaid*, Theseus arrives in Thebes carrying a shield inscribed with an image of himself fighting the minotaur, a deed now firmly fixed in the past. The Thebans, terrified by the combined effect of Theseus and his shield, "see Theseus double, and double his hands soaked in gore" (*bis Thesea bisque cruentas/ caede videre manus*, 12.673-4). Theseus, however, "himself looking, remembers past deeds" (*veteres reminiscitur actus/ ipse tuens*, 12.674-5). I argue that these two different reactions to the ekphrasis on Theseus's shield encode the difference between Theban and Athenian temporalities and provide competing models for Domitianic Rome.

The fact that the Thebans see two Theseuses is significant. Thebes is a place where the past repeats itself (Zeitlin 1986); the mistakes of the house of Cadmus manifest themselves a second time in the house of Oedipus. Doubles, I suggest, result from and should be read as signifiers of this temporal circularity. For example, Oedipus takes on the dual identity of son and husband when he resows his mother's womb; in turn he is both father and brother to Polynices and Eteocles (for the womb as the site of doubling, see McAuley 2016). Both of these dual relations (son-husband, father-brother) prevent the mapping of temporal progression through generational difference. Oedipus's family tree and Theban time both continually return to their origins: actions that should be generative and progressive inevitably lapse back into the same familiar patterns. Although Theseus stands out as a singular figure in an epic full of doubles, the Thebans do not perceive him as such. Rather, they collapse the temporal strata that keep his past and present selves apart, and perceive the two Theseuses as existing simultaneously. But Theseus himself, as an Athenian, conceptualizes past and present in neat stratigraphic layers, which he differentiates as he progresses through time: one he remembers, and the other he perceives (cf. Zeitlin 1986 for Thebes as the anti-Athens, and Heslin 2008 for Athens as a paradigm for Rome).

Following a tradition of Latin ekphrasis that comments on Rome's own temporal patterns, I suggest that Theseus's shield ekphrasis poses the question of where, between Thebes and Athens, Rome might be situated. The two major ekphrases in the *Aeneid*, the *Thebaid*'s self-consciously identified predecessor, look in different directions: Dido's paintings (2.453-93) to the past and Aeneas's shield (8.626-731) to the future. Both, however, are best understood in retrospect as examples of "battles fought in succession" (*pugnataque in ordine bella*, 8.629) that punctuated Rome's foundation and early history, and question the extent to which its temporal narrative is progressive rather than repetitive. By the time Statius composed the *Thebaid*, Rome had confirmed its tendency to repeat old patterns, including a string of interchangeable emperors and reoccurring civil war. Eventually Domitian would become Nero's double, but before 93, he was still attempting to define himself in opposition to the last Julio-Claudian emperor and the civil wars of 69 (Rebeggiani 2018). Situated at a time when Rome had become self-conscious of its own temporal circularity, Theseus's shield ekphrasis becomes a mirror of a Rome that will either persist with cyclical (Theban) time, or forge an (Athenian) future meaningfully different from its past.

Title: Edible complex: Oedipus' appetites in Statius' *Thebaid* 8

Name: Alice Hu

Eating in the *Thebaid* should make us uneasy. From Tantalus' feast (1.246-7) to Tydeus' cephalophagy, meals gone wrong beget violence and suggest the breakdown of both social order (Coffee 2009) and the boundary between human and animal (Gervais 2015), illustrating the disorder and perversity prevalent in Statius' universe. This paper examines one such meal, and argues that the simile that Statius deploys within it contains disturbing implications of bloodthirstiness, bestial *furor*, and even cannibalism.

As the Thebans banquet to celebrate their success in war, an unexpected guest joins them: Oedipus, cleansed of his customary grime and apparently pleased at the victory, emerges from his underworldly lair to partake in the feast (8.240-54). Oedipus' brief appearance concludes with a simile: Oedipus eats with the Thebans in the same way that Phineus hesitatingly returns to his table and eats after the Harpies have been driven off (8.255-8).

In the first part of my paper, I trace the affinities this simile establishes between Oedipus and Phineus. Statius combines reference to Apollonius' and Valerius' accounts to emphasize similarities between the two characters: descended from the same ancestor, both are prophetic figures; both are punished with blindness and live in squalor; both delight in their eventual consumption of food (Lovatt 2015; Augoustakis 2016). Superficially, comparison with Phineus suggests Oedipus' reincorporation into society. But, I argue, Statius' characterizations of both Oedipus and Phineus also evoke his depiction of Oedipus in *Thebaid* 1: the experience of the blind Phineus accosted by the Harpies is evoked by the sound and sensation of feathery disturbance (8.258), which echoes the disturbance that the blind Oedipus perceives as the "cruel daylight of his life continues to flit around him with its relentless wings" (1.51-2). The repeated evocation of the Oedipus of *Thebaid* 1 works against the simile's apparent suggestion of Oedipus' rehabilitation and emphasizes the speciousness of his joy: Oedipus does not delight in the food, but rather that the spectacle of fratricidal *nefas* he requested is coming to fruition (8.251-2). Comparison with Phineus thus highlights the perversity of the real appetite underlying Oedipus' joy: Phineus longs only to eat, but Oedipus hungers for something different.

Next, I argue that the simile is also crafted to liken Oedipus to the Harpies themselves: the phrase *sceleris rimatur semina* confers distinctly bird-like associations on Oedipus (for *rimor* of birds, foraging for food: OLD s.v. 1; for *semina* as bird-food: Pliny *NH* 19.116.204, Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.484-5, *inter alia*). Statius' similes offer disturbing alternative interpretations: killers resemble their victims; hunters, the hunted; eaters, the eaten (Gervais 2015). Oedipus' bird-like characterization immediately precedes Statius' explanation for Oedipus' real enjoyment of the feast (*inde epulae dulces ignotaque gaudia vultu*, 8.254), suggesting all the more affinity between Oedipus and the Harpies: they eat not for their own enjoyment or nourishment, but rather out of desire to exact vengeance.

Finally, I show how Oedipus at the banquet resembles another bird-like beast with a vengeful appetite: the Sphinx. Gore smears their faces and encrusts their eyes as well as their hair and feathers; the real motive for Oedipus' joy is hidden (*causa latet*, 8.250), like the Sphinx's riddle (*et latuere doli*, 2.516); like the Sphinx's, Oedipus' true appetite goes unsatisfied (*inexpletam... alvum*, 2.518). The implication of these similarities between Oedipus and the human-devouring Sphinx is that Oedipus' appetite extends beyond the food in front of him: his appetite for violent spectacle, his sons' mutual destruction, is akin to an appetite for his sons' very flesh.

Oedipus' cannibalistic appetite foreshadows the atrocities of the coming war: Tydeus' death and Creon's exposure of Argive corpses. Moreover, *Thebaid* 7 and 8 see the re-entry of divine forces into the epic and stir up longstanding familial resentments among the Olympians. Oedipus' appetite for his sons recalls Cronus' consumption of his children and thus attributes to the gods and cosmos themselves the same dysfunctional appetites that consume the family of Oedipus.

Title: The Best Defense: Triumphal Geography and Empire in Silius's *Punica*
Name: Adam Kozak

Although Vergil's Jupiter promised *imperium sine fine*, Silius's Jupiter does not guarantee it and instead encourages the Flavian dynasty to preserve the integrity of Rome through expansion and the conquest of distant lands (*per uulnera regnum*, 3.588). Silius uses geography to communicate the victory of Scipio, who defeats Hannibal and ensures Roman *imperium*, and to praise the Flavian emperors in the *Punica*. Scipio's triumphal procession features representations of the places taken from Carthage and the *laudes Domitiani* in book 3 show Domitian triumphant over lands beyond the edges of the empire. By encouraging Domitian to expand Roman influence, Silius aims to recreate for Flavian Rome the invigorating challenge that Hannibal presented to the early republic. For Silius, war with external enemies directs Rome's destructive impulses outward and avoids the civil strife witnessed firsthand by the poet in 69 CE.

Scholars have come to recognize the importance of space and place (e.g. landscape and geography) in Latin literature and epic in particular (Murphy 2004, Skempis and Ziogas 2014). Studies of space and place in Silius's *Punica* have examined geographical knowledge in the poem (Bona 1998), landscapes (Augoustakis 2003, Morzadec 2009, Santini 1991, Šubr 1991), and natural phenomena (Manolaraki 2009). Furthermore, the *Punica* is influenced by the contemporary realities of Flavian Rome (Mezzanotte 2016, Wistrand 1956) and, as Marks (2005) has observed, Silius' *Punica* creates a Vergilian-style teleology with the past intimately connected to the present.

However, the role of geography in constructing this teleology has not been given enough attention. Geography defines Scipio's victory and connects his triumph with the Flavians' military achievements.

In *Punica* 3, Jupiter declares that Rome has declined but the hardships endured in the war with Hannibal will make Rome strong enough to continue to expand (*quo maxima rerum / nobilior sit Romam malis*, *Pun.* 3.584-5). He states that Vespasian will found a new dynasty that will conquer distant places on the edges of the empire and that Domitian will celebrate a triumph after conquering Germany and will one day subdue Bactria and India (*ab Arctoo currus aget axe per urbem / ducet et Eoos Baccho cedente triumphos* 3.614-5). This prophesied conquest of the east is not empty panegyric, but rather aspirational. The Flavians' expansion of the empire is the culmination of the teleology that Silius constructs in the poem.

The triumphal geography of Domitian's victories echoes Scipio's defeat of Hannibal and his triumph at the end of the poem. As Scipio kills Hannibal's soldiers at Zama, Silius summarizes the places they had conquered (Saguntum, Italy, the Alps, 17.491-502) that Scipio symbolically retakes by defeating Hannibal. Scipio scatters Hannibal's troops to the ends of the earth and is compared to Vesuvius spreading Italian ash across the world (17.592-596), a powerful image of the spread of Roman power. Later, in his triumph, Scipio parades images of places in Africa and Spain, representations of the conquered Carthaginian lands that have now been brought under Roman rule (*uictas tendens Carthago ad sidera palmas / ibat*, 17.635-6). His triumph parallels the military exploits of the Flavians seen in Jupiter's speech in book 3. By portraying Scipio's victory in geographic terms Silius recalls the exploits of the Flavians and intimately connects them. This suggests that just as Scipio needed Hannibal, the Flavians must seek their own Carthage against which to test themselves and with which to strengthen Rome. It is especially significant that Silius' Jupiter does not promise *imperium sine fine* but rather *imperium* for a long time (*longo aevo*, 3.593). Therefore, expansion must be Rome's substitute for a defensive stance toward outside forces. The only alternative is self-destruction and civil war.

Session 57: Science in Context

Title: Greek Mathematical Traditions

Name: Laura Winters

Ancient Greek mathematics has been associated for centuries with the systematic, deductive style of Euclid's *Elements*. The strength of this association has tended to obscure the variety of ancient methodological and stylistic practices. In this paper I shall argue that this variety is not a happenstance result of individual authorial preferences, but that there were two distinct intellectual traditions within ancient Greek theoretical mathematics, each with its own stylistic conventions, problem-solving methods, epistemological priorities, and even preferred vocabulary. Despite their long history and broad cultural penetration, these intellectual traditions have not been recognized as such, largely because of the impact of late ancient philosophy on the transmission of mathematical texts and the telling of mathematical history.

We can see the contours of the two intellectual traditions in a pair of telling examples. Two mathematicians of the third century B.C., Apollonius of Perga and Archimedes, each wrote a work detailing a method for making calculations with very large numbers (i.e. numbers greater than one hundred million). Archimedes' *Sand Reckoner* is known for its preservation of a heliocentric astronomical model of Aristarchus, but Apollonius' unnamed work is preserved only as a fragment in Book II of Pappus' *Synagoge*, and has garnered relatively little attention. Both use a verbal shorthand to express numbers too large for existing notation, but in every other way they are dissimilar. Apollonius works in the same tradition as Euclid: he presents a series of distinct propositions without specific numbers, proving general arithmetical principles (Pappus clarifies these with numerical examples). At the end of the work, Apollonius illustrates his method through the calculation of the numerical value of a hexameter verse in which each letter represents a number. Archimedes, on the other hand, presents his material in a continuous narrative that is framed by a specific problem, that of calculating the number of grains of sand required to fill the universe. Demonstrations of general principles are rare, and are interspersed with specific calculations and methodological discourse. Aside from the differences of structure, the two works use differing vocabulary, methods of calculation, and styles of presentation.

Works of the tradition that Apollonius is a part of are characterized by systematic structuring of the text, formulaic presentation of the material, strong concern for generalizing principles and exhaustive treatment of a subject area, and an idealized, non-physical conceptualization of mathematical objects. This tradition was heavily informed by Pythagorean and Platonist philosophy. In fact, Apollonius' calculation of the hexamer is an example of the Pythagorean practice of number mysticism and prophecy through arithmetic. Archimedes, by contrast, is part of a tradition that is more flexible in structure and presentation. They are characterized by a problem-based approach to mathematics rather than a proof-based approach, preferring clever and efficient solutions to the formulation of general principles. They tend to conceptualize mathematical objects more physically, subjecting them to measurement, motion, and other types of specification.

These two traditions sharply differentiated Greek schools of thought on mathematics from the classical period into late antiquity. Their cultural influence extended far beyond the boundaries of mathematical treatises, into poetry, music, religion, and the other sciences. During late antiquity the homogenizing tendencies of encyclopedic compilation and neo-Platonist philosophy among scholars blurred the distinctions between the schools, and the tradition of Euclid and Apollonius came to eclipse that of Archimedes. Modern scholars have inherited a history of Greek mathematics that is in many ways more reflective of late antique scholarly activity than of ancient categories of thought. In recognizing the two traditions, we have the opportunity to examine our own narratives about mathematics and its history with a clearer understanding of their origins, to reassess the impact of philosophy and scholarship on mathematical conventions and methodology, and to illuminate the true variety of ancient mathematical practice.

Title: Themistocles, Pericles, and Anaxagoras' trial for studying astronomy
Name: Richard Janko

The biography of Anaxagoras (500–428), the greatest scientist of antiquity, has long been hotly contested, without any consensus being reached. There is doubt over (1) his link to Themistocles, (2) which thirty years he spent in Athens, and (3) the date of his trial for impiety after the decree of Diopieithes had outlawed astronomy. His biography is of extraordinary importance for the history of science, for Greek religion and for 5th-century Athenian politics in equal measure. I will argue that the tangle over it can be resolved by settling three points.

1. Anaxagoras' original patron was Themistocles, but only after the latter had been exiled from Athens and gone to Asia Minor in *c.*464 as a "Medizer", ingratiating himself with the newly enthroned Artaxerxes I. Themistocles set Anaxagoras up in Lampsacus on the Hellespont, one of the towns that had been given him by the Great King, after Anaxagoras had famously "predicted" the fall of the meteor that landed at Aegospotami nearby in 466/5 bce (this meteor-shower was spun off from Halley's comet, and other rocks landed at Abydos and Potidaea). Anaxagoras acquired pupils there like Metrodorus of Lampsacus. This will explain why Pericles sent Anaxagoras to Lampsacus after his trial in 430 (did he still own a house there?), and why Anaxagoras was accused of Medism (D. L. 2. 12, citing Satyrus F 16 Schorn).

2. After Themistocles' death, Anaxagoras went to Athens in 460/459, to become Pericles' mentor, and stayed there thirty years, i.e. until 430/429. The period of thirty years relies on D. L. 2. 7 and the determination below of the date when Anaxagoras was exiled from Athens.

3. On August 3, 431, Pericles was a trierarch in an expedition against the Peloponnese led by Carcinus and others when the sun was totally eclipsed as the fleet was in the Piraeus. Plutarch relates that his helmsman was afraid to continue because of the evil omen, but Pericles tried to dispel his fear by holding his cloak in front of his face, relying on Anaxagoras' explanation of eclipses (Plut. *Per.* 35. 2–3). The expedition sailed and returned successfully. Pericles led a similar expedition against Epidaurus a year later, which failed badly; Plutarch has conflated the two expeditions (Stadter 1989). The troops' return coincided with the virulent outbreak of plague in Athens, with the results that Thucydides records. People recalled the incident with the helmsman, and there was religious hysteria against Pericles and his mentor. This movement was lent legitimacy by the seer Diopieithes; the latter's decree banning astronomy targeted Anaxagoras specifically, evoking him by its use of the Ionic term *μετάρσια* instead of *μετέωρα* (Plut. *Per.* 32. 1). Anaxagoras was flogged, jailed and half-starved in jail, presumably because the plague was going on. While he was in jail, Pericles personally brought him the news that his sons had died (D.L. 2. 13,

citing Hermippus), again presumably of plague. He was prosecuted by *both* Thucydides son of Melesias (back in 433 from his ostracism of 443, as comedy attests) and by Cleon (D. L. 2. 12, quoting Satyrus and Sotion respectively); they worked together to undermine Pericles by pointing to his "atheistic" mentor, in the pattern of earlier trials of Pericles' friends, notably Pheidias, whose trial began only in 432/1 (Bakola 2011, relying on Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 121). Late in 430 Pericles shipped his older friend back to Lampsacus, where, exhausted and depressed, the great scientist soon died. The fate of Galileo comes to mind.

The argument will rely on close analysis of the sources for the Aegospotami meteor, for Anaxagoras' trial and imprisonment, for the eclipse of 431 and expeditions of 431–430, and for the decree of Diopeithes.

Title: From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern: Polemon and the Ontology of Passion
Name: Andrew Scholtz

What is passion, yours, mine, anyone's, when others start to care about it? Polemon's *Physiognomy*, a book treating the body as a window into the soul, prompts that question. For Polemon has much to tell us not just about passion itself, but also about the "how" and "why" of observing it in others. Yet his book has had little impact on research into a topic of abiding interest over the past several decades: the passions — desire, envy, etc. — in the Greco-Roman world. Most scholars working in that area focus on subjectivity: how individuality, identity, and personhood were produced, performed, and perceived (e.g., Bartsch; Foucault; Beneker; Halperin; Connolly). Polemon, I suggest, illuminates a different side of passion: how it lived not simply inside but between subjects. Passion for Polemon, once it enters the shared discourse of witnesses, once it *matters* to them, acquires significance, presence, and force it never had before.

Marcus Antonius Polemon (c. 90–146 CE) was one of the foremost sophists of his day and wrote a much admired *Physiognomy* (Arabic, Latin, Greek witnesses, translation: Swain and Boys-Stones 329–635). For Polemon, as for other physiognomists, the body conditions temperament and passion, which in turn motivate action. But temperament and passion also give rise to bodily "tells" that Polemon teaches his readers to "read." How do those tells function as signs?

For help, I turn to Latour's distinction between matters of fact and matters of concern. Matters of fact, like individual data points, give only a partial rendering of reality. When facts gather into meaningfully integrated things, when they connect with our lives, then we are dealing with matters of concern. Consider Polemon's vast catalogue of bodily signs. The outward manifestation of character and affect, those signs do not produce meaning on their own. Rather, meaning comes from how observers both connect them (Swain and Boys-Stones 369, 81, 83) and connect *with* them. And Polemon's second-century readers would have connected with the idea of being able to read the tells of potential rivals, enemies, indeed, anyone with whom they will have had dealings (cf. Swain).

There are, however, other ways for people to connect, specifically, with emotion and its signs. Consider Polemon's account of a woman whose sudden and otherwise unforeseen misfortune he foretells from her face and movements (Swain and Boys-Stones 457). To Polemon, she offers an opportunity to demonstrate to an "astonished" bystander the power of his art; to readers, the spectacle of a bereaved mother overcome with grief. For when she strips herself naked, her grief in a sense goes public, and the crowd intervenes to cover her up. Then there is the "man from Corinth." This man, Polemon's *locus classicus* for the "cunning, suspicion, envy, and jealousy" associated with small, hollow eyes (Swain and Boys-Stones 361–65; cf. Adamantius *Physiognomonica* A12 = Swain and Boys-Stones 506), embodies all the malice and antisociality endemic to rivalrous passion (Swain and Boys-Stones 363; cf. Pl. *Phil.* 48b; Gal. *De prop. an.* 5.35.11–12; Alciphron 2.27.3). But the reality of it all does not fully sink in until Polemon's Corinthian happens upon the physiognomist and others conversing about him and his faults. Terrifying the group and confirming their suspicions, he confesses and breaks into tears.

Finally, I discuss a passage devoted to Polemon's archenemy, Favorinus (Swain and Boys-Stones 377–79 with notes). Outwardly feminine, a slave to greed and lust, a huckster sophist corrupting the crowd, Favorinus does not just embody vice; he spreads it to others. Note the rhetorical cast of this choice bit of invective. Yet this and other similarly epideictic performances in Polemon's treatise (cf. Von Staden on Galen) highlight, if anything, how passion impacts observers and *vice versa*. In ancient Greek sources, *phēmē*, "common report," confirms reality by

making entire communities witnesses to its truth (McHardy). In Polemon, the *phēmē* of witnesses — bystanders, perpetrators, physiognomist, readers — concretizes what makes another's passion matter to "us."

Title: The Medical Context of Galen's *Protrepticus*

Name: Jonathan Reeder

This paper examines Galen's engagement with the Empiricist school of medicine in his protreptic treatise, commonly known as *Exhortation to Study the Arts*. I argue that Galen composed this work in order to express his vision of how one comes to obtain medical knowledge, thereby attacking the Empiricists' reliance on experience (*empeiria*). Furthermore, as a key feature of medical knowledge and the very practice of the art, the concept of *logos* assumes a central role in the treatise and thus elucidates the author's choice of protreptic inasmuch as this genre fully showcases the power of *logos*. My analysis thus seeks to complement recent studies of Galen's intellectual context and the manner in which he contributed to the medical disputes of his time (Hankinson 2008, Gill, Whitmarsh, and Wilkins 2009).

It has long been recognized that the treatise predictably exhibits many of the characteristics of philosophical protreptic (see Barigazzi 1991, Boudon-Millot 2000). What has been less well appreciated, however, is Galen's inclusion of the *Protrepticus* in the list of his works which deal with the Empiricist sect (*On My Own Books* 9), an inclusion complicated by the fact that he never directly mentions the Empiricists or their doctrines in the treatise. And so I suggest that his praise of *logos* in the first five chapters serves to distinguish his concept of the medical art from that of the Empiricists.

Whereas the Empiricists were famous for dismissing the need for a rational account (*logos*) of the cause of diseases or even of human anatomy (see Celsus *On Medicine, Pro.* 27-44; Galen *On Medical Experience* 5), Galen insisted on the necessity of both *empeiria* and *logos* in performing medicine. Accordingly, he grants *logos* the full epideictic treatment in the beginning of his *Protrepticus*. In the opening chapter, Galen presents his concept of *logos* as that process which links memory with language, thus connecting humans with the divine. Following his description of human beings as rational (*logikos*) animals, he presents the ekphrasis of Fortune (Tychē) and Hermes and their respective bands of adherents. Hermes is granted the title "lord of *logos*," thereby connecting the ekphrasis with the theme expounded in the opening of the treatise. Later, the Galen portrays Hermes as the god of all *technai*, further strengthening the relationship between *logos* and *technē*.

As we read in *On Sects for Beginners* and *On Medical Experience*, Galen maintained that the Empiricists depended on Fortune rather than upon true *technē*. This conflict incited him to present a work in which both *technē* and *logos* receive epideictic treatment. The *Protrepticus*, therefore, is not as much intended as a protreptic essay alone, but it is better understood as Galen's engagement with divergent medical views via the protreptic genre. Thus both the content and form of the text receive thorough investigation, thus laying the groundwork for further examination of the text's generic structure.

Title: Gendering the Brain in Ancient Medicine

Name: Jessica L. Wright

This paper explores how Hippocratic authors described gender differentiation in the brain and its malleability. It further examines the consequences of gender differentiation in discourses surrounding two brain-based illnesses: phlegmatic flux, caused by moisture in the brain, and prominent in Hippocratic texts; and phrenitis, caused by dryness of the brain, and prominent in late antiquity, when it played a significant role in discussions of the relationship between body, brain, and soul (McDonald; Wright; Thumiger), I show that catarrh was gendered feminine, while phrenitis signified hyper-masculinity, and I suggest that by analyzing narratives about these illnesses in light of the gendering of brain substance in ancient medicine, we can draw out latent understandings about the malleability of gender at the level of the brain, and anxieties about its management.

Building on studies of the brain in ancient medicine (Lo Presti; Rocca; von Staden; Wright), as well as on analysis of gendered bodies in Hippocratic and Galenic medical theory (Dean-Jones; Flemming; King 1998; King 2013), I

demonstrate that the female brain, like the female body in general, was wet, while the male brain was dry. There were two co-existing explanations for this difference: (1) female bodies were phlegmatic, and phlegm was a wet humour; (2) (adult) male brains were dried out through sexual intercourse, which drained them of moisture in the production of seminal fluid. In other words, the gendered quality of the brain, as signified by the loss of hair, could be shaped through sexual activity. The gendered brain was plastic, not only in response to regimen (drying foods dry out the brain, and vice versa), but also in accordance with the assumption of expected gender roles. Eunuchs, as the ancient truism had it, do not go bald ([Arist.] *Prob.* 10.57).

The most common brain pathology in Hippocratic medicine is catarrh, or the flux of phlegm from the brain (e.g. *On the Sacred Disease*). Catarrh led to ulceration, putrefaction, seizures, and delirium. It was caused by excess phlegm, and was therefore particularly associated with the female bodies. That is to say, the most common disease of the brain was an excess of female qualities (moisture, phlegm), leading to loss of bodily control and reason. A drying regimen was required for women, and for any men of phlegmatic constitution, in order to curb their brain's tendency to leak into their blood-vessels and other organs. Through catarrh, brain became a site for managing the threats of a feminized body.

In late antiquity, the most prominent brain disease was not catarrh, but phrenitis. Phrenitis—acute fever with acute delirium—was caused by the brain becoming too hot and dry. Among Christian authors it was associated especially with the hyper-masculinization of extreme ascetic practice. Phrenitis gave the body unusual strength by drying out and so toughening the brain and nerves. In the same way, extreme ascetic practice was thought to give both body and soul extraordinary strength that masked fatal disease. If the brain could be masculinized through sexual activity, it could also be masculinized through ascetic practice; but, as was standard in ancient regimen, balance was key, and the extent to which the individual “masculinized” their brain needed to be carefully controlled.

This paper demonstrates that the brain was a central site for negotiating gender in ancient medicine. In particular, it explores how gendered differentiation of brain substance prompted the development of disease discourses that regulated the adoption of a proper regimen, in order to avoid hyper-feminization or hyper-masculinization and the madness that might follow. I suggest that the shift in focus from flux to phrenitis was motivated by shifting gender dynamics in late antique Christianity, where it was (at least rhetorically) acceptable for women to masculinize their bodies through ascetic practice, but where there was also a pressing need to curb the excesses of ascetic austerity and the spiritual and political power that it could attract.

Title: Viewing Cultures in the Letter of Aristeas

Name: Max Leventhal

The *Letter of Aristeas* is a Hellenistic work narrating the translation of the Torah into Greek at the behest of Ptolemy Philadelphus. It is important for the study of Hellenistic Judaism (it describes the Septuagint's production) and for Hellenistic Greek literary culture (it describes the Alexandrian Library). Despite its importance as a historical source, it is under-appreciated as literature. This is largely due to its perceived deceptiveness as a pseudepigraphic document (Hody 1684; Meecham 1932, 133-71; Hadas 1951, 5-9), which has held scholarly focus on the question of its historical accuracy. Recent attempts at redressing this neglect – (Honigman 2003, Chapter 4; Wright 2015, 6-15) – continue to obsess over its historicity. In this paper, I argue that the *Letter* is a sophisticated literary product and that a focus on its structure, motifs, and allusions provides us with a deeper understanding of how Graeco-Jewish authors related to the overlapping Greek and Jewish cultures in which they operated.

I exemplify my argument by examining how the *Letter* relates Greek and Jewish cultures of viewing objects. The *Letter* describes the gifts given to the Jerusalem Temple by Ptolemy, the Temple itself, and the Judean environs. This highly visual passage occupies roughly 70 chapters (§51-121; of a work containing 320 chapters) but has been considered a mere digression (Murray 1975) or a rhetorical display filling out the narrative or else producing *poikilia* (Honigman 2003, 17). More recently, Jane Heath (2013) has shown that its language corresponds to a Hellenistic lexicon of artistic production and also relates this to more well-known Greek, poetic *ekphrases*. This paper, more specifically, shows how the author describes Jewish artworks as adhering to and even surpassing Greek aesthetic principles, but also how they present aesthetics as inseparable from ethics. Jewish objects are figured as

succeeding by combining Greek aesthetics with Jewish ethical concerns. I show this by focusing on two central interests of the descriptions.

First, I consider the *Letter's* engagement with Greek conceptions of artistic realism. Particularly important is Zeuxis' and Parrhasius' competition to paint the most realistic scene: the anecdote is preserved by Pliny (HN 35.65-6) but assuredly Hellenistic. I show that the contrast of the gifts' realistic crafted vegetation (§70) and the Temple's billowing curtain (§86) draws on the contrast of Zeuxis' realistic grapes and Parrhasius' realistic curtain. The *Letter's* inversion of the Greek scheme, namely that the curtain is real and not painted, however, challenges the idea of artistic realism *tout court*. This Jewish take on realism is underscored, moreover, with the vegetation and the curtain being moved by breath (*πνεῦμα*, cf. §70 and 86), an ekphrastic trope in the Greek tradition more commonly used to praise realistic figured images and statuary seemingly imbued with 'spirit' (cf. e.g. *A.P.*9.724, 740, 146, 150).

Second, I look at the *Letter's* response to Greek ideas of artistic measure and proportionality. By comparing the descriptions with texts such as Polyclitus' *Canon* (40 A 3 D.-K.) and Posidippus' ekphrastic epigrams (67-8 A.B.) I show that the gifts and the Temple are both described in terms of proportionality. The differences between the descriptions, however, highlight how cultural approaches to measure and proportion have serious ramifications for state configuration: Ptolemy's disproportionately large gifts and swollen Alexandria (§52-5, 108-11) are contrasted with Jerusalem's measured altar and city plan (§87, 105). The ethical aspect of these divergent approaches to proportion are subsequently spotlighted by two passages in which the material form of the gifts and the Temple are related to prescriptions from Exodus (§56, 87). The quintessentially Greek idea of measure, in other words, is adhered to in the *Letter* only by the intervention of Jewish Law.

This analysis of the *Letter* contributes to three areas of scholarship: 1) it provides further evidence of Hellenistic prose's vitality; 2) it reveals the interests of the Jewish viewer of Greek art; 3) it identifies additional complexities within the cultural polemics surrounding Jewish literature written in Greek.

Session 58: Global Receptions

Title: "Learned Poetry," Modernist Juxtaposition, and the Classics: Three Case Studies

Name: David Wray

Hugh MacDiarmid (1892-1978), David Jones (1895-1974), and Louis Zukofsky (1904-1978), born roughly a decade after the great modernist triumvirate of Joyce, Pound, and Eliot, each wrote poems in which classical learning imposes a significant presence. Of their further common attributes, most obvious is a hybridized ethnocultural identity that productively discomfited each poet's relationship to the English language. The poetic project of each included developing a special language for poetry, lexically polyglot and spatiotemporally cosmopolitan. Each wrote at times in what might be called a literary creole, but also, to use MacDiarmid's ("Towards a Synthetic Scots," in *Contemporary Scottish Studies* [Manchester 1995] ed. Alan Riach 368-73) term, a "synthetic," one, instancing language itself as an artifact of poetic making. Their poetic theories as well as their poems are informed by thoroughgoing if fraught aesthetic commitment to a modernism of difficulty and complexity in the Joycean-Poundian mode. At the level of form, we find this commitment manifested through the common presence of juxtaposition, a modernist technique used in practice by each to produce epiphanic flashes of simultaneity, and underwritten in theory by an idiosyncratic allegiance to a set of ideas related to Joyce's (R. Ellman, *James Joyce* [Oxford 1983] 557) dictum that "in the particular is contained the universal." Juxtaposition turns out to be, for each of these three late modernist poets, a major, highly productive, and often surprising mode of classical reception.

As poets of classical learning—a learning largely autodidactic in source and resolutely poetic in its modes of knowledge production—MacDiarmid, Jones, and Zukofsky exemplify a relation to Greco-Roman antiquity in which sustained attention to detailed particularity amounts to something richer than mere antiquarianism. They share the belief that some verbal artifacts, from classical sources and elsewhere in the history of the human species, contain a portable, reactivatable power to represent shared human experience and thereby actualize a human community across time and space. What grounds this belief is no version of the familiar high modern talk of transcendent civilizational norms but rather a set of convictions about the significances activated through the process of human making.

This paper studies a characteristic passage from each of the three modernist poets exemplifying juxtaposition as a poetically enlivening mode of classical reception. MacDiarmid's late poem "Direadh III" (*Complete Poems* vol. 2 [Manchester 2017] 1186-93), recounting its speaker's mountaintop experience on the Isle of Skye where he reviews and recapitulates his life's work as Scotland's modern poet, features an moment where his attention is captured by the particular motion of a bird in flight. This perception gives the speaker an inexplicably powerful sense of knowing and sharing the bird's experience of liberation, and only after the speaker has identified this sense as originating in the distant memory of some lines from a chorus in Euripides' *Hippolytus* does the juxtaposition of the two impressions produce an epiphanic effect that radiates through the rest of the poem. David Jones' 1937 long prose poem *In Parenthesis* (New York 1961) a war narrative written in a stream of consciousness roaming across Celtic as well as Roman and Christian symbology, begins and ends with a set of illustrations juxtaposing elements of Jones' own traumatic lived experience of combat in the first world war alongside Latin verses from the Vulgate Bible depicting ecstatic visions of apocalypse. And in Louis Zukofsky's poem "A"-12 ("A" [Baltimore 1978] 126-261) composed in the 1950s after the death of the poet's father, the line "P.Z. still remembers the day 'Aristotle' died" (164) juxtaposes a set of experiences (the poet's son Paul, his grandfather's namesake, giving the nicknames "Plato" and "Aristotle" to a pair of balloons) and affiliations (Zukofsky's lifelong passion for Aristotle's philosophy) to a set of convictions about poetry's power to activate the kind of epiphanic simultaneity that the verse itself enacts.

Title: Frank Snowden at Naukratis: Revisiting the Image of the Black in Western Art
Name: Christopher Stedman Parmenter

Between 1960-76, the Houston-based Menil Foundation undertook the monumental publication of *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, a 10-volume series tracing depictions of people from Africa between 3,000 B.C.E. and the present. The series took what was then the bold position that race was a sociological construct; in the general introduction, its editor Ladislav Bugner noted that "any preliminary definition of the 'Negro'" (1976.1.3) had to be arrived at contextually, rather than through fixed anthropological or biological criteria.

This paper explores the role of the African American classicist Frank M. Snowden Jr.'s contribution to *The Image of the Black* in continuing to set the agenda for the study of race in antiquity. As early as 1947, Snowden had laid out the argument that a) black people were recognized as a distinct 'racial' category by Greeks and Romans, known as 'Ethiopians;' b), Greece and Rome were 'white' societies; and c), black people did not suffer from systematic discrimination or bias (1970.1-21, 1976.133-35, 1983.1-17).

Snowden was a deeply conservative figure. His politics had been challenged by student protestors at Howard University in 1968; scholars have noted his continued reliance on the same biological definitions of race disavowed by Bugner (Keita 1993, Tanner 2010, McCoskey 2012). Yet his contribution to *The Image of the Black* solidified his legacy, particularly among white scholars. The Menil Foundation produced a sequel to his chapter (Karageorghis 1988) and his work was repeatedly cited Martin Bernal's critics (1987-2006). Snowden's scathing defense of his work from critique by other black classicists (Snowden 1990 on Thompson 1989) ensured that it remains authoritative even in the 2010s (e.g. Gruen 2011).

Snowden's 'Ethiopian' thesis precariously balanced unresolved tensions between his arguments that Greeks and Romans recognized 'blackness' as a racial category but that they never developed systemic racism. He located the entrance of the 'image of the black' into Greek consciousness in the settlement of Naukratis in the Nile Delta after 620 B.C.E. There, migrant Greek craftsmen produced naturalistic depictions of the locals for export to the wider Mediterranean. The most spectacular instance of these were the 137 molds for manufacturing faience amulets in the shape of 'African' heads; examples have been found as far away as Spain and Ukraine (Snowden 1976.140; cf. Gorton 1996, Masson-Berghoff 2018).

The case of the head amulets offers a good illustration of the immediacy of Snowden's impact. Head amulets circulated widely during between the 8th-6th cents. B.C.E.; usually found in the graves of infants or children, their artisans freely borrowed from Assyrian and Egyptian depictions of outsiders, the faces of whom might have been believed to be apotropaic (Reyes 2001, O'Connor 2003, Bahrani 2006). Up to the 1970s, scholars frequently identified these in racially-neutral language like "tête d'homme" (Perdrizet 1908.25), "tête à bonnet" (Vercoutter 1945.95), "Form eines menschlichen Kopfes" (Zazoff 1983.69), or "tête masculine" (Clerc 1991.67). But

increasingly after 1976, Anglophone and Francophone scholars defined all head amulets as ‘African’ regardless of appearance, citing Snowden’s work as the final word (Givon 1978.90-91, Boardman 1991.161, Gorton 1996.123, Masson-Berghoff 2018.8-10). In claiming a place for blacks in a (white) artistic canon, Snowden quickly fossilized the “image of the black” in terms set by him.

I contextualize Snowden’s intervention in terms of the politics of black classicism during the first half the twentieth century. Studies of African American classicism between c. 1860-1960 have shown how the vision of a ‘colorblind’ Greco-Roman antiquity allowed exceptional individuals like Snowden to insert themselves into the conceptual world of the white elite (see essays in Orrells, Bhabra, and Roynon 2011, Hairston 2013, Malamud 2016). Snowden’s ‘Ethiopian’ thesis was a rearguard action defending these visions from a militant younger generation who questioned the viability of elite ‘race leadership’ in advancing the cause of equality. Restoring politics to Snowden’s antiquity offers a way of understanding the complex interplay of race and ethnicity in ancient societies beyond the ‘great man’ approach to intellectual history.

Title: Norse Gods in Tyrkland: The Manipulation of the Classical Tradition in Snorra Edda

Name: Kathleen Noelle Cruz

In the early 13th century, the Icelandic poet and politician Snorri Sturluson composed his *Edda* (now known as the *Prose* or *Snorra Edda*) while part of the court of the Norwegian king Hákon Hákonarson. The *Edda* promises to allow its student to become a master of an archaic style of Scandinavian poetry and begins with a genealogical account of Scandinavian rulers. In this account, Snorri focuses his attention on “the middle of the world” (*miðri veröldinni*), or Troy (*Trjóa*, now *Tyrkland*). Among its rulers are Priam (*Priamr*) and his descendent Thor (*Pór*) (ch. 4). Snorri later edits his own genealogy and fully asserts that the Norse deity Thor is in fact the same as Hector of Troy, and not only that, but one can attribute the great stories of Ulysses to the god Loki (ch. 54).

Scholars have had mixed reactions to Snorri’s bold claims both of Scandinavian royalty’s descent from a Trojan line and of Hector and Ulysses being equivalent to Thor and Loki. While some have observed only an example of the larger trend found in medieval histories of locating the origin of one’s nation in Troy (Faulkes 1982), others have rejected one or both of these passages as inauthentic and the fault of later editors (Brodeur 1916). They have also been dismissed as scholarly entertainment, either for Snorri himself or later interpolators, and as linguistic games (e.g., Thor being found in *Hec-tor*) that ought not to be taken seriously (Lorenz 1984).

In this paper, I argue that these passages, and in particular the associations Snorri draws for Thor-Hector and Loki-Ulysses, are purposefully chosen through similarities between their contemporary mythic profiles. I do so by comparing Snorri’s pairings with the iterations of Hector and Ulysses we find in our greatest source for medieval Iceland’s conception of the Trojan narrative, *Trójumanna saga* (*The Saga of the Men of Troy*). Scholars have noted that *Trójumanna saga* is a clear adaptation of the 5th or 6th century *Daretis Phrygii de excidio Troiae* (Eldevik 1987 and 2004), but the significant changes to the Latin text made by the saga author, I contend, both mirror the priorities of Icelandic culture found in other texts of this period and, more importantly, make the connections of Thor-Hector and Loki-Ulysses more explicit and defensible. In particular, *Trójumanna saga* repeatedly emphasizes Troy’s immense fortifications and Hector’s role as their defender in a way that neatly parallels Thor’s position as the protector of Asgard’s walls throughout *Snorra Edda*, and the saga’s invented speeches concerning Ulysses and Ajax flesh out both Ulysses’ wily, loquacious character and its very real consequences: an inherent point about Loki’s nature throughout the *Edda*.

After establishing the Icelandic connections between Thor-Hector and Loki-Ulysses, I conclude by arguing that this serious approach to Snorri’s use of the classical tradition also allows us to better understand what value the classical tradition had for medieval Scandinavia and its political players. Building on Kevin Wanner’s (2008) work understanding *Snorra Edda* as a piece of cultural capital, I argue that these scattered allusions to the Troy narrative are strategically placed to appease the changing literary interests of King Hákon. King Hákon’s reign notably shifted away from royal appreciation of traditional Scandinavian poetic styles – including the very kind of verse that the *Snorra Edda* aims to teach – in favor of the classically inspired literary tradition of southern Europe. Snorri’s attempts to connect Hákon’s line and office with classical antiquity in the *Edda* thus represents an effort to appease a

classically-interested reader while still remaining a composer of a traditional, Scandinavian art form. In other words, Snorri's use of the classical tradition is a direct response to, in his view, an infringement of the classical onto the Scandinavian, and the *Edda* introduces the classical only as a way to halt a complete usurpation of its literary landscape.

Title: Dreaming of Hector in the Brazilian Neoclassical Period: Conceptualizing 'Window Reception'

Name: Adriana Maria Vazquez

In this paper, I offer a case study in classical epic reception that focuses on an episode in José Basílio da Gama's 18th century Brazilian neoclassical vernacular epic *O Uraguai* that I argue is intertextually informed by the description of Aeneas' dream of Hector in the second book of Vergil's *Aeneid*. José Basílio da Gama (1740-1795) was a Brazilian poet and statesman educated in the classical tradition at the University of Coimbra in Portugal and who later became a member of the Italian learned society called the Arcadia Ultramarina. His most important poetic production was his neoclassical epic *O Uraguai*, the national epic poem of Brazil, which describes scenes from the War of the Seven Reductions (1754-1759); in it, the poet champions the cause of the Tupi-Guaraní native Brazilian populations against Spanish and Portuguese expansionists seeking to extend their dominion over South America. The epic can be considered a Brazilian 'epic of the conquered', to borrow David Quint's terminology (Quint 1993), and clearly displays the influence of the antique epic tradition (cf. Pinheiro Chaves 1999).

In the passage in question, the Amerindian hero Cacambo is visited in sleep by his slaughtered comrade Sepé. The description of this visitation borrows language and imagery from the Latin original in a bilingual intertextual relationship across languages, with the clearest relationship established around the vision of a formerly great hero. Basílio da Gama's description of the ghost of Sepé is precisely analogous to that of Hector given by Vergil. A close comparison demonstrates the bilingual echoes available:

quanto diverso do Sepé valente, que...

How different he was from that courageous Sepé, who...

-Basílio da Gama, *O Uraguai*, 3.51-2

quantum mutatus ab illo | Hectore qui...

How changed he was from that Hector, who...

-Vergil, *Aeneid*, 2.272-3

The intertext is an activation of what is already in Vergil a receptive moment, insofar as the episode in the *Aeneid* allusively responds to the Homeric epic tradition, and generates metapoetic readings of the episode in the *Uraguai* in a chain of receptions that capitalizes on epic as a poetic genre which works against its closure and for its continuation (Hardie 1993). Such an activation provides the occasion for Basílio da Gama to meta-receptively set his poem in an epic tradition first established in antiquity and subsequently imagined for the New World by European metropolises.

I then demonstrate that the passage is also engaged intertextually with a passage from Luís Vaz de Camões' 16th century Portuguese epic *Os Lusíadas*, the national epic of Portugal describing the colonization of India by the explorer Vasco da Gama, in ways which comment on the status of both texts as markedly distinct receptions of Vergil's *Aeneid*. The Vergilian engagement of Basílio da Gama's *O Uraguai* reacts against the Vergilian engagement of Camões' *Os Lusíadas*, which takes the Roman epic as a model for and justification of colonialism. The Brazilian poet engages the *Lusiads* metapoetically as source material in a Lusophone epic tradition chronicling Portuguese colonial expansion, but also responds to it ideologically as a vehicle for colonialist justification, refuting the colonialist mandate of the Portuguese by offering a pessimistic reading of the *Aeneid*, available to receptions of

the *Aeneid* beginning as early as the 15th century (Kallendorf 2007). Philological methods and textual interpretation thus become the stage for ideological debate around the merits and costs of colonialism.

Such a case study represents a methodologically original approach to reading reception that triangulates between an ancient source, an intermediary receptive text, and a target receptive text. By such a methodology, I identify a topos in receptive texts that I am calling ‘window reception’, in which receptive texts comment on their status as receptions in direct dialogue and competition with earlier receptive texts.

Title: “Keep quiet! You can’t even read Latin!” The satirical purpose of Western Classics in Natsume Sōseki’s *I am a Cat*.

Name: James R. Townshend

The study of the reception of Greek and Roman antiquity in Japan (and East Asia more generally) is a growing field exploring both the creative use of this material in modern cultural artefacts and the history of Greek and Roman studies as a discipline (for both, see most recently Renger and Fan 2018). This paper explores how the Japanese novelist Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916) incorporates references to ancient the Greek and Roman world into his first novel *I am a Cat* (*Wagahai wa Neko Dearu*). I argue that Sōseki’s use of this material has literary and thematic point—that it contributes to his satire of middle-class intellectuals in the Meiji period and the contemporary shift away from traditional Confucian education towards western academic practices, a particular preoccupation in his writing. Moreover, it sheds some light on the diffusion of Greek and Roman material among the “educated elite” and so can inform our understanding of the development in Japan of “Western Classical Studies” (*Seiyōkotengaku*) as a discipline.

Sōseki was familiar with Greek and Roman Antiquity. In the preface to his *Theory of Literature* (*Bungakuron*), he remarks that he studied Latin for three years. Latin was a required subject in the English department at Tokyo Imperial University (Taida 2018: 81). He was also on good terms with Raphael von Koeber, a Russian-born German philosopher who came to Tokyo Imperial University in 1893 and pioneered the study of Latin and especially Greek in Japan (Notsu 1996: 108–109; Taida 2018: 82–83; Marcus 2009: 163–166 on the relationship with von Koeber). There is therefore a solid basis for Sōseki’s familiarity with Greek and Roman material. Von Koeber’s influence would also explain the strong philosophical tenor of much of the references. There is also evidence of his awareness and consultation of secondary materials in English (Gonoji 2016).

I am a Cat reflects satirically on the habits of Meiji “intellectuals.” The novel is narrated by an unnamed cat in the house of Kushami, a middle-school English teacher who doesn’t really understand English. The cat reports the many conversations of Kushami’s circle of friends including Meitei the “aesthete” (*bigakusha*) and Kangetsu, a former student of Kushami and doctoral candidate who is now said to have surpassed his old teacher. The Greek and Roman material—literary, historical, and especially philosophical—ranges from unattributed anecdotes to direct citations. For example, during a conversation about death by hanging in chapter 2 Meitei refers to a story about a “Greek” who would give hanging demonstrations at dinner parties. Subsequently, Kangetsu states that the first recorded use of execution by hanging occurs in the *Odyssey*. He declines to recite the passage, but does provide the correct book and line numbers (*Od.* 22.465–473). According to Kushami and Meitei, reciting the Greek would just be showing off, but the cat remarks that neither man can actually read Greek. Nor can they read Latin. In chapter 11, Meitei and Kushami consider the Latin phrase *quid aliud est mulier nisi amicitiae inimica*. Each asks the other to translate it, but both deflect until Meitei changes the subject. But when Meitei tells an embarrassing story from Kushami’s student days, Kushami tells him to shut him up, adding “you can’t even read Latin.” Sōseki satirizes these men by highlighting how their failure to understand the language does not prevent these men from deploying material from Greek and Roman antiquity against those they believe to be their intellectual inferiors. The Latin phrase in question is quoted in Thomas Nashe’s *Anatomy of Absurdity* and later in the same episode the men return to that book’s collection of ancient Greek and Roman indictments of women and marriage. This suggests that although some individuals could and did consult original texts (like Kangetsu and the *Odyssey*), for many their knowledge was likely mediated through translations and other secondary sources.

Session 59: Cicero

Title: A Farewell to Arms? Cicero's *Pro Fonteio* and the Shortage of Commanders in the Republic's Last Generation.

Name: Noah A.S. Segal

Cicero, in his defense of M. Fonteius, rests significant argumentative weight on the idea that Fonteius should be acquitted because men with military experience were in short supply. The speaker contends that although in the past the Republic had enjoyed an abundance of capable military leaders, in 70 BCE it was allegedly difficult to find such a man inside or outside of the Curia. Some scholars (e.g. Balsdon 1939; Steel 2012, 2013) acknowledge the seeming shortage of commanders in the first century BCE, but it is most often mentioned in passing and with no discussion of its extent or impetus. My paper offers a way to test Cicero's claim and measure the decline in military experience among the republican aristocracy. Moreover, this study finds that the reasons provided by Cicero for this trend (civil war and political violence) are ones we should take seriously. Finally, once we have a better sense of the nature of this trend, I discuss the significant implications these findings have for some of most popular historical narratives (e.g. the rise of Pompey and Caesar as "military dynasts") regarding the Late Republic.

My examination of the shortage of commanders is divided into two halves. The first examines pre-consular command experience among the consuls of 81-49 BCE. This sample is ideal for two main reasons. By examining consuls in this period, we are dealing with a relatively well-attested sample of subjects. Further, our traditional understanding of republican political culture is that most men who reached the consulship would have already shown some command ability as a military leader. Yet, in the period in question just over half of all consuls – so far as we can tell – had held any *imperium* prior to their term in office, a lower-than-expected number. Even more important in Cicero's rhetoric and more crucial to our understanding of the period is the claim that the amount of such men was in decline. Therefore, I compare the evidence from 81-49 BCE with similar examinations of pre-consular command experience from earlier periods of republican history and find that the evidence supports the narrative in the *Pro Fonteio*. The second half of my paper examines the causes for this decline cited by Cicero: civil war and political turmoil. The generation prior to Cicero dealt with a large number of crises which, upon closer examination, does seem to have resulted in an unusually high rate of attrition amongst the aristocracy – particularly among military men. When we engage this trend with the aristocracy's decreasing interest with military service, the challenge facing the Republic's last generation seems formidable indeed.

These findings have significant implications for how we understand not only the *Pro Fonteio*, but more broadly the political culture of the Late Republic and the narratives surrounding its final crisis. I examine two major points of interest. First, the resiliency of the republican aristocracy and its ability to replenish its military ranks has featured prominently in discussions of Rome's success since Polybius. But given that the evidence presented here points to a failure by the aristocracy of the Republic's last generation to replace those lost previously, we should consider what role "elite manpower" played in the turmoil of the Ciceronian age. Even more salient to the evidence in this paper, we must also reconsider how we view the long and repeated commands of figures like Pompey and Caesar. Often these *extra ordinem* commands have been seen as self-serving power grabs by politico-military dynasts who upset the Republic's fragile political equilibrium in pursuit of the immense prestige which accompanied leading Rome's legions (eg. Mommsen *StR* 1.94-5, 2.647-62; Syme 1939 *passim*; Hopkins 1978: 92ff). If, however, the aristocracy of the Late Republic was struggling to fill the positions necessary to lead the legions in its expanding empire, then we could see these extended positions as addressing a pressing societal need.

Title: When Being a Man Just Isn't Enough: A Modified Forensic Defense in the *Pro Ligario*

Name: Ky Merkley

While the conclusion of the *Pro Ligario* and the imagery of Caesar as *parens* is often cited as a point of divergence from Cicero's other forensic oratory (Drumann; Walser; McDermott; Lintott), I assert that Cicero, in fashioning his judge into a figure sympathetic to his cause, is following his customary forensic defense. Before the *Caesariana*, Cicero provided the *iudex* with an opportunity to prove that he was a *bonus vir*. With Caesar as dictator, fashioning the *iudex* into a *vir* is no longer appropriate, so Cicero appropriates the stronger imagery of a *parens*. Not only does

the image of *parens* apply the social constraints governing the use of *potestas patriae*, but Cicero, who himself used the title *parens patriae*, is offering Caesar a chance to take up the same benevolent mantle.

The process of interpreting Caesar as *parens* lies at the heart of the debate concerning how to interpret *Lig.* This passage (*Lig.* 30-1) has encouraged some to cast the whole of *Lig.* as political stagecraft, a *deprecatio* merely posing as forensic oratory [Quint. *Inst.* 5.13.5; Craig 1984; Notari; Drumann]. However Montague and McDermott have argued that *Lig.* should be read as standard forensic oratory. Adding to Montague's reading of *Lig.*, I submit an analysis of how Cicero's use of the term *vir* both in forensic speeches prior to Caesar's dictatorship and in the *Caesariana*. Previous analysis has broadly demonstrated to what extent Cicero is particular in assigning the term *vir* (L'Hoir, Goldberg). My analysis shows that Cicero's use of the term *vir* markedly changes after his consulship and again during the dictatorship of Caesar. Prior Ciceronian forensic defenses routinely employed the term *vir* in tightly regulated clusters that bind the *reus*, *iudex* and *patronus* into a collegial partnership (analyzing Cic. *Mur.*, *Sull.*, *Planc.*, & *Cael.* [following Craig 1981]. I note that in the *Caesariana*, Cicero's use of the term *vir* shifts; Caesar is never referred to as a *vir* but rather Pompey and the Pompeians are *vir*. This semantic shift could help explain why Cicero employs the term *parens* within *Lig.* For since *Lig.* employs the marked forensic strategy of fashioning the *iudex* into a friendly ally, so fashioning Caesar into a *clemens parens* merely is an intensification of his prior strategy—more apt for the autocratic dictator than the equality implied in being a *vir*.

Additionally, Cicero's choice of casting Caesar as a *parens* rather than a *vir* introduces an even more intriguing subtext. While the use of *patria potestas* demands *clementia* from the *pater* and could be an example of Cicero providing an additional social constraint to Caesar's actions (Roller; Lacey), standing in the background of Caesar and Cicero's dialogue is the title *parens* (or *pater*) *patriae* (Stevenson 2000). A number of different threads all hint that Caesar was already pondering accepting the title when Cicero delivered *Lig.*: the importance of *pater patriae* in Caesar's later identity (Stevenson 2009); Caesar's cultivation of *clementia* among his fellow citizens (Stevenson 1992); the Julian gens attempt to claim ownership of the state religion (Stevenson 2009); Caesar's apparent expectation of the title *pater patriae* (Plut. *Caes.* 60; Stevenson 2007); Cicero's own *corona civica* and all its associations with *pater* (Stevenson 1992). Such a preponderance of evidence makes any moment where Cicero calls Caesar *parens* deserving of more careful analysis.

By implying the *pater patriae*, Cicero advances his own program rehabilitating Pompeians and mending a broken republic, while Caesar receives recognition as a benevolent superior who can mitigate some of the damage caused to his own *persona*. Reading the *Pro Ligario* as forensic oratory, modified to better speak to Caesar's unique position as dictator, strengthens Montague's reading and provides further evidence that *Lig.* is best understood in relation to Cicero's other forensic speeches.

Title: Irony in Cicero's Letter to Luceius
Name: Joanna Kenty

For those who perceive Cicero as vain and megalomaniacal, his letter to the historian Luceius (*Fam.* 5.12), suggesting that Luceius should write a history of Cicero's consulship, is exhibit A. I argue that this letter was meant to be read as ironic, an erudite joke shared amongst friends, rather than as a serious demand. Cicero's treatment of Luceius as a reader and as an author in his own right is particularly rich in double meanings and potential ambiguity, which encourage Luceius not to view the letter as a transgression of decorum. I argue that it is essential to acknowledge and fully understand this use of irony if we are to use the letter to Luceius as evidence for Cicero's attitude to historiography, as many scholars of ancient history have done. It is still possible to read the letter as an impudent request transgressing social norms, but it is also possible to read it as a joke, and Cicero treads the line between them so that we cannot discern his intent one way or the other.

Cicero certainly was looking to commemorate his consulship and his defeat of Catiline's conspiracy, and wrote several works in several genres and two languages to pursue that goal (Dugan 2005, 2014). I would not go so far as to argue that he would have dissuaded Luceius from writing such a history, if he had expressed a desire to do so. However, Cicero himself did not see his request to Luceius as demeaning, nor did he attempt to hide the fact that he had written it. On the contrary, he described this letter as "valde bella" - "quite smart" or "clever" - and wished it to be shown to a wider audience as evidence of his wit (*Att.* 4.6.4). Cicero was well known for his wit and humor in his

lifetime (*Pro Murena* and *Pro Caelio* are good examples, and *De Oratore* contains theoretical discussion), and some of his correspondence, particularly the letters to Trebatius Testa and Thrasea Paetus, is written in an obviously comedic mode. I argue that the letter to Luceius is best read as reflecting this jocular persona as well. Cicero also anchors the letter in the social conventions of politeness, witty repartee, and friendship to encourage Luceius to play along with the joke (Hall 1998, 2009). He intertwines flattery of Luceius and praise of historiography with self-praise, making it impossible for Luceius to interpret the letter as evidence of Cicero's admiration without also affirming Cicero's achievements.

I argue that Cicero's characterization of Luceius' style as a historian, his contempt for emphasizing pleasure and entertainment over truth, is directly and intentionally contradicted by the history of his consulship Cicero pretends to want. All of the reasons Cicero gives for why Luceius should write this history are actually reasons why Luceius would refuse to do so, because they would add up to the style of historiography he has rejected. This is irony at work: Cicero makes Luceius an offer he cannot accept, knowing full well (and demonstrating his knowledge) that his proposal is an absurd one. Throughout the letter, Cicero uses the techniques of irony and *oratio figurata* to subvert the superficial, apparent meaning of the letter and to lead his reader toward an ironic reading instead.

Cicero's assessment of the letter as *valde bella* employs aesthetic criteria more often associated with Catullan poems than with epistolography (Krostenko 2001). The letter is filled with rhetorical figures and artistic ornaments (particularly hyperbole), flourishes which exhibit Cicero's technical mastery and convey confidence and nonchalance rather than humiliation. This combination of artistry with a playful, even irreverent persona also shares many features with Catullus' nugatory poetry, and the letter can thus be analyzed using the philological techniques often applied to the poems, including the evaluation of the authorial persona and ironic text as literary constructs separate from the historical figure.

Title: Creating *familiaritas*: Cicero's letters of recommendation of 46-45 BCE

Name: Jeffrey Easton

The large corpus of Cicero's letters is invaluable for the insight it offers into the volatile period of the Late Republic. Scholars have long recognized these letters' prosopographical value and their potential to illuminate the political tensions of the period (e.g., Hall 2009) and to reveal Cicero's genuine sentiments (e.g., Shackleton Bailey 1971; Wilkinson 1982) and his tangible and symbolic generosity as a patron (e.g., Déniaux 1993). Letters of recommendation represent a particularly interesting category in the corpus. The Latin term *commendatio* nicely encapsulates the mixture of letters under this rubric, which consists of recommendations, introductions, and requests for assistance on someone's behalf. It should be noted that this type of correspondence was the most public that Cicero produced. Eighty-three such letters are collected in *Fam.* Book 13, according to the manuscript tradition, while a couple of dozen other recommendations are appended to letters found elsewhere in *Fam.* In all, it is estimated that recommendations constitute approximately 10% of Cicero's overall correspondence with friends and associates (White 2010: 46).

Leaving aside issues of thematic organization by the ancient compiler(s) or letters missing from the collection, a focus on the chronology of the discrete recommendations in *Fam.* 13 produces an intriguing result. Of the eighty-three letters written in the period 59-44 BCE, over half, forty-four, were composed in the two-year period of 46-45. This prolific epistolary output in such a short span of time merits closer examination.

Peter White (2010: 46-51, 127-30) has remarked that in cataloguing the recommendations in *Fam.* 13 the compiler(s) of the manuscript may have sought to demonstrate how well-connected Cicero was within the networks of the Roman elite and subaltern groups: he advertised his posture as patron to the latter and his capacity to call on favors from the former. This technique of 'triangulation' between beneficiary and addressee is particularly fruitful when applied to our case-study of the recommendations of 46-45, a period that was characterized by a unilateral power structure in which Caesar wielded unrestricted authority under the title of dictator.

In this paper, I offer a close reading of a selection of letters of recommendation from these two years against the backdrop of the social and political status of the recipients and *commendati* of the letters. The recipients, and in some cases the subjects, were affiliates of Caesar and served in important positions in the dictator's regime. The

analysis reveals that Cicero was engaged in much more than making recommendations, sometimes bland ones, on behalf of friends and clients. He manipulated the text of the letters in order to promote his own interests to magistrates who owed their positions to their loyalty to Caesar (cf. White 2010: 83). Cicero's project relies on deploying conventional epistolary language, placing himself at the crux of each letter, exploiting genuine or contrived close personal connections (*familiaritas*), and invoking common literary interests and life experiences. I argue that the desired outcome of this strategy was to ingratiate himself with Caesar's regime by reminding his readers of his reconciliation with Caesar and by declaring his support of the dictator's position. In turn, Cicero could both rely on the support of these powerful allies and hope that word of his pro-Caesarian sentiments would flow back to the dictator himself. This conclusion raises the possibility that Cicero was attempting to reengage in Roman politics in a period when many scholars believe he had voluntarily withdrawn from public life.

SEVENTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS

Session 60: Sisters Doin' it for Themselves: Women in Power in the Ancient World and the Ancient Imaginary (Organized by the Women's Classical Caucus)

Title: If I say that the Polyxena Sarcophagus was designed for a woman, does that make me a TERF? Identity politics and power now and then.

Name: Catherine M. Draycott

When it was discovered in 1994, the surprisingly elaborate Polyxena Sarcophagus, decorated on all four of its sides with relief sculptures mostly comprising female figures, was immediately assumed to be the burial monument of a female living in the Granikos Plain on the south shore of the Propontis in about 500 BC. Subsequently, sexing of the bones found within the sarcophagus concluded that the occupant was a male – an 'inconvenient truth,' as Richard Neer has said. This presents a kind of reverse scenario to that of other burials, most obviously the Viking warrior burials where sexing of bones has determined the deceased was of female sex (if not 'gender'). Scholars are now divided over whether the sarcophagus was originally designed for a woman, and subsequently used for the burial of a man, for various potential reasons, or whether it was made for a man in the first place. Neer has attempted to show how the iconography of the reliefs can be read to work for male identity.

Another possibility is that the iconography is gender neutral, which if so would be unusual and therefore significant for the cultural history of occupation in the Granikos Plain area. This paper describes the sarcophagus and puts it into the context of seemingly gendered funerary art of its time, but rather than simply arguing the probability that it was made for a woman, the primary aim of the paper is to raise the question of what is at stake in gendered interpretations of this monument and break the academic fourth wall by discussing how I as an interpreter feel the 21st century implications of weighing in on a monument made over 2,500 years ago. In trying not to impose binary gender structures onto the past, is there a risk of imposing modern gender fluidity onto the past instead, and in doing so inadvertently undermining the role and presence of women in places like the Granikos Plain? And does the idea of 'women's power and place' in the ancient world demand binary gendering that intersects with the thoroughly 21st century TERF debate?

Title: Breaking the Glass Ceiling: Ptolemaic Faience and the Limits of Female Power

Name: Alana Newman

The obstacles facing women today such as under-representation in administrative positions, sexual discrimination, and social inequality have sparked a global debate about what kind of power women can possess and the boundaries of their power and agency. Encouraged by this conversation to reflect on the often-elusive relationship between women and positions of authority, this paper will investigate the roles royal women were allowed to play in Hellenistic Egypt by examining the representation of Ptolemaic queens on faience oinochoai.

Faience oinochoai are a type of wine jug made of glazed non-clay ceramic material, a precursor to glass, typically blue-green in color. The surviving oinochoai include 148 intact jugs and fragments, 30% of which were discovered in Alexandrian cemeteries. The remaining find spots are either unknown (10%) or identify the city in which the jugs were found: 45% in Alexandria, 9% in cities of Lower Egypt, and 4% in cities outside Egypt. They are decorated

with portraits of Ptolemaic queens from Arsinoë II to Cleopatra I (c. 275–176 BC). The scene on the vase's belly shows a woman standing between two pillars; she holds a libation bowl in one hand and a cornucopia in the other. An inscription often identifies the woman by her cultic and royal titles, thereby indicating she is depicted as both goddess and queen. Moreover, preliminary analysis of oinochoai show the women are illustrated simultaneously as suppliant, elite woman, and wife as well.

Scholarship on oinochoai is limited with the exception of Dorothy Burr Thompson's monograph, which catalogued the surviving artefacts. Further analysis of the oinochoai is not only overdue, but also provides an important opportunity to examine female power and agency in the ancient world because they are uniquely gendered objects. Indeed, the faience oinochoai are the only portrait media that exclusively depicts queens. As a handheld, practical object made of inexpensive material, it is interesting that the decoration on the oinochoai is reserved for queens.

The oinochoai as a medium starkly juxtaposes other royal portrait media such as gold and silver coins, marble statues, and gemstone cameos. Not only are oinochoai made of non-precious material, but their iconography is complex and polysemic. In a single image, then, the oinochoai convey the many gender roles of Ptolemaic queens. Thus, these jugs are accessible vectors for multi-faceted messages of female power during a time often considered restrictive for women.

This paper aims to define the gendered social performances depicted on the Ptolemaic oinochoai. By utilizing Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity, it is possible to determine the ways in which royal women held power in Hellenistic Egypt. Butler's theory helps to establish a vocabulary for female power that is linked to the gender roles practiced by Ptolemaic royal women. While there are multiple gender roles conveyed by the iconographic and epigraphic evidence on the oinochoai, this paper will limit its investigation to two main roles: auxiliary power as queens and religious power as priestesses. By identifying these two main roles, it is possible to characterize the authority of Ptolemaic women in the religious, social, political, and domestic life of the kingdom and thereby contradict the traditional view that Hellenistic queens did not hold influence independently of their husbands.

Title: Cornelia's Connections: Political Influence in Cross-Class Female Networks

Name: Krishni Schaeffgen Burns

This paper explores the potential existence of female social networks that stretched across class barriers to give women of all stations the ability to influence politics during the Roman Republic. It will build on the work of scholars such as Richard Bauman (1990), Judith Hallett (1984), and Emily Hemelrijk (1987), who have established that women in high socioeconomic positions acted as political intercessors between their powerful male relatives and other Roman women. The hypothesis is founded on various events from the Roman Republic, including the Lex Oppia protests (Livy 34.8.1-3) and Veturia's intervention with her son, Coriolanus (Livy 2.391-40.12, Val. Max. 5.2.1). The paper will use Tiberius Gracchus' land reforms of 133 BCE as a case study in how such a network would have functioned.

During the middle of the second century BCE, the women of the rural Italian farming communities were suffering as much as their male counterparts from the exploitation of their urban landlords. At the time, there was a relative disconnection between the Roman countryside and urban areas which allowed the Senate to ignore the abusive conditions. In fact, Plutarch cites a pamphlet circulated by Gaius Gracchus that claimed that Tiberius became aware of the problem by chance, when he traveled through Italy once on his way to Numantia (Plut. TG 8.7). Although the story is improbable, it does suggest that members of the urban elite only passed through the Italian countryside at irregular, unpredictable intervals.

Unlike their menfolk, the women living in rural Latium would have had regular, predictable access to Rome's elite matrons. Members of the *ordo matronarum* who had only had one husband, *univira*, travel to the temple of Fortuna Mulieribus at least once a year to fulfill their religious obligations to the goddess (DiLuzio 2016, Scullard 1981, Schultz 2006). Cornelia, mother of Tiberius Gracchus, was a *univira* of considerable status and would have been involved with the rites of the cult of Fortuna Mulieribus. Rural plebeian women would have had an excellent opportunity to approach the *univirae* during their priest(ess)ly rites (Richlin 220).

As a Tribune's mother, Cornelia would have been especially sought after as an ideal spokeswoman for a primarily plebeian cause. In performing her duties at the rural shrine of the goddess, Cornelia would have been the most politically influential woman to come into physical proximity with plebeian countrywomen. She was certainly held to have exercised considerable political authority through her two sons (Barnard 1990, Bauman 1994, Dixon 2007, Hallett 2006). Emily Hemelrijk (1999) has demonstrated that Cornelia would have directed her sons' education and influenced their rhetorical style, and Plutarch cites a number of instances in which Cornelia is said to have influenced her sons' political actions (TG 8.2, 5; CG 4.1-2). Plutarch even cites reports that Cornelia urged Tiberius to propose his land reforms.

Plutarch suggests that Cornelia supported the reforms in order to increase her son's reputation, but a legislative campaign that helped the least powerful members of Rome's community would hardly have added to the family's prestige. Instead, I propose that Cornelia was fulfilling her sociopolitical function as intercessor on behalf of the women of the rural community. The combination of accessibility, influence, and social responsibility coupled with a lack of evident reward makes it much more likely that Cornelia would have acted on behalf of the women affected than for personal glory.

If Cornelia was indeed the source of the Gracchan land reforms as Plutarch suggests, she was promoting them at the request of other Roman women who had less direct access to policy makers. When Cornelia urged reform, she was not lobbying for her own preferred policies; she was using her privileged position to raise up her more marginalized sisters.

Title: Always Advanced By Her Recommendations: The Vestal Virgins and Women's Mentoring

Name: Morgan E. Palmer

The Vestal Virgins served as power brokers with the ability to advance individual careers, and inscriptions from the atrium Vestae attest to how they assisted others. Amelius Pardalas credits the Vestal Campia Severina with using her influence to secure his prestigious military position (CIL 6.2131), and the imperial financial administrator Quintus Veturius Callistratus reports that he got his job "by her vote" (suffragio eius, CIL 6.2132). Additionally, literary sources describe how the Vestals influenced Roman politics (Cancik-Lindemaier 1990; Scardigli 2003; Wildfang 2006; DiLuzio 2016), as well as their interactions with women from the imperial family (Lindner 2015). The extent to which the Vestals used their considerable power and authority in service to other women deserves more attention. Senior Vestals served as mentors to younger Vestals who entered the order between the ages of six and ten (Aul. Gell. NA 1.12.1-2). Removed from the ordinary cycle of a woman's life and housed together in the atrium Vestae, the Vestals were not just "Sisters Doin' For Themselves," but also "Sisters Doin' For Each Other." This paper will examine literary and epigraphic evidence for the important and under-recognized role of women's mentoring in the Vestal priesthood.

First, I will discuss the Vestal Virgin Aemilia, who convinced the goddess Vesta to rekindle the fire after her younger mentee accidentally let it go out (Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.68.3-5). As Chief Vestal, Aemilia could have left her student (discipula, Val Max. 1.1.7) to take the blame, ensuring that her own service as a Vestal remained above suspicion. Instead, she used her distinguished record to negotiate with Vesta, protecting her pupil while taking full responsibility for her role as the young woman's supervisor.

Next, I will suggest that this literary example may be contextualized with inscriptions honoring the Vestal Virgins as mentors and advisors. An inscription dedicated by the Vestal Octavia Honorata in honor of her distinguished Chief Vestal Virgin mentor, Flavia Publicia, reports that she was "always advanced by her recommendations" (eius admonitionibus semper provecta, CIL 6.2138). Flavia Publicia was honored with several inscriptions (Frei-Stolba 1998), and another monument commemorates her advancement through "all of the ranks" (omnes gradus) of the priesthood (CIL 6.2135). This inscription was dedicated by the parents of a junior Vestal who highlight the potential of their daughter, Terentia Rufilla, thereby encouraging Flavia Publicia to take an interest in mentoring her. A later inscription confirms that Terentia Rufilla followed in the footsteps of her distinguished mentor, achieving the rank of Chief Vestal (CIL 6.2143).

Additionally, the Vestals assisted women outside of the priesthood. Aurelia Epiphana, who is described as a *clarissima femina*, honors a Vestal with an inscription recording how she was “helped and protected (or advanced) by her kindnesses” (*beneficiis iuta adqu[e] prot/prov]jecta*, CIL 6.32425; Mekacher 2006). These examples illustrate that the Vestals served as distinguished advisors while contributing to a powerful network of women mentoring and promoting women in ancient Rome.

I will conclude that the Vestal Virgins have contemporary relevance, as they illustrate how those who have advanced “through the ranks” have a responsibility to use their power in service to women. The future of the Vestal order depended on a continuous cycle of priestesses who worked to train, promote, and protect those who were just entering the priesthood. Chief Vestals such as Aemilia took this duty seriously, and Vestals such as Octavia Honorata recognized and appreciated the work of their mentors. Their efforts ensured that the Vestal priesthood would continue to prosper, and parallel the best practices of contemporary mentoring (cf. Johnson and Ridley 2018). Inscriptions attest that the mentoring relationships were reciprocal (cf. Duff 1999), as the younger Vestals also promoted those who had mentored them, creating monuments which give the impression of a thriving priesthood. Although inscriptions honoring the Chief Vestals commemorate their own personal advancement, the true measure of their legacy was the continual success of the women whom they mentored.

Title: Chiomara and the Roman Centurion
Name: Jessica Clark

Ancient and modern historians have had no difficulty finding things to do with Roman rapes. We have places for Rhea Silvia and the Sabine women, for Lucretia, for Boudicca and the anonymous women objectified on trophies, coins, and monuments. An intriguing exception is the case of Chiomara, a Galatian of high social status taken prisoner by a centurion in the aftermath of a Roman military victory in 189 BCE. In Livy’s version of the story, the centurion follows ineffective persuasion with successful violence, and Chiomara subsequently exploits his greed for money to arrange her ransom and then, dramatically, the removal of her rapist’s head for presentation to her bemused husband (38.24.1-11). Valerius Maximus (6.1.e2) and Plutarch also relate the tale (Mor. 258E-F); Plutarch adds the detail that Polybius met Chiomara later in her life, in Sardis, and admired her qualities of mind.

Scholarship on women, war, and sexual violence has not neglected Chiomara, though her story remains little known. She features in reconstructions of Polybius’ travels (e.g. Walbank 1972: 6-7; Eckstein 1992: 399-400) or in explorations of Livy’s moralism and methods (Ratti 1996; Freund 2008; problematically, Walsh 1955: 378-79). She has also received attention because of her identification as a “Celtic princess” (valuably, Péré-Noguès 2013). This latter impetus towards the collectivization of powerful women - and thus their reduction to types - has paradoxically generated the greatest interest in, but the least individual attention for, Chiomara. Beyond classifying her with Tomiris and Boudicca, or Candaules’ wife and Lucretia, can we find the individual here? Interestingly, one of the richest scholarly applications of Chiomara’s story comes in conjunction with material evidence for gender and violence in Galatian culture (Voigt 2012: 223; cf. Armit 2010: 91), but these contributions from reception studies and archaeology have not informed parallel work in ancient history.

Her historicity perhaps renders her less susceptible to the interpretive lenses brought to bear on other women whose rapes lead (or, are written as leading) them to intervene in the course of history; if we regard her as a real person, it may seem a compounding violation to subject her narrative to analyses of tropes and emplotment. Conversely, examining her historicity shifts the focus of inquiry from the woman Chiomara to the men who transmit her story: when we consider whether Polybius included her story because of his antagonism with the Roman commander Cn. Manlius Vulso, we learn something useful about Polybius (cf. Champion 2004: 157 n.45) -- but not about Chiomara (or women; see Moreno Leoni 2019). Even meeting Chiomara in Valerius Maximus’ examples of pudicitia, or in Plutarch’s *de Mulierum Virtutibus*, we face a similar dilemma: we are meant to admire her, but what does she *mean*?

This paper will consider how Chiomara’s story complicates (our modern grasp of) Roman representations of women and power. Though she is a strong and clever woman who uses deception to arrange the killing of a Roman soldier who broke no laws in his rape of her, she is not an object of fear. She is a slave who kills her owner, but her action is righteous. Her husband appears weak, a “little king” (*regulus*) who “fled home” (*domum refugerat*) in defeat, from whose perspective her act is “hardly womanly” (*haudquaquam muliebre*; Livy 38.24.2, 9-10), but while Livy and

Polybius elsewhere use pejoratively gendered terms to undercut male Galatians, we do not (conversely) see Chiomara constructed in masculine terms. Unlike Xerxes' verdict on Artemisia (Her. 8.88), or the complication of gender identities in the visions of St. Perpetua (e.g. 10.7), that is, Chiomara appears markedly "woman."

In short, her story has much to offer our understanding of power and gender in the Roman world. That Chiomara's contribution to ancient history comes primarily from impressing Polybius says perhaps more than we should like to hear about the anxieties that have, historically, informed our field.

Title: Basilissa, not mahārāni: The Indo-Greek queen Agathokleia

Name: Gunnar Dumke

The Indo-Greek queen Agathokleia (her reign can approximately be dated to the last quarter of the second century BCE) appears on coins both in jugate busts together with king Strato and all on her own. Yet in the coin legends she only gets mentioned on the Greek side, the Indian legend always has Strato only. Besides her coins nothing is known about queen Agathokleia and no other sources exist that can shed light on her life and regency. A die-study of all the available conducted by the author enables us for the first time to analyze the material comprehensively, i.e. numismatically and iconographically, thereby superseding the meagre literature produced so far on the subject (Rapson 1908; Tarn 1938; Narain 1957; Widemann 2009).

The Baktrian and 'Indo-Greek' kingdoms emerged after the conquests of Alexander III of Macedon in the areas of nowadays Afghanistan and Pakistan. The only sources we have from these kingdoms are coins minted by various kings. These coins are special in that they carry two legends: a Greek one on the obverse, a second in Indian Prakrit written in Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse. In four instances women appear on these coins, mostly with jugate busts, but in one case also completely on their own.

My paper examines the situation of the queens as far as it can be reconstructed from the coins by taking queen Agathokleia as an example. This analysis is a result of a die-study of 'Indo-Greek' coinages I have conducted during the last three years. Because of this die-study it will now be possible for the first time to analyze the development of portraits, titles etc. in detail.

During this study Agathokleia has proved to be the most promising and prominent example due to the different types of representation she receives on her coins. She gets depicted on silver coins (drachms and tetradrachms) together with a king Strato as well as completely on her own. Besides this she has her own bronze coinage. In the Greek legend on all her coins she is called basilissa Agathokleia, but in the majority of examples she does not get mentioned in the Indian reverse legend. There it is always mahārāja Strata (=king Strato) who claims authorship for the coins. This dichotomy has never been explored properly, but it seems that the gender roles varied considerably between the two cultures with a Greek basilissa being utterly acceptable but an Indian mahārāni (female form of mahārāja) not. Therefore, the Greek and Indian sides (not only of the coins) will be scrutinized against the background of the role of female queens as it is presented on coins.

Session 61: Beyond Reception: Addressing Issues of Social Justice in the Classroom with Modern Comparisons

Title: Using Cross-Dressing to Understand Ancient Conceptions of Gender and Identity

Name: Nicole Nowbahar

In my talk, I discuss the value of examining cross-dressing in teaching students about gender norms and gender nonconformity in the ancient world. Gender is a key component of identity that is often reflected in clothing. The distinction between men and women's clothing is as true in antiquity as it is today; people are shocked, and even uncomfortable, when seeing someone whose clothing is considered inappropriate for their gender. A notable modern example of dress that does not conform to the gender binary, Billy Porter's tuxedo gown, is comparable to Clodius's saffron robe at the *Bona Dea* festival. Both are a source of ridicule and blame through associations with femininity. However, context of cross-dressing impacts respectability, as in the case of the boys in Exeter who wore skirts to combat a 'no shorts' policy, and the Minyan husbands in Herodotus who wore women's clothing to escape

imprisonment. Comparing modern examples of nonconforming dress to ancient examples of cross-dressing elucidates the strict gender boundaries in self-presentation. Devoting time to discussing these insignia of gender and identity will lead to a greater understanding of gender roles and attitudes towards nonconformity.

Title: Classical Antiquity and Contemporary Hate Groups

Name: Curtis Dozier

I will give an overview of my project, an online archive that documents hate-groups' appropriation of Greco-Roman antiquity in support of white supremacy, misogyny, xenophobia, homophobia, and anti-Semitism, and demonstrate its potential as pedagogical tool. In one of my own courses, I use articles from this project as a starting point that introduces students to the critical study of the legacy of Greco-Roman antiquity, and have corresponded with several other teachers, including one of the other presenters in this workshop, at both the high school and college level about how they have used my project materials as well. Using this archive in the high school and college classroom can be a meaningful way to bring in discussions of social justice and help combat harmful narratives that have historically plagued classics.

Title: The Reception of Classics in Hispanophone and Lusophone Cultures and Modern Imperialism

Name: Matthew Gorey

In courses on classical mythology and literature in translation, this panelist has introduced part of his own research on classical reception in early modern Spanish and Portuguese literatures of colonialization. In particular, I have my students read Luís Vaz de Camões' *Lusiads*, a late 16th century epic poem in which the Olympic deities oversee Vasco da Gama's attempt to discover a sea route to India and aid him when he is detained by local Muslim leaders in Calicut (modern Kozhikode in the state of Kerala, India). By reading the *Lusiads* alongside Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid* I ask my students to think about how classical epics provided literary and conceptual models for narratives of European conquests and colonialism. But these texts require more nuance. In future versions of these classes, I am exploring opportunities to include early Islamic and Persian romances to provide contrasting perspectives and narratives to counter our often Eurocentric readings of classical reception.

Title: Comparing Present and Past in the Migration Classroom

Name: Lindsey A. Mazurek

Over the last three years I have developed an upper division course on Migration in the Classical World and taught it to students at two different universities. My approach incorporates discussions of modern migration, particularly discussions of the US-Mexico border and migrations to Greece in the 21st century to help students read ancient evidence in a more sensitive and informed manner. I begin the course with a short paper that asks students to read articles about contemporary migration and migrants and analyze the language used. This assignment helps students understand the importance of precise and accurate terminology and the difficulties of analyzing evidence of migration. Throughout the rest of the course we apply these lessons to an attempt to construct a shared critical vocabulary of ancient migration. These past and present approaches, then, offer us a way to help students see the stakes of ancient history and engage more productively with scholarly concerns like terminology and conceptual models.

Title: Cultural and Historical Contingencies in Ancient and Modern Sexuality

Name: Daniel Libatique

In the middle of a spring 2019 course entitled "Gender and Sexuality in the Ancient World," after a suggestion by Jason Nethercut on Twitter, I assigned as readings a fundamental work on Roman sexuality by Holt Parker entitled "The Teratogenic Grid" (1997) and an *Eidolon* article by Sarah Scullin entitled "Making a Monster" (2016), which examines reactions to and consequences of Holt Parker's arrest for collecting and disseminating child pornography. In response to these readings, students brought in modern examples of "popular art, problematic artist" like R. Kelly,

Michael Jackson, and Cardi B. Using these examples, I then asked them to analyze the idea of the problematic creator for the ancient world. The romantic prescriptions contained in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, for example, are problematic from the standpoint of content, but does that reflect misogynistic beliefs truly held by Ovid himself? Juxtaposing these modern and ancient readings opened up new avenues of discussion for the class, including the cultural and historical contingencies of legality and morality (a lesson already in progress through the discussion of gendered and sexual institutions in Greece/Athens like pederasty and marriage) and what we should (or should not) do about scholarly and artistic works produced by problematic creators.

Title: Race in Antiquity and Modernity

Name: Sam Flores

This panelist discusses his approaches to teaching and discussing race and ethnicity in antiquity and its impact on modernity. Although it is important to teach about race and ethnicity in the ancient world, it is equally important to help students understand how many of the ideas from antiquity were developed by later students of the classics to create scientific theories of race in the 18th-20th centuries, especially in theories of environmental determinism, eugenics, and arguments for slavery in American history. These approaches have been successful in helping students understand the long-term impacts of not only classical ideas, but the impact of early classical scholarship on modern history.

Session 62: Translating “Evil” in Ancient Greek and Hebrew and Modern American Culture (Seminar)

Title: In Search of the Root of All Evil: Is There a Concept of ‘Evil’ in the Hebrew Bible?

Name: Aren Max Wilson-Wright

The Hebrew Bible has long figured prominently in discussions about the nature and origin of evil. Biblical scholars, philosophers, and cultural critics alike trace the modern, Western concept of evil, defined as something like ‘intentional, superlative wickedness’, back to the Hebrew Bible. In particular, Biblical scholars usually treat the Hebrew word *raʿ* as the translational and conceptual equivalent of English ‘evil’ (see *inter alia* the entries in the main Biblical Hebrew dictionaries BDB 948; HALOT 1250; see also Westermann 1994: 242–251). In this paper, by contrast, I will argue that the modern concept of ‘evil’ most likely did not exist in ancient Israel and that ‘evil’ is rarely—if ever—an appropriate rendering of Hebrew *raʿ*.

I begin by showing that *raʿ* and its derivatives have a wider semantic range than their supposed English counterpart. They are regularly applied to objects that lack moral agency and cannot, according to the above definition, be considered evil. In Biblical Hebrew, rotten figs (*ṭəʿənîm rāʿôt*; Jer 24:2), an abscessed tooth (*šēn rāʿā*; Prov 25:19), a wild animal (*ḥayyā rāʿā*; Gen 37:20), and a downcast countenance (*pānîm rāʿîm*; Neh 2:2) can all be described as *rāʿ*. These examples—and others like them—suggest that the Hebrew word *raʿ* possessed a series of overlapping meanings ranging from ‘harmful’ to ‘deficient’ when applied to objects without moral agency. ‘Evil’ is not an appropriate translation in these circumstances. But even when *raʿ* is predicated of moral agents such as humans and deities, it is unclear that it ever descends to the depths of immorality conjured by the modern English word ‘evil’. This is particularly true when *raʿ* is associated with Yahweh, the patron deity of ancient Israel and the forerunner of the Judeo-Christian God.

In many texts throughout the Hebrew Bible, Yahweh brings, does, or otherwise causes *raʿ*. Isaiah 31:2, for example, states that Yahweh brings *raʿ* (*way-yābēʿ rāʿ*) against Judah and its Egyptian allies in the form of military defeat. In this regard, Yahweh resembles other Classical and ancient Near Eastern divinities who dole out weal and woe in equal proportion. Indeed, several texts in the Hebrew Bible treat the ability to both help and harm as the *sine qua non* of divinity. In Jeremiah 10:5, the prophet instructs his audience not to be afraid of foreign idols because, unlike Yahweh, “they cannot do *raʿ* nor are they not able to do good” (*kî-lō(?) yārēʿû wə-gam-hêtēb ʿên ʿotām*). Similarly, Genesis 3:5 indicates that deities were thought to know both “good and *rāʿ*” (*yōdʿê ṭōb wā-rāʿ*). As these texts show, the ancient Israelites did not conceptualize Yahweh as omnibenevolent, even after he ascended to the position of sole divinity and lone guarantor of the moral order in the mid-6th century BCE. This observation, in turn, has important consequences for both the interpretation of the word *raʿ* and the study of ‘evil’ in the Hebrew

Bible. Without a concept of supreme good, it seems unlikely that the biblical authors would have been able to conceptualize superlative wickedness and associate it with the word *raʿ*. I conclude, therefore, that the concept of evil was most likely foreign to ancient Israel.

I will argue this position in detail in the paper that I submit for seminar participants to read. This will give SCS members ways to contemplate how ancient Israelite culture—which ultimately stands behind the Septuagint—grappled with identifying, describing and explaining events, conditions and forces affecting human beings to which in various periods in modern English-speaking culture we have applied the word ‘evil’.

Title: Just Some Evil Scheme: Translating ‘Badness’ in the Plays of Euripides

Name: Diane Arnson Svarlien

I will explore in fuller detail than I outline here the nature of evil in Greek literature through the reverse lens of the English word ‘evil’ as it appears in my translations and in translations by other translators. When I was asked for my translator’s take on evil, I had completed translations of nine plays of Euripides never thinking that I would later be asked to consider the concept represented by the English word ‘evil’. I prepare my translations with lexical discipline and constant use of Allen and Italic’s *Concordance to Euripides*. However, I never attempted a systematic approach to the two-plus pages of entries for *κακός* (the word that ‘evil’ most often translates), knowing that such a broad word would inevitably be represented by different English locutions. The relevant data from my translations, then, are shaped by my unselfconscious feel for how best to represent Euripides’ Greek in contemporary American English. They are a snapshot of how ‘evil’ fits into one writer’s working poetic lexicon. In turn, they will serve as a starting point for discussion of how Euripides and other Greek authors represent ‘the worst things that human beings can do to one another’, and the resources available in the Greek and English lexica for describing them.

‘Evil’ is so potent a word in English that it lends itself to parody: think of Dr. Evil in the Austin Powers movies. So it is not surprising that, in the nine plays I have translated, of the well over 200 instances of some form of *κακός*, I translated only 64 as “evil.” And of these 64 instances, only 20 or so refer to dire deeds such as murder.

I use the word “evil” a total of 75 times in my translations. As noted, 64 of these translate some form of *κακός*. Of the other 11, 6 translate *δαίμων* or *τύχη* as ‘evil fate’ or ‘evil fortune’; 2 refer to ‘evil reputation’ (translating *δυσκλεής*). The *Oxford English Dictionary* has separate entries for ‘evil’ with reference to fate and reputation; it labels these obsolete and archaic, respectively. In 8 instances, I chose the translation ‘evil’ for its antique literary flavor, appropriate to Euripides’ traditional poetic vocabulary. My remaining 3 uses of ‘evil’ translate the words *ἄτηρός*, *δυσμενής*, and *δεινά*.

The largest category of the use of ‘evil’ in my English versions is to translate the word *κακός*, not referring to some horrific crime, but to domestic mischief, often adultery. 6 of these instances describe Helen; others come from the misogynistic rants of Hippolytus and Hermione (in *Andromache*). This is ‘evil’ in the American vernacular sense used in the Blues tradition, where women are often described as ‘mean and evil’.

There is a clear continuity between the tirades of Hippolytus and Hermione against women (with their idle chit-chat and corrupting ways) and the branding of Helen as an evil woman. Long before Euripides and Lightning’ Hopkins, this type of evil woman had been delineated by Hesiod and Semonides.

The English word ‘evil’, then, like the Greek *κακός*, can express a spectrum of ‘badness’ from the trivial to the devastating. What language does Euripides use for the worst kinds of wrongdoing? Bearing in mind Kekes’ (1990) assertion that Polymestor is the only truly evil character in Greek tragedy, how does Euripides describe Polymestor and his crime in *Hecuba*? Of the 5 times that I use the word ‘evil’ to translate *κακός* in *Hecuba*, all are references to passive suffering, and just one of them refers to the murder of Polydorus.

The word that Euripides applies most often (5x) to Polymestor and his crime is *ἀνόσιος*, which I translate consistently as ‘unholy’. Euripides uses this in other plays as well to describe the killing of kin (e.g., 7x

in *Orestes* for Orestes' murder of Clytemnestra, and 2x for Clytemnestra's murder of Agamemnon); this is the Euripidean word that seems the best candidate for Evil with a capital E.

Title: Evil (Not) Then and Evil Now: A Test Case in 'Translating' Cultural Notions
Name: Thomas G. Palaima

My seminar paper has its genesis in examining in Hesiod and the book of *Genesis* ancient Greek notions of the creation of the world and the place of human beings within it. Comparison of the Hebrew and early Greek accounts of the 'loss of *paradeisos*, Eden, the Golden Age' through collaboration with a scholar of ancient Semitic texts, dialects and religion and understanding how the Hebrew creation account is translated into Greek in the Septuagint and later into Latin in the Vulgate began a long exploration of the concept of 'evil' that is still in progress.

For decades, I have looked at and thought about the worst things that human beings can do to one another individually and in social groups. In seminars on the human experience of war and violence through time, I have invited in scholars, journalists, authors, film-makers, military veterans, poets, translators and songsters who have confronted what we call 'evil' and those who do 'evil'. Among these are James Dawes (*Evil Men* and *That the World Will Know*), Seymour Hersch (*My Lai*), Ricardo Ainslie (*Long Dark Road: race-crime murder of James Byrd, Jr. in Jasper, TX*), Rolando Hinojosa Smith (*Korean Love Songs*), Jesse Odom (*Through Our Eyes—Iraq*), Wallace Terry (*Bloods—Vietnam and civil rights movement*), Tobias Wolff (*In Pharaoh's Army*), Nancy Schiesari (*Tattooed Under Fire* and *Canine Soldiers—Iraq and Afghanistan*), Charles Neider (*The Authentic Death of Hendry Jones*), oral historian Joan Morrison (*From Camelot to Kent State*), Jonathan Shay (*Achilles in Vietnam and Odysseus in America*), Peter Meineck (Aquila Theatre NEH projects), and Michele Kay and John Burnett (reporting war in Vietnam and Iraq). This exploration includes intimate grappling with 'evil' as in Lionel Dahmer's controversial *A Father's Story*, his look back upon how his son came to be the Jeffrey Dahmer that the world knows. There are also ancient and modern philosophical threads to be followed, for example, the recent collection of Pavlos Kontos (ed.), *Evil in Aristotle* (2018) and the full-scale studies of John Kekes and Martha Nussbaum, beginning in the 1986.

Our thoughts then operate in two different worlds. In one world, some people believe in 'evil' and use or even manipulate the word to mark out certain exceptionally 'bad' acts, actors, turns of event, and bad effects on 'good' people. See George W. Bush's use of 'Axis of Evil' from his State of the Union address (2002) onward. Even Dalton Trumbo, whose *Johnny Got His Gun* (1939 and 1959) gives us the worst that can happen to a soldier in war, and who also most likely gave Bob Dylan the phrase 'masters of war', uses the term 'evil' in describing the period of HUAC black-listing of 'communist' writers.

Then there is the ancient Greek world. Consistent with the force of the concept of *raʿ* in the Hebrew original, in the Septuagint our proto-humans violate the prohibition to partake of the fruit of the tree of *καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν*. *πονηρός* (*ponēros*) conveys 'having to do with *ponos*', i.e., 'the pains of hard toil'. It is not like English 'evil'. Likewise the *pithos* in Hesiod's account of Pandora (*WD* 93-105) contains *κήδεα λυγρά*. 'mournful troubling cares' and opening it lets *μυρία λυγρὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀλλάγεται* (*WD* 100) 'many many many mournful things wander randomly' (i.e., without plan). The earth is filled with *κακῶν* among which are *νοῦσοι* that silently bring *κακὰ* 'bad things' to mortals.

My seminar paper will explore this 'absence of evil' also in the *Iliad* and other works of Greek literature and highlight firsthand responses of modern thinkers in order to frame the general question of the difference between then and now.

I think the difference has a lot to do not only with the theological systems at work in the two general historical cultures we are considering, but also with profound differences in sensibilities about the human condition and the place of human beings in the world.

Session 63: What's New in Ovidian Studies (Organized by the International Ovidian Society)

Title: Proserpina's Pomegranate and Ceres' Anorexic Anger: Food, Sexuality, and Denial in Ovid's Account of Ceres and Proserpina

Name: Sophie Emilia Seidler

This paper investigates the anorexic poetics in Ovid's account of Ceres and Proserpina (*Met.* 5, 341-571; *Fast.* 4, 393-676). Proserpina's myth exemplifies the narrow relationship between two psychosomatic phenomena, concisely symbolized by the highly eroticized motive of the pomegranate (Arthur 1994: 237): food and sexuality – and their denial. This tension is also at the core of modern eating disorders such as anorexia. Structures of anorexic behavior can indeed be traced in the goddesses' story, for instance the toxically close mother-daughter relationship, Ceres' shame and fury when she is seen eating, or the female resistance over patriarchal verdicts via hunger strike. But far from anachronistically ascribing symptoms of modern eating disorders onto ancient mythological characters, my de-pathologizing approach illustrates the anorexic logic inherent in the plot, which comprises questions of femininity, sexuality, motherhood, change, and re-birth. Ovid's narration prefigures a mode of reacting and negotiating within a patriarchal community and a microcosm where grain supply has a manifestly religious significance. Since the archetypical set-up cast provides a fertile ground for Western attitudes towards food and the female body, the myth can contribute to a differentiated, non-marginalizing attitude towards eating disordered behavior,.

The paper's argumentation draws upon three epistemic approaches towards the Ovidian narrative: textual-philological analysis (Hinds 1987, Suter 2002, Foley 1977), feminist theory (Bell 1983, Bordo 1993, Ellmann 1993), and the medical-psychiatric discourse. Especially the latter has instrumentalized the myth in an extraordinary way: Studies like "Demeter and Persephone: Fears of Cannibalistic Engulfment in Bulimia" (Marsden 1997), "Persephone, the Loss of Virginité and the Female Oedipal Complex" (Kulish & Holtzman 1998), "The Kore Complex" (Fairfield 1998) or "Die ,ewige Tochter': Ein neuer Ansatz zur Konfliktpathologie der magersüchtigen Frau" (Boothe et al. 2013) use the goddesses as exemplary evidence for the occurrence of mental illnesses in ancient literature. In stark contrast, my understanding of anorexic poetics builds upon a mutual cross-fertilization of medical and cultural, more precisely feminist and comparatist, theories and emphasizes the myth's food symbolism and hunger strategies as a necessary means to establish a sense of feminine identity within a male-dominated framework. Thus, it becomes clear that a self-imposed refusal to eat cannot simply be locked away into a strictly separated medical discourse, but should be considered as cultural practice which, unlike a pathological concept of eating disorders, already existed in antiquity and is visible in Ovid's account of Ceres and Proserpina.

When the female adolescent protagonist is – already a highly symbolically charged activity – plucking flowers, Dis abducts her to make her his wife. The nymph Cyane is disembodied and dissolves into water when she tries to help and prevent the rape. Proserpina's mother Ceres, the goddess of grain, harvest, and nutrition, herself once devoured and spit out, searches for her daughter, while starving herself and the earth. She is enraged when a boy mocks her emaciation and thirst and, hence, turns her derider into a lizard. Proserpina refuses to eat in the Underworld, except for seven pomegranate seeds. These become her downfall in the literal sense, since the mere fact that she has eaten in the Underworld binds her to her role as Pluto's wife. A compromise can be found in seasonal change: Proserpina can spend one half of the year with her mother, the other one with her husband in the Underworld, thus fluctuating between and transgressing the contradicting roles of wife and daughter. Denying food, being fed, and finally the act of eating transform Proserpina into a powerful goddess of her own right. Hence, their story represents an empowering testimonial of female solidarity, sexual self-determination, resistance against patriarchal power, and body-positivity.

Title: Ovid's Visceral Reactions: Lexical Change as Intervention in Public Discourses of Power

Name: Caitlin Hines

In this paper, I present a new approach to analyzing Ovidian intervention in public discourses of power: a study undertaken at the level of the individual word, where an unprecedented semantic shift originating in Ovid's corpus

provides evidence of the poet's active engagement with contemporary political and cultural anxieties about women's bodies and fertility.

There has long been an instinct in Ovidian scholarship to seek evidence of the poet's allegiance, resistance, or indifference to Augustan power (e.g. Otis, Holleman, Green, Millar). Whether and to what degree this attitude is recoverable remains a point of contention. Even after Kennedy's warning that audience subjectivity renders the impulse to uncover pro- or anti-Augustan sentiments in literary texts ultimately unproductive, interest in the poet's relationship to imperial power has not waned (Feeney, Newlands, Barchiesi, Habinek). Scholars continue to examine Ovid's elegies for provocative disobedience or complicity with Augustan morality (Sharrock, O'Gorman, Davis, Casali, Gibson, Ingleheart, Ziogas), to discover in his exile poetry indications of sincere remorse or defiant mockery (e.g. Nugent, McGowan) and to scrutinize Ovid's political allegiances through his descriptions of gods, heroes, and kings (e.g. Müller, Feeney, Miller, Casali). Across the spectrum of scholarly opinion on Ovid's ultimate political leanings, the poet's relationship to power has traditionally been examined through studies built upon broad thematic frameworks.

I propose a complementary approach that begins at the level of the individual word (cf. Rosenmeyer on *medulla*), tracing lexical innovation as a refined mode of Ovidian engagement with dominant narratives of power. This paper uses a case study of the word *viscera* to demonstrate the strengths of such a research model. According to the extant record, Ovid is the first Roman author to use *viscera* to designate wombs and children; these new reproductive metaphors appear throughout the Ovidian corpus, from the *Heroides* to the *Fasti*. My philological study of this semantic shift establishes that Ovid employs these new visceral figures exclusively in the contexts of domestic violence and civil war: matricide, patricide, fratricide, filicide, feticide, incest, and cannibalism are not just reliable but necessary triggers for visceral wombs and visceral children. While Augustan legal and ideological discourses promote procreation as a secure pathway to peace, Ovidian *viscera* consistently link reproductive bodies to gross violations of civic and domestic bonds. These new visceral metaphors, I argue, exemplify Ovid's participation in the sharpening of Roman poetics around fertility and women's bodies in the Augustan period.

I develop this argument with focused analysis of three instances of visceral metaphor in the Ovidian corpus. Beginning with the moralizing elegiac diptych on abortion (*Amores* 2.13-14), where women who terminate pregnancies are characterized as attacking their own viscera (*vestra quid effoditis subiectis viscera telis*, 2.14.27), I demonstrate that Ovid's visceral womb is, from its earliest appearances, intimately associated with the politics of fertility. I move next to consideration of Andromeda in Book 5 of the *Metamorphoses*, who becomes a visceral child in the eyes of her father, Cepheus, when his brother threatens a fratricidal civil war over ownership of her body (*quae visceribus veniebat belua ponti / exsaturanda meis* 18-19). I conclude with the conception of Romulus and Remus in the *Fasti*, where Rhea Silvia awakens to find the founder of Rome within an ominously visceral womb (*intra / viscera Romanae conditur urbis erat*, 3.23-24). Throughout, I emphasize that the link between reproduction and destruction generated by Ovid's visceral bodies is clear, far-reaching, and methodical. Ovid's visceral reactions systematically transform wombs and children, the vital mechanisms of fertility and generational continuity, into dangerous vessels and vulnerable bodies.

This project demonstrates the continued efficacy of precise philological study: if marked lexical shifts can be shown to reproduce the dominant tensions of their contemporary moments, then studies undertaken at the level of the individual word remain essential and productive complements to scholarship founded upon more expansive thematic or theoretical frameworks.

Title: *Naso Ex Machina: A Fine-Grained Sentiment Analysis of Ovid's Epistolary Poetry*
Name: Chenye (Peter) Shi

In this project, I employ an artificial neural network (ANN) to analyze the relationship between dictional choices and emotional expressions in Ovid's epistolary poems (*Tristia*, *Epistulae Ex Ponto*, and *Heroides*). Using sentiments as the contextualizing criteria, I perform a comprehensive analysis of the semantic and stylistic changes in Ovid's exilic poetry as compared to his early works.

Ovid's mastery of language has been a central topic in the study of his poetic genius. Previous scholars have discussed in-depth the poet's visual language (Hardie 2002), originality of word usages (Nagle 1980), revolutionary influence on the elegiac genre (Conte 1994), and his shift in vocabulary preference before and after exile (Claasen 1999). These studies usually base their discussions on preselected words that are considered thematically representative. Word frequency, when included in the analyses, served only as a secondary proof of the chosen vocabulary as part of the poet's repertoire.

The growth of computational technologies offers new potential. Computational linguistics and machine learning can contextualize our readings of Ovidian poetry: they provide an analytical framework that is able to include the whole corpus and examine the function and significance of each word instantaneously. The use of information technology is not new in classics (McGillivray 2014). Online databases have both changed the experience of learning Latin and offered convenience to students and researchers alike. However, the ubiquitous use of digital tools has not significantly influenced literary analyses. Other than word frequencies, computational approaches have not significantly advanced our understanding of Latin literature despite the vast amount of materials easily accessible to the public.

This project aims at a further incorporation of computational technologies and traditional literary analysis. Using the *Tristia* as the training dataset, I first tag each sentence according to Robert Plutchik's fine-grained "Wheel of Emotions" (thirty-two emotions in total, with eight basic emotions and twenty-four secondary or combinational ones). These data are processed with the artificial neural network (ANN) technique to develop an analytical model that detects the emotions associated with the words based on the words' meanings (roots), inflections, and positions in the sentences.

The model will then be tested for its accuracy using the *Ex Ponto* as the test set. This evaluation process also yields a quantitative description of Ovid's emotional changes throughout his exile. Furthermore, I apply the same model to the *Heroides*. These fictional letters' format and gloomy content make them comparable to the exile poetry. The computational model, however, reveals more thoroughly the subtle differences of word choice and sentiments between Ovid's imagined writing and that originating in his personal experience.

Finally, I discuss this project's applicational value. Compared with traditional research, the machine learning approach has the advantage of being exhaustive, quantifiable, and visually representable. It offers a comprehensive picture of the stylistic, dictional, and expressional features of the author. Moreover, the fine-grained tagging system, originally employed in cognitive science, lowers the barriers between psychological and literary discussions of emotions. Ultimately, the quantitative model also offers a more objective means to evaluate the faithfulness of translations by comparing results from similar sentiment analyses performed on translations in other languages.

Title: *Fabula Muta*: Ovid's Jove in Petronius *Satyrica* 126.18

Name: Debra Freas

At the International Ovidian Society's inaugural panel, "Ovid Studies: The Next Millennium," Sara Myers presented an overview of current trends in Ovidian scholarship. Among the promising avenues for further research that she outlined were imperial receptions of Ovid and the application of gender and sexuality studies to Ovid's poetry. The panel more broadly addressed Ovidian reception (Newlands and Keith), and concluded with a consideration of Ovid's Philomela episode in relation to the accounts of survivors in the #MeToo movement (Libatique). In my paper, I will return to such questions of reception, canonicity, and sexual violence but in a more immediate successor to Ovid, Petronius. (For the reception of Ovid in imperial authors, see McNelis 2009.) Considering a short poem from *Satyrica* §126.18, I argue that Petronius turns a critical eye to what I term an Ovidian poetics of sexual violence.

Near the end of what survives from Petronius' *Satyrica*, Circe, a wealthy matron from Croton, sexually propositions Encolpius, who positively responds and offers three elegiac couplets that invoke Jupiter and sexual violence by recounting the god's previous rapes of Europa, Leda and Danaë. Encolpius' poem has been variously read as "the degradation of the epic model" (Schmeling 2011), an irreverent attack on Jupiter's sexual potency (Courtney 1991), and an ironic presentation of Jupiter as an aging elegiac lover (Adamietz 1995). Others have addressed the episode's

allusive engagement with numerous literary antecedents including *Iliad* 14 (Roncali 1986), the *Odyssey* (Fedeli 1988), Vergil's *Aeneid* (Walsh 1970), and Ovid's *Amores* 3.7 (Walsh 1970; McMahon 1998; Courtney 2001; Hallett 2012). I will propose, however, that these couplets make another, overlooked, allusion to Arachne's tapestry from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and I would like to consider why, when faced with a more than willing sexual partner, Encolpius offers a poem about Jovian rape in an Ovidian mode.

After establishing that *Satyrica* 126.18 alludes to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, I will explore how the Arachne intertext informs an understanding of Encolpius' elegiac couplets on the subject of rape. When considering this poem, Slater (1990) rightly asks, "Why has Jupiter become a *fabula muta*, a fiction emptied of content?" I will argue that this phrase and the elegiac poem reference the poetics of sexual violence that pervades the *Metamorphoses* and is emphasized in the Arachne episode (see James, 2016). Encolpius' elegiac poem can thus be read as the critical reception of an Ovidian poetics that is deemed passé and redundant, on perhaps both stylistic terms and sexual ones: Is Encolpius' poem offering a critique of the repetitiveness of rape in Ovid's poetics, or does it condemn rape more generally? These are questions worth considering in light of the pressing need for classicists to engage more fully Ovid's legacy which is inextricably associated with rape.

Title: The Haunting of Naso's Ghost in Spenser's Ovidian Intertexts

Name: Ben Philippi

Exploring the reception of Ovid's exilic elegies in the late poetry of Edmund Spenser, who "knew Ovid so intimately that to write poetry was to use him," this paper employs recent scholarship on Ovid's self-reception in the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* to reread Spenser's intertextual engagement with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* through the retroactive light of Ovid's transformative relegation (Holahan 1990). Spenserians have become increasingly attuned to the ways in which the frustration of Spenser's ambitions mirror Ovid's enforced relegation to the distant colony of Tomis for a mysterious *carmen et error* (*Tristia* 2.207-8). Richard McCabe, one of the first critics to offer a sustained reading of Spenser as a poet of exile, describes Spenser's Ireland as "a site imaginatively conducive to the poetics of exile as Ovid's Tomis" while M.L. Stapleton underscores Spenser's aesthetic indebtedness to the exiled Ovid's poetic strategies of oblique satire, first-person complaint, and self-parody (McCabe 2016; Stapleton 2010). Several Ovidian scholars have shown how his encouragement of readers to perceive himself as the subject of his pre-exilic poetry reconfigures the auto-biographical implications of the *exclusus amator* of the amatory elegies, the dismembered victims of the *Metamorphoses*, and the unanswered epistles of the *Heroides* (McGowan 2009, Williams 2002, Claassen 1999). Critical to my argument is the notion that, according to K. Sara Meyers and Colin Burrow, Ovid deploys these strategies and themes to ensure that his place in the literary tradition depends on the subsequent acknowledgement by future poets that a proper reading of the Ovidian corpus cannot ignore its intertextual entanglement with the exile elegies: in other words, that the distinction between the "pre-exilic" and "post-exilic" poetry is not entirely secure (Meyers 2014; Burrow 2002).

My paper attends to a crucial moment in Spenser's poetry when he becomes increasingly conscious of the fact he is writing on the margins of empire and of the effect this must have had on his poetic career. Here, Spenser wavers between his aging self, as unsympathetic witness of colonial atrocities beyond the Irish Pale, and his younger persona Colin Clout, who exploited Ovid's exilic pose to "make symbolic capital out of social loss" (McCabe 2016). In contrast to the popular assertion that Spenser "urgently and pervasively" evokes "Ovid's exile and the ideological distance from the center of power," I demonstrate how Spenser's colonial disdain for the Gaelic kern and his fears of metamorphosing into a hybrid Anglo-Irish identity cause him to avoid references to the exiled Ovid, who appeared to come too close for comfort to becoming a Getic poet among "barbarians" (Pugh 2005). Spenser often looks away from the exile poetry at moments when he returns to the Roman Ovid of the *Metamorphoses*, but this is precisely where he tacitly conjures, I claim, the haunting phantom of the Tomitan Ovid.

In *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, Colin is asked to narrate his recent voyage from Ireland to England "were it not too painful to speak" (32). Instead of revealing that Ireland is "barrein soyle," Colin chooses silence, retreating to the familiar terrain of the more famous Ovid of the *Metamorphoses* to sing of an aetiological myth about a local Irish river (656). Spenser's river myth consciously echoes the narrative of the river God Alpheus' pursuit of Arethusa, transformed into a stream by Diana in Book V of the *Metamorphoses*. As the poem progresses, the unspoken realities Colin earlier avoided peep through the cracks in ways that defy pastoral convention and that invite fruitful

comparisons to Ovid's exile poetry. Colin's momentary attempt to construct an alternative green world on the margins of empire are shown, by Spenser, to ultimately fail. Readers can perceive what Colin's interlocutors in the poem cannot: that the realities of Ireland threaten to undermine Colin's carefully constructed parallel universe, his Mediterranean world "amongst the cool shade, / of the alders by the Mullaes shore" (58-59).

Title: Reweaving Philomela's Tongue

Name: Aislinn Melchior

This paper might be considered a continuation of Daniel Libatique's excellent discussion in San Diego of "Ovid in the #MeToo Era," (a connection that is resonating e.g. Colby and Barker), but my paper most relates to his close-reading of Ovid's Philomela episode. My own work probes some of the same issues and hopes to get them in front of audiences who may not know Ovid, or may only know him from other popularizations of his work. After seeing a production of Mary Zimmerman's Tony nominated *Metamorphoses*, I noted how many of the tales she recounted owed more to Edith Hamilton's versions than to the complex and intertextual world of Ovid. The problem with this is that rape - as McCarter has noted with translations -- is elided or becomes blurred with notions of seduction. Indeed, her play's failings may have less to do with Zimmerman's intentions than with the translations she chose to work from.

The first act explores what, in my view, Ovid is trying to accomplish with his epic, and how Ovid's depiction of Venus, and her actions in *Met. V* in particular, launches "a broader assault upon Roman imperial ideology" (Johnson). Ovid's questioning of divine morality is an accusation of those who are more powerful and shows how imperialism manifests not merely in the provinces, but in the treatment of all who are weaker (something that this country now is manifesting even within its own borders). Ovid's raped women vividly show how power seeks to crush dissent and stifles creativity just as Ovid is stifled under the *princeps*.

The second act focuses on female pain and protest, starting with Arachne being cautioned by a timorous nymph (in a scene reminiscent of Antigone's discussions with Ismene in Sophocles' tragedy), a celebratory reimagining of the sparagm in Euripides' *Bacchae*, and the "rapture" of Caesar. Interspersed are modern poems on trauma and emotional annihilation that show the intersection of the psychic states of those who have been raped with their transformed analogues.

This paper will close with a two-person performance of one of the final scenes of the play featuring Procne and Philomela as they weave a revenge that literally entangles them in red yarn. In the *Met's* telling of their revenge, *The Bacchae* is recast with Aunt Philomela triumphantly carrying her nephew's head rather than his mother. The recognition scene is not the mother awakening from her Bacchic furor, but the father learning he has eaten his son. His feasting (...inque *suam* sua viscera congerit *alvum*) suggests impregnation by word choice (*alvum*) as well as framing - though he is not mother but tomb (*bustum*). Genders are inverted, but where life should be there is death. As the sisters plan and become ever more ensnared, what had first represented Philomela's weaving or her voice, now becomes a bloody web of spilled entrails. The third wall is broken as the actresses break character to argue about whether it was a feminist act of justice or an imitation of the toxic male drive for revenge. The question - whether it is possible for these sisters to act outside the patriarchal structures that have injured them -- is similar to the deeper structural questions posed by Marder.

It is my hope that the performance will raise questions and stir discussion and perhaps provide a deeper understanding of and sympathy with the multiple and contrary impulses that can animate survivors. The goals of the project are unapologetically feminist and popularizing.

Session 64: Social Networks and Interconnections in Ancient and Medieval Contexts (Joint AIA-SCS Panel)

Title: The Social Networks of Athenian Potters (SNAP) Project: Modeling Communities of Artists

Name: Eleni Hasaki and Diane Harris Cline

The Social Networks of Athenian Potters (SNAP) Project is the first of its kind to attempt to apply Social Network Analysis (SNA) to the study of Attic black-figure vase painting. In general, SNA seeks to uncover commonalities and links inside a network, while also revealing cliques, clusters, and groups. In our study, we used SNA to find and then graph the relationships between Athenian potters and painters -- recording, visualizing, calculating, and evaluating the connections between individual artists, groups, and the shapes they made in common. In order to do so, we mined data from J. D. Beazley's *Attic Black-figure Vase-Painters* (1956) and *Paralipomena* (1971) for the names or attributed identities and their relations. We found 595 discrete entities, either people, groups, shapes of vases, or classes, with 767 relationship pairs.

SNA projects always face methodological constraints linked to the biases inherent in the available data, and our experiment was no different. The complex world of black-figure artists as described and envisioned by Beazley is seductive but is also perhaps a mirage, for he has been criticized by some for possibly populating the potters' quarter with "fictional" artists (or "hands with no bodies"). Certainly, the lack of precise definitions for his 30 relational terms such as "close to," "in the manner of," "near," and more presented a challenge for us in trying to map the relationships.

At the completion of this stage of our SNA project we were able to build a preliminary model for the development of Athenian potters' communities spanning over 200 years, which has never been done before. Our comprehensive SNA graphs (sociograms) can highlight information often obscured in the linear format of an 800-page volume. Such visualizations allow researchers to see the panoramic view while also zooming in on specific clusters. Using centrality metrics, we were also able to evaluate who was important because of their position in the network as a broker, bridge, or influencer, as well as who was central, or peripheral, in the network, and to examine how each artist's position in the network compares with the place they appear to hold in art history based on style. We use social network metrics to compare a few relatively obscure artists who play important roles in the network with the social network metrics for prominent artists, such as Exekias or Nikosthenes. Despite the idiosyncratic and challenging nature of this particular data set, the Social Networks of Athenian Potters Project can serve as a prototype for applying SNA to other communities of interrelated artists working in the ancient world and beyond, as well as to other aspects of classical archaeology.

Title: Attalus I and Networks of Benefactions

Name: Gregory J. Callaghan

In the span of a century, the Attalid dynasty of Pergamon grew from a single city to ruling over the majority of Western Anatolia, attaining a remarkable legacy as patrons of the Greek world in the process. Gruen ascribed their success precisely to that patronage ("Culture as Policy: The Attalids of Pergamon" ([UC Press 2000] 17-31). An extensive series of benefactions and euergetistic interventions defined Attalid foreign policy. Network analysis is a powerful tool to visualize these varied benefactions of statues, buildings, financial contributions, and other gifts. Such networks are difficult to generate, as they require a great deal of subjective judgment as to what qualifies as a link, combining evidence from literature, inscriptions, and archaeology. It is well worth the effort, however, as the resultant networks allow for holistic considerations of the entire system of Attalid patronage. The insights generated from such visualizations enable a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the ways in which Attalid foreign policy used "culture." In this paper, I explore the foreign policy of Attalus I through an analysis of his network of foreign benefactions and alliances.

This analysis reveals three important aspects of Attalus' foreign policy. First, the scale of his network eclipsed those of Philetairos and Eumenes I, representing a significant increase in Attalid interstate interactions. Second, the geographic clustering of the network suggests that Attalus approached local, regional, and trans-Aegean interactions

differently. Third, his network presents a distinct chronology, which reveals how Attalus' foreign policy evolved over time in response to various successes and setbacks. Altogether, network analysis of Attalus' interstate interactions reveals how the dynasty's interstate relations were shaped by his reign, and the extent to which the kingdom owed its success to his foreign policy. That policy utilized the dynasty's status in the Aegean—acquired through networks of benefactions—to claim increased interstate authority for the king beyond his military capabilities.

Title: Maritime Networks and Moral Imagination: Samothracian Proxeny as an Archaeology of Coalition

Name: Sandra Blakely

Hellenistic proxenia decrees from the island of Samothrace offer a case study in the challenges as well as the potential for network analysis to blend qualitative and quantitative data, bridge civic practice and ritual promises, and make productive use of non-Mediterranean comparanda. Samothrace is as rich in proxenic inscriptions as the granting city is under-explored archaeologically and poorly attested in historical documents. Excavations on the island have focused on the sanctuary of the mystery cult, positioned just outside the city walls. Four inscriptions from within those walls confirm that its proxenia entailed maritime benefits - *asylia*, access to the *boule*, *eisploun* and *ekploun* in pursuit of trade. All of these would render Samothrace's port more welcoming, and are consistent with historical arguments, since Weber's *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1923), for the maritime functionality of proxenia decrees. The economic attractions of a Samothracian visit are deduced from its broader historical setting rather than any curated collections of material evidence. The island's Greeks seem the pioneers of Odrussian trade, benefiting from cooperative relationships with the Thracians who controlled overland networks and the river routes that tied the coasts to inland centers. The geospatial range of the island's proxenoi corresponds to one of five routes which ran into the Hellespont from prehistoric period onward; Samothrace itself figures in three of these sealanes, suggesting that the promise of its mysteries – safety at sea – was a more natural function of the island than its one poor harbor would suggest. The epigraphic data help us deduce what neither remains nor texts reveal: the island's chief export may have been connectivity itself, and its proxenic decrees the civic realization of the island's mystic promise.

Network analysis offers a methodology for synthesizing the face to face encounters in which the island's proxenia would be realized. The numerical data alone, however, fall short of the potential of the inscriptions. Proxenia represents a moral network: it both rewards past behavior and enjoins future collaboration and relies, as Mack has argued, on emotional intensity as well as economic calculation (W. Mack, *Proxeny and Polis*, OUP 2015). This recommends an approach through the archaeologies of coalition and consensus and collective action theory which have been applied to case studies in regions from the American southwest to southeast Asia (E. DeMarrais, "Making pacts and cooperative acts: the archaeology of coalition and consensus", *WA* 48.1:1-13). These offer models for integrating qualitative data - including mythic, emotional and ritual dynamics – into quantitative analysis. Brought to Samothrace, this approach yields a more nuanced model for dominant nodes in the island's network, one which foregrounds the potential for some sites to prefer the mythic to the civic deployment of Samothracian affiliation. The dynamics of collective action theory offer resonance with the scale and decentralization of the proposed network, and foreground the flexibility which underwrote the longevity of proxenia as well as the promise of the rites.

Title: An Examination of Epigraphical and Numismatic Evidence for the Invocation of Jupiter in Roman Imperial Italy using Network Analysis

Name: Zehavi Husser

My overarching project aims to examine conceptions of the ancient Romans' highest deity, Jupiter, in Italy during the Imperial period by tracing the networks involved in transmitting components of the worship experience of the god including epithets employed, the purpose for invoking the deity, as well as how the god was propitiated. Here, network analysis is applied to various types of material and inscriptional data as a proxy for studying the transmission and distribution of ideas about the god in Roman Imperial Italy.

At this stage of the project, the focus of this paper, I analyze multiple datasets in order to better understand the actors who invoked Jupiter, which manifestations of the god they favored, and how they portrayed various forms of the deity iconographically. This paper presents a study of hundreds of epigraphic documents (including votive dedications, building inscriptions, calendars, etc.), as well as hundreds of imperial coins minted in Italy. Data is processed using the igraph package of R. Visualizations of one- and two- mode networks are created using Gephi; maps are produced using the ggplot package of R.

Results suggest that Jupiter was invoked by a wide diversity of actors with a range of statuses and occupations. It appears that certain types of persons were more likely than others to invoke a given form of the god. For instance, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, which had the widest Italian distribution of the manifestations studied, appears to have been invoked by the broadest range of actors in epigraphic evidence, but he is presented by name far less frequently by the imperial authority in numismatic evidence. Jupiter Conservator tends to be petitioned on inscriptional documents by actors with an official relationship to the state or city/town; correspondingly, this manifestation of Jupiter is by far the most frequently invoked in imperial coinage.

Title: Female Agency in the Late Roman Republic: A Social Network Approach

Name: Gregory Gilles

In this paper I employ social network analysis to study female agency in the late Roman republican period. My project uses female centred networks to connect women, and men, during this period as visualisation enables an easier identification of different patterns of connectedness, whether they be social, familial and/or political. With the use of the Digital Prosopography of the Roman Republic created at KCL (<http://romanrepublic.ac.uk/>), as well as various ancient sources, such as Cicero's letters, Plutarch's biographies and the histories of Livy, Polybius, Appian, Suetonius and Cassius Dio, I have created familial data sets so as to identify connections within four generations (one above and two below) of the various central female nodes. Through trial and error, focusing on four generations not only enables the identification of possible repeated familial connections, but also pinpoints new connections forged with powerful men or families in subsequent generations. There are, in total, 12 different female centred networks which include over 150 elite and equestrian women from Rome with dates ranging from c.250 B.C. to c.10 B.C.

The numerous female centred networks provide data to help answer four key questions: Were marriages mainly used to cement, or initiate, political alliances between powerful men and/or families? Findings indicate that certain elite families appeared to remarry into each other every second or third generation. Was the, often, great age disparity between spouses intentional and the norm, or was it simply due to the military and/or political careers that Roman men had to undertake before they could marry? The networks cannot definitively answer this, but analysis of first marriages correlate with findings by Richard Saller (*Classical Philology* 82 [1987] 21-34) and would indicate that men's public careers took precedence over marrying at a young age. Was a rich widow or divorcée an attraction for politically aspiring new man/impoverished noblemen? The majority of networks demonstrate that this is not the case. Did stepmothers play an active role in the upbringing of their husband's other children? The networks highlight that most stepmothers were of similar ages to their new stepchildren and so an active role would often not have been required.

This paper, therefore, showcases the networks that have been created from the analysis of literary materials and demonstrates how social networks can be used to answer these, or similar, historical questions. The issues with the data, and their impact on the creation of these networks, as well as their analyses, will also be discussed.

Title: Books on the Road: Exploring Material Evidence for Social Networks in the Early Middle Ages

Name: Clare Woods

In order to reconstruct social networks for the early medieval period - whether friendship or patronage networks, or teacher-student relationships - scholars typically mine surviving letters and letter collections. While the information gleaned from letters is undoubtedly important, what survives from the early Middle Ages is patchy. Further, analysis

of the networks we reconstruct from this data are all too often divorced from any material or geographical reality. We gain a more holistic picture of intellectual and social interaction, I argue, if we also explore the material evidence for the exchange and circulation of texts composed by medieval authors. Extant manuscripts are key pieces of physical evidence for intellectual connection, holding as they do geographical, temporal, and sometimes personal markers for interest in a particular text. Despite this, they remain an underused source in medieval network studies. This paper applies spatial and material dimensions to the project of mapping early medieval social networks by layering together two different kinds of evidence: 1) geolocated, contemporary manuscript evidence for some of the most widely-copied Carolingian (ninth-century) texts and 2) the Roman transportation network, still a relevant infrastructure model for the early medieval period. (Data available from the Stanford Orbis project.)

When we aggregate and visualize manuscript data (whether multiple texts by one author, or multiple texts by multiple authors) patterns emerge that invite scrutiny as to the realia of book travel. In my data visualizations, a small number of ecclesiastical centers stand out for the number and range of manuscripts they owned. Layering manuscript data with a transportation network allows us to appreciate the ways in which these centers were connected beyond the known personal networks of "in-house" authors or scholars. My paper focuses on two centers, St Gall and Lyon. Although long recognized as possessing rich collections of medieval manuscripts, no one has yet considered location as a factor in these centers' ability to acquire new texts. In fact, both St Gall and Lyon lie at or near to important nodes in the Roman transportation system, specifically in areas that were gateways to key Alpine passes. As this paper demonstrates, by including material and practical evidence to reconstruct early medieval intellectual connections, we gain a much more nuanced understanding of the ways texts and ideas circulated, of the routes books traveled, and the role of travel itself in shaping ecclesiastical libraries.

Session 65: Late Antiquity

Title: Julian and Rome's Eternal Refoundation

Name: Jeremy J. Swist

Since Julian (r. 361-363) was both a Roman emperor and Hellenic philosopher, scholars have long explored how he put Neoplatonic theory, theology, and theurgy into the practice of imperial ideology and statecraft (e.g. Smith 1995, Bregman 1998, Greenwood 2014). Their discussions often dwell on how Julian throughout his writings presented himself as sent by the gods to restore the channel of divine blessings that preserve the material cosmos, and how he implicitly modeled his divine mission to revive traditional religion on the incarnation and labors of demigods such as Heracles (Conti 2009; Greenwood 2014), Asclepius (Swist 2018), and Romulus (Athanasiasi 1981).

In this paper, I will first connect Julian's emulation of Romulus, along with his arguably equal emulation of his successor Numa Pompilius, to the emperor's participation in the discourse of imperial refoundation. Drawing precedents from Hellenistic monarchies, Augustus and his imperial successors employed textual and visual media to suggest themselves as new founding fathers of Rome (Angelova 2015). I argue that Julian wed this discourse to his own, Iamblichean brand of Neoplatonic metaphysics in order to show that not only his own soul, but the soul of every preceding Roman emperor had been providentially sent to renew the cosmos by refounding the Empire. Their re-ascent to the gods was contingent on fulfilling this providential mission, and not every emperor succeeded in fulfilling their purpose as instruments of divine blessings. As paradigms thereof, Julian established first Romulus as a city-founder sent by Ares, then Numa sent by Zeus as the founder of religion, made in Julian's own image as a philosopher-priest who practices theurgy (Or. 4.154c-155d; CG 193c). These founder-archetypes I then apply to Julian's literary appropriations of Roman history, where he inserts imperial, heroic souls into original myths inspired by Platonic allegories. His autobiographical myth in Or. 7 presents himself as an escapee from the Cave of Plato's Republic who is tasked by the gods with descending back into the Cave to liberate more prisoners. His satire *The Caesars*, moreover, arguably draws from the Chariot Allegory of Plato's *Phaedrus* in presenting the souls of some past emperors ascending to the banquet of the gods, while others who had failed in their missions plummet back to earth. Their ascent to the divine realms depends on and mirrors their relationship to the traditional gods in life.

Julian shared the belief that Rome and its civilization were "from beginning to end, Hellenic" (Or. 4.153a). Hence the Augustan discourse of re-foundation and emulation of Rome's founding fathers was in his mind eminently compatible with his identity as a Hellenic philosopher-priest-king. As emperor and pontifex maximus, Julian saw himself not as one on a unique mission to save the Empire from the threat of Christianity, but as the latest in a line of

rulers eternally and providentially sent to guarantee the stability and prosperity of the imperial cosmos by securing the gods' blessing through orthodox worship.

Title: Staging Schism: Optatus 1.16-20 and the Earliest Extant Christian Play
Name: James F. Patterson

In the late 360s CE, Optatus, bishop of Milevis in Numidia, told a story about the origin of the Donatist schism that had divided Christian communities throughout Africa since the end of Diocletian's Persecution. This paper argues that the story, found at *De schismate Donatistarum* 1.16-20, is a popular legend that preserves the earliest extant play by Christians. Accordingly, it asks that we reconsider Christian condemnation of theatre in Africa.

Optatus' story is as follows. Before the Persecution (1.16), a deacon at Carthage, Caecilian, upset a woman named Lucilla by rebuking her for kissing a martyr's bone before the Eucharist. During the Persecution (1.17), the bishop of Carthage, Mensurius, was summoned to Rome and died abroad. Before he left, he hid church ornaments with elders and made an inventory of who had what. After the Persecution (1.18), two ambitious men, Botrus and Celestius, wished to succeed Mensurius, but Caecilian was elected bishop instead. Upon receiving Mensurius' inventory, Caecilian asked the elders to return the ornaments. However, *tres personae* (1.19.1)—the *iracundia* of Lucilla, the *ambitus* of Botrus and Celestius, and the *avaritia* of the elders—quit Caecilian's church. Suddenly (1.19), a contingent of Numidian bishops arrived, whom Optatus had previously introduced: in a council at Circa after the Persecution (1.13-14), they confessed to wanton criminality and decided to accuse Caecilian's entourage of *traditio* to shift attention from themselves. Now in Carthage, an argument between the Numidian leader, Purpurius, and Caecilian nearly came to blows, and the Numidians ordained a member of Lucilla's household, Maiorinus, rival bishop. Thus, the African church split in two. Optatus' story concludes (1.20) with the triumphal departure of the *tres personae* and Numidians. Their church would be called Donatist after Donatus, who soon succeeded Maiorinus.

Included as fact in most studies of African Christianity, Optatus' story has recently been doubted due to ritual anachronisms (Wiśniewski 2011 and 2019: 18-20), misogynistic mythologies (Eyl), and Catholic bias (Whitehouse 16). Indeed, the champion of anti-Donatism, Augustine, writing in the decades after Optatus, did not take the story seriously. Optatus reports it as a fanciful *vulgata fabula* like those surrounding Simonides and Erasistratus. Noting the absence of direct citations, Labrousse (68) proposed that the story belonged to oral tradition. This paper argues that either the story was transmitted as a play or Optatus himself fashioned it as one.

Theatrical elements absent elsewhere in Optatus permeate the story. By removing the Numidian council at Circa from the main narrative and glossing over the death of Mensurius abroad, space remains fixed upon a single stage—a church in Carthage, itself a type of theater. Relative time markers collapse a decade into simple sequential episodes, or acts. Each act relies on a prop: a bone, ornaments, an inventory, a cathedra, a movable altar (*pace* Labrousse 206 n.1, see Burns and Jensen 101-102). The story includes dramatic dialogue. Rowdy Numidians provide a chorus. An *agôn* between Purpurius and Caecilian includes comedic violence (see Webb 2008: 96). As in Plautus and Terence, phrases such as *exitum est foras* (1.19.4) are used for entries, not for exiting buildings. Optatus invites us to imagine his story as a play, and interpretative difficulties in the narrative are resolved when we do so.

The regularity with which Christian leaders condemned theatre indicates that plays remained popular among ordinary Christians. Optatus' story includes none of the features that worried authorities—false gods, laughter, vulgarity. For instance, Lucilla is distinctly not the lustful stepmother figure imagined by Shaw (328-329) and Whitehouse (23). Rather, she belongs to a corrupt political faction appropriate to Sallust (Wiśniewski 2011: 159). From liturgy to martyr narratives and the very idea of *imitatio Christi*, performance is found throughout African Christianity. To find Christians staging their own “Christological mimes” (Reich 80-109) should therefore come as no surprise.

Title: Figuring It Out: The Relationship between exemplum and figura in Ambrose of Milan's De Abraham

Name: Anthony J. Thomas

This paper considers the relationship of Roman exemplary discourse and Christian typological discourse in Ambrose of Milan's *De Abraham*. Ambrose of Milan, as a provincial governor turned Christian bishop was a member of the rhetorically-trained late antique elite and thus familiar with Roman exemplary discourse.

Both *exemplum* and *figura* create communities by creating links between the past (historical or legendary) and the present. Matthew Roller's (2004 and 2018) work has greatly improved our understanding the Roman use of *exempla*, the rhetorical presentation of the extraordinary deeds as models for imitation. Similarly, much work has been done on the place of figural interpretation in the formation of a Christian discourse (for instance, Dawson 2001). Figural interpretation presents events in the "Old Testament" as anticipations of events in the life of Christ or the Christian community.

The use of *exempla* in Ambrose's writings has begun to receive attention in recent years. Margaret Mohrmann (1995), focusing on Ambrose's *De Officiis*, has demonstrated Ambrose's preference for teaching morals by *exempla* rather than precepts. Marcia Colish (2005) has focused on Ambrose's presentation of four Old Testament Patriarchs as models for the lay Christians. Andrew Harmon (2017), relying on Matthew Roller's 2004 article, focusing primarily on Ambrose's *De Officiis*, has shown the manner in which Ambrose's appeals to Old Testament *exempla* function as an appeal to antiquity in the context of the Roman discourse of exemplarity. Similarly, much work has been done on the place of typology in Ambrose's work (for instance, Jacob 1990 and 1993). Little work has been done, however, to consider how the discourse of exemplarity functions in Ambrose's work to reframe typology in a manner appealing to his western, Latin audience.

This paper considers how Ambrose, in his homiletic commentary *De Abraham*, uses the language of the *exemplum* to frame his presentation of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac (Genesis 22) as a figure of the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. He does so by beginning the work with a passage that alludes to the contrast drawn in Cicero's *De Republica* II.1 between the fictitious cities invented by philosophers and the historical verity of the Roman constitution. That *exemplum* is used to demonstrate the value of a new version of the classical Roman virtue of *fides*, loyalty to and faith in the Christian God. Ambrose discusses at length how those who hear the story of Abraham and Isaac learn zeal in obeying God. The exemplary function of Abraham is demonstrated especially clearly when Ambrose describes how Christian fathers gladly allow their sons to be martyred because of the example of Abraham and its typological fulfillment in Christ's sacrifice on the cross. Ambrose, moreover, rather than giving his audience an Abraham whose faith is merely static, presents Abraham as a model of the growth in knowledge of the Trinity through faithful obedience to God's commands. He emphasizes the fact that Abraham initially does not know about the ram that God would provide to replace Isaac (Genesis 22:10–14), let alone its function as a figure of Christ on the cross. By the end of the story, however, the unexpected gift of the sacrificial ram has revealed to Abraham Christ's saving sacrifice and his divinity.

Ambrose thus presents Abraham's life as a process of growth into knowledge of Christ's divinity. In so doing, he performatively effects in his audience a similar development in their understanding of Christ in order to bring them from their initial ambivalence to theology (Williams 2017) to a belief in Christ's divinity and its manifestation in "Old Testament" *figurae*. Ambrose thus makes use of traditional Roman exemplary discourse to form a communal identity for his Milanese audience centered around the experience of growing into knowledge of Christ. This paper demonstrates the ease with which early Christian authors like Ambrose interwove the discourses of exemplarity and typology and thus found a place for (their version of) Christianity in the late antique world.

Title: The Encomiastic "Other" in Jerome's Epistles

Name: Angela Zielinski Kinney

A hazy image of the life of Jerome of Stridon can be glimpsed through his letters. These letters paint a portrait of the man as he wished to be seen and remembered for posterity, but they also expose paradoxical interplay between the author's intellect and his emotions, between his rhetoric and his reality. This paper examines a specific rhetorical strategy used by Jerome to praise his elite friends at the expense of the indigent poor.

The study consists of two parts. It begins by exploring Jerome's self-representation in his *Epistulae*. How did a man from a well-off family come to depict himself as living in abject poverty, a romanticized "Other"? How did he describe the people he encouraged in their asceticism? How poor was this elite, educated community of ascetics? This "performance of poverty" is contrasted with his theological and personal opinion of *actual* socio-economic "Others" – that is, poor people. One of the primary sources for Jerome's distinction between the "holy poor" and the "vulgar poor" is *Contra Vigilantium* 13–15, where he argues against sending alms to local churches. Instead, he states, one should donate to the *sancti pauperes*, those who deliberately renounce the world and set their minds on spiritual things. His argument is remarkably commercial: it is good to give alms to those who can give something back. This sanitized and socially acceptable version of poverty rests upon an insidious interpretation of Mt 5.3.

With this framework in place, the second half of the study will examine the four quotations of *Aeneid* 6.625–27 in his corpus (*Epp.* 60.16, 66.5, 77.6, and 123.16). This Virgilian passage – commonly known as the "many mouths" motif – ultimately has its roots in *Iliad* 2.488–93, the beginning of the catalogue of ships. The motif has a long literary history, especially in Latin literature (Courcelle 1955), and has been used as an exemplum in the literary-critical treatment of allusion (Farrell 1991, Hinds 1998, Gowers 2005). Although a discussion of the literary history of the motif appears in a commentary on Jerome, *Ep.* 108 (Cain 2013), its consistent use as an overt "othering" marker by Jerome has not previously been discussed.

Jerome's four uses of the "many mouths" motif fall into two groups: two examples occur in the context of the barbarian invasions (*Epp.* 60.16 and 123.16), and two in the context of the suffering poor (*Epp.* 66.5 and 77.6).

Close readings of these four passages show that the motif is consistently used as a literary device meant to distance the author from distasteful subject matter. The two examples pertaining to the barbarians are briefly discussed as "othering" strategies; as the earliest example of the motif in Jerome's corpus pertains to these incursions (*Ep.* 60.16), analysis of the "barbarian examples" provides an important background for the use of the motif in the context of the indigent poor in *Epp.* 66 and 77. The second pair of examples occur in encomiastic epistles for Jerome's friends, who established a hospice at Porto. In these epistles, the Virgilian "many mouths" motif is used to punctuate grisly descriptions of illnesses and injuries, and in turn to emphasize the holiness of the elite ascetics who deigned to care for them. These passages will be discussed in terms of their dramatic and exploitative function, as well as in the context of the stigmatized (i.e., potentially punitive) injuries that appear in *Ep.* 77.6: *Describam ego nunc diversas hominum calamitates: truncas nares, effossos oculos, semiustos pedes...?*

This study of the "many mouths" motif as an "othering" device in Jerome has some bearing on whether *Ep.* 108.1 is, in fact, an instance of the motif at all (as claimed by Courcelle 1955 and Cain 2013). The paper will conclude with some broader questions about the perception of poverty and illness in late antique Christianity, and a discussion of the role literary allusion can play in exploitation.

Title: A Fiction of Nature and the Nature of Fiction: Animal Allegory in the Greek Physiologos

Name: Alvaro O. Pires

This paper examines the interpretative methods of the Greek *Physiologos* (ca. 2nd-4th c. CE), arguing that the text's allegoresis of creatures generates a conception of nature as fantastical. The *Physiologos*, an anonymous early Christian Greek compendium of animal lore, has traditionally been viewed in the scholarship as marking an abrupt break from the Aristotelian tradition of zoological inquiry, with disdain directed at its "credulity" towards the marvellous content in its pages (e.g., Wellmann 1930, Perry 1941, Festugière 1944). More recent scholarly developments have shifted this attitude, drawing attention to the text's role in transmitting and transforming zoological knowledge in the milieu of the early Church, with a focus especially on the text's hermeneutics (Cox 1983, Scott 2002, Zucker 2004, Lazaris 2016, Kindschi-Garský & Hirsch-Luipold 2019). This paper follows these currents in addressing how the allegorical methods of the *Physiologos* give rise to fantastical elements in the text, with an eye towards reading the text through the lens of fictionality.

Despite the increased focus on the literary strategies of the *Physiologos*, the question of fictionality in the text's presentation of zoological material has not been satisfactorily addressed. Recent work has shifted the discussion of

fictionality in post-classical Greek literature onto texts not traditionally considered “fictional” (Roilos 2014, Cupane & Krönung 2016), but the *Physiologos* and zoological material more broadly has yet to fall within the purview of such studies. A chief concern of the current paper focuses on whether the *Physiologos* accepts the existence of the animals it describes as creatures inhabiting the material world of the senses. A variant version of the chapter on the siren and the centaur from the text’s first redaction (13b) exemplifies this ontological ambivalence, asserting the unreality of the two creatures and labelling them “a figment of a wicked imagination” (διανοίας εἰσὶν ἀνάπλασμα κακοδαίμονος), while still deriving a spiritual truth and an edifying lesson from them. This bears implications for how the remaining entries in the text ought to be understood and for the role of allegory in permitting the coexistence of fiction and spiritual edification, especially given the decidedly mixed attitude among late ancient and medieval Christian intellectuals towards fiction in its relation to truth and moral instruction (Roilos 2014).

Late ancient Christian and Neoplatonist exegetes attest to the tempestuous associations between fiction and allegoresis/relation between fiction and allegoresis. Basil of Caesarea takes a hostile view towards allegory and fiction in his *Hexaemeron*, linking the two with one another. He dismissively characterizes the interpretations of allegorists as fabrications, labelling their insights as harmful φαντασία (*Hexaemeron* 9.1) and old wives’ tales (*Hexaemeron* 3.9). In contrast, Origen employs allegory extensively in his exegesis of scripture, characterizing the text as an enigma to be unraveled in the act of interpretation (*Comm. in Cant. prol.* 3.11) and drawing a parallel between the text and the material world of phenomena (*Comm. in Cant.* III. 27-8). This approach contains strong resonances of Neoplatonic interpretation, as attested by Porphyry’s characterization of the Homeric text in *On the Cave of the Nymphs* (*Antr.* 1). For Origen (*Comm. in Cant. prol.* 2.14) as for Porphyry (*Antr.* 4), allegory is a tool by which to “redeem” a text from the interpretative closure arising from its being read as merely an entertaining πλάσμα.

Through comparison with the works of these exegetes, this paper contextualizes the interpretative strategies of the *Physiologos*, arguing that the text problematizes the reality of the material world it aims to illuminate. By presenting its zoological material through the medium of allegoresis, the *Physiologos* characterizes nature as a πλάσμα or αἴνιγμα.

Session 66: Homeric

Title: Another Current in Homer's Ocean

Name: Joshua M. Smith

Of all metaphors applied to Homeric poetry by ancient criticism, the figure of Ocean afforded the broadest horizons. The epic image of a circumfluent river encompassing the known world and feeding all interior waterways (*Iliad* 21.193-197) aptly captured Homer’s status as the original source and *terminus ultra quem non* of the literary cosmos. Current—or “current”—scholarship rightly identifies the metaphor as a conventional indication of conscious, selective Homeric mimesis by other authors, often figured in terms of “drawing off” water from a source in the process of irrigation or drinking (esp. Brink 1972, Williams 1978, Pontani 2000, Jones 2005, Fenoglio 2012, van den Berg 2017). A key testimony, however, is omitted in the relevant discussions, resulting in a reduced appreciation of the metaphor’s capabilities and textures. A careful consideration of Maximus of Tyre (*Dialexeis* 26.3) illuminates an altogether different kind of influence latent in the metaphor, one of inevitable and total permeation.

I first offer a brief survey of the most important testimonia to the identification of Homer as Ocean. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Comp.* 24.16-21) and Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.46) provide the most explicit association between Homer’s primacy and Ocean’s status as source and boundary. Others (e.g., Manilius, *Astr.* 2.8-11) are less explicitly Oceanic but nonetheless communicate similar notions of Homer as a nourishing aqueous source, always in reference to linguistic or rhetorical content. I then explain how Maximus deploys the metaphor with a new valence by describing Plato’s language (καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ ῥήματα) as an off-flowing from Homer’s eloquence (ἐκείνης τῆς ἀρμονίας ἀπορροή) in the same way as water flows ineluctably from the Ocean through numerous intermediaries to the Aegean. Whereas previous deployments of the image posit Homer’s *posteritas* as self-selecting the nature of their engagement with the Poet—a superficial, artificial, and deliberate mimesis—Maximus sees a deep-seated, naturalized, and inevitable Homeric flow. This type of influence finds an apt analogue in Maximus’ parallel description of the decisively familial relationship shared by Plato and Homer. With the help of the father-son

paradigm offered by *Odyssey* 4.149-150, Maximus capitalizes on a more rigorous reading of the Ocean, which in the *Iliad* is a progenitor simultaneously hydrological and mythological, the source of all waterways and the father of all gods (γένεσις πάντεσσι, *Iliad* 14.246; pace Panchenko 1994-1995). In the hands of Maximus, therefore, the metaphor becomes more capacious: Oceanic Homer is not merely an accessible fount of supply for other authors, but a necessary and inescapable genetic precursor to any literary composition. Homeric currents have permeated the entire logosphere.

By understanding this neglected aspect of the Ocean metaphor, we can better appreciate its place in the history of Homeric reception, and of ancient conceptions of influence more broadly. When, for example, the 12th-century scholar Eustathius uses the Ocean metaphor as a resounding advertisement for Homer's nearly exclusive grasp on original eloquence (*Proem. ad Il.* 1.1.5-10), he does so in the language of inevitability, with all human intellectual disciplines being forced to acknowledge their Homeric debts. The Eustathian deployment is unique in its breadth of application, but the seeds of its expansive conception of influence are found already in the 2nd century CE in the work of the proto-Neoplatonic philosopher. The transformation of Homer into his true Oceanic self thus challenges the simplicity of older paradigms and, in an ironic twist, even inverts Platonic potamology, with Ocean usurping the role of Lethe as the source from which all must drink.

Title: More Useful and More Trustworthy? The Cyclical Poem in Scholia

Name: Jennifer L. Weintritt

The poems of the Greek Epic Cycle are best known for what they are not: Homer. In the *Poetics*, Aristotle contrasts the many plots of the *Cypria* and the *Little Iliad* with Homer's superior sense of unity (1549b). Likewise, Horace warns against the sprawling promises of the *scriptor cyclicus* (*Ars P.* 136-39). These pronouncements have dominated modern assessments of the Cycle and its legacy (Griffin, Horsfall). Yet, the recent turn in scholarship towards appraising literary criticism in practice through scholia (Nünlist) and emphasizing the context in which fragments are transmitted (Elliot) offer new tools for understanding the Epic Cycle in antiquity. In this paper, I examine the occasions for the Cycle's citation in scholia and offer a more nuanced view of its ancient reception.

On the one hand, Homeric scholia geared towards textual criticism present a negative portrait of the Cyclical poems: they are an influence that must be guarded against (Severyns; Schironi). Yet, we also see scholiasts appeal to the epics in order to assist the reader in understanding the work at hand. Why does Pindar call Achilles' spear 'furious' (ἀκμῆ | ἔγχεος ζακότοιο; *Nem.* 6.46-54)? For one scholiast, the answer lies in the *Little Iliad*, which described the spear as forked, a reflection of its owner's unique capacity for destruction. With a selection of comments from Homeric, Pindaric, and Euripidean scholia, I explore when it was appropriate to turn to the Cycle and what knowledge of these poems could contribute. Viewed from this angle, the scholia reveal that Cyclical epics were a trusted and generative source for later poets working within the Trojan War myth. For example, a scholiast defends Euripides against an accusation that he has misunderstood Homer by citing the *Iliou Persis*, a source he designates as "more useful and more trustworthy" (χρησιμωτέρους καὶ ἀξιοπιστοτέρους; *Schol. Eur. ad Andr.* 10). Furthermore, in Homeric scholia, we see the poems' nebulous connection to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* raise questions about continuity that shed light on the way epics were thought to interact.

In opposition to high profile critics like Callimachus (Ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν; *Ep.* 28, Pf.), the scholia demonstrate that, in practice, the Cyclical poems wielded more influence than is usually assumed. This new approach to the Cycle through scholia lays the foundation for fruitful inquiries into its reception by later poets, Greek and Roman. It also suggests that future editions should place more emphasis on the context in which we find the poems' fragments. In doing so, we can deliver a more holistic and robust account of the Epic Cycle and its place in the ancient canon.

Title: Poetically Packed: πυκ[ι]νός in the Iliad

Name: Kaitlyn Boulding

At the end of her lament for Hector in Book 24 of the *Iliad*, Andromache grieves that Hector has not left her a πυκινὸν ἔπος, "a wise word." In this paper I examine the range of contexts in which πυκ[ι]νός appears to show how

this word provides a backdrop of density that applies to disparate aspects of a scene. Moreover, since $\pi\kappa[\iota]\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ acts as a hypertextual link between different sections of the poem (Dué 2010, Purves 2013), it reminds the audience listening to Andromache’s lament of the other instances where “closely-packed” objects, phenomena, and feelings occur, thus adding poetic resonance to her speech. Accordingly, for ancient audiences, $\pi\kappa[\iota]\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ connotes the intimacy and protection of which Andromache is now bereft.

At the most concrete level, the adjective $\pi\kappa[\iota]\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ means ‘closely packed,’ a quality that applies to both space and time. The word as used in the *Iliad* describes a variety of natural phenomena, built objects, military strategies, emotions, thoughts, and feelings. Casey Dué argues that for an ancient audience, this “single word, $\pi\kappa[\iota]\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$, with its complex and varying imagery, could serve as a narrative signal” (2010). Alex Purves builds on Dué’s work to show how the word indicates metapoetic texture in Homeric poetry (2013). Moreover, John Foley has shown that the phrase $\pi\kappa\iota\nu\acute{o}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ connotes “a message... of great importance, one that if properly delivered and received would change the present course of events profoundly” (1991:155-156). But what exactly is the narrative signal conveyed in Andromache’s speech and does “wise” or “momentous” fully capture the connotations of $\pi\kappa[\iota]\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$? Throughout this paper I argue that the primary meaning of $\pi\kappa[\iota]\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$, “dense,” is more relevant to Andromache’s words than was formerly understood.

In the first section of my paper, I survey examples of where $\pi\kappa[\iota]\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ carries concrete physical associations in relation to natural phenomena, such as underbrush, plumage and tree branches, as well as craft objects, such as beds, doors, houses, and armour. These objects frequently provide protection or are sites of intimacy because of their density. For example, dense underbrush ($\delta\rho\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha} \pi\kappa\nu\acute{\alpha}$, 11.118, or $\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\eta\grave{\iota}\alpha \pi\kappa\nu\acute{\alpha}$ 13.99, 23.122) provides hiding places for animals just as walls with closely packed stones ($\pi\kappa\iota\nu\acute{o}\iota\sigma\iota \lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$ 12.212), well-fitted doors ($\pi\kappa\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$, 14.167, 14.339), and stout-built houses ($\pi\kappa\iota\nu\acute{o}\nu \delta\acute{o}\mu\omicron\nu$ 12.301) provide the protection needed to allow a thick bed ($\pi\kappa\iota\nu\acute{o}\nu \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\varsigma$ 9.622 = 9.661) to be a site of intimacy.

Second, to illustrate the association between the close packed nature of physical density and the intensity of dense thoughts and feelings, I analyse how $\pi\kappa[\iota]\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ describes emotional and intellectual density throughout the *Iliad*. For example, Achilles’ thick groaning ($\pi\kappa\nu\acute{\alpha} \sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\nu$) after Patroklos’ death is compared to a lion’s deep groaning ($\beta\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon} \sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\nu$) when she returns to her lair to find that her cubs had been away by a hunter (18.318-323). Moreover, although Achilles’ frequent groans, $\pi\kappa\nu\acute{\alpha} \sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\nu$, are compared to the lion’s deep groans, $\beta\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon} \sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\nu$, it is the forest that is dense ($\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta\varsigma \pi\kappa\iota\nu\eta\grave{\iota}\varsigma$) in the simile. This case illustrates the way that the Homeric poet employs the word $\pi\kappa[\iota]\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ to provide a backdrop of density that sets the tone on both the poetic and metapoetic levels. I argue that this dense poetic texture also occurs with other uses of $\pi\kappa[\iota]\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$, such as in Andromache’s lament. Finally, I return to re-examine Andromache’s use of the phrase $\pi\kappa\iota\nu\acute{o}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ with this in mind, ultimately showing that it reverberates with echoes of the protection and intimacy that Andromache mourns while mourning her husband.

Title: Helen of Troy and Her Indo-European Sisters: Women’s Vocal Agency and Self-Rescue in Greek, Indian, and Irish Epic

Name: John McDonald

Helen and Priam’s curious conversation in Book 3 of the *Iliad*, the so-called *Teichoskopia*, is a perpetual puzzle for students of Homeric poetry. In a seminal 1994 article, Stephanie Jamison, a scholar of Sanskrit literature, endeavored to explain some of the oddities of the question-and-answer exchange between the captive Spartan queen and her Trojan abductor’s father by comparing it to a corresponding episode in the *Mahabharata*, the primary Indian poetic equivalent of the Greek Epic Cycle (Allen 2002b, West 2005–2006, 2006, and 2009). In the scene in question, the captive princess Draupadi, whose mythology extensively intersects with the biographies of both Helen and Penelope (Allen 2002a, Jackson 2006, Jamison 1999), is asked by her abductor Jayadratha to identify the men coming to her rescue. The pursuers turn out to be Draupadi’s five husbands, the Pandava brothers, all of whom to varying degrees possess precise and complex similarities with some of the more prominent characters of the narrative of the Trojan War, including Helen’s twin brothers the Dioskouroi (Allen 2014). Draupadi, predicting Jayadratha’s imminent defeat, gloatingly proceeds to comply with his request and does so at considerable length, describing each of her husbands in detail, and in so doing verbally dominating a situation that quickly leads to her

own recovery, a recovery that Jamison conceives of as having been vocally initiated and sanctioned by Draupadi's potent speech act.

The details of the *Teichoskopia* to which Jamison's essay draws attention include her observation that Helen subtly seizes comparable control of her dialogue with Priam, identifying and describing several of her currently visible intended rescuers beyond those indicated and asked about by Priam, and additionally referencing the conspicuously absent Dioskouroi. This presentation seeks to confirm and expand on the validity and essential significance of Jamison's perspective by combining her Greco-Indian material with what appears to be a related medieval text that is a constituent of the Ulster Cycle, the Irish interpretation of the same inherited narrative from which those of the Trojan War and the *Mahabharata* have been fabricated (Bader 1980). In the Irish text, the abducted heroine Blathnat is asked by her captor Cu Roi to identify some figures he spies approaching his fortress. These figures are a mounted troop led by Blathnat's lover Cu Chulainn, who has much in common with the Dioskouroi and several other key players in the mythology of the Trojan War and the *Mahabharata* (Allen 2000 and 2001, Clarke 2009). Blathnat, however, despite the fact that she recognizes them and knew to expect their arrival, deliberately mistakes the men for members of Cu Roi's staff and their horses for cows. The result of Blathnat's calculated falsehoods is that she commands the outcome of this rescue mission: Cu Roi is tricked into thinking himself safe, obliviously enters into his fortress, and, with further crucial help from Blathnat, becomes the victim of a successful surprise invasion.

When inspected from a comparative and diachronic vantage point, this trinity of cognate narratives and the triad of textual sisters that propel their plots reveal a shared focus on abducted women who substantially contribute to their own rescues by means of remarkably consonant vocal performances. Although Draupadi and Helen to one extent or another submit to the requests of their abductors, they both blend superficial obedience with subversion of their anticipated verbal roles by enhancing their responses in ways that are empowering and reflective of reclaimed autonomy. The Irish storytellers have magnified the ideology that sculpts this hereditary lore by creating Blathnat, who, in an act of narratological defiance, advantageously undermines Cu Roi's expectations of her, and whose male rescuers are virtually superfluous embellishments in a narrative dictated by female vocal agency.

Title: Panhellenistic Appropriations: The Case of Aphrodite, Diomedes' Aristeia, and Tablet VI of Gilgamesh
Name: Marcus D. Ziemann

It is well-established that Diomedes' attack on Aphrodite and her subsequent complaint on Mt. Olympus in Book V of the *Iliad* draws on Tablet VI of the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (Gresseth 1975; Burkert 1992; Andersen 1997; West 1997; Burkert 2004; Currie 2016). However, the discussion has mostly stalled at the "parallelomania" stage, and there has been little discussion of the purpose of the adaptation (Burkert 1992: the borrowing is "without function"). Currie (2016) agrees, but he nevertheless argues that the differences between the *Iliadic* and *Gilgamesh* passages demonstrate that Homer was engaged in a complex and creative reuse of material from *Gilgamesh*. Building on Currie's insight, I argue that the differences between the Greek and Akkadian passages reflect Homer's interest in establishing the "correct" Panhellenic role for Aphrodite.

The above-mentioned scholars have focused especially on the congruence between the two goddesses, Aphrodite and Ishtar respectively, ascending to heaven to complain to their parents, the sky-gods of their respective cultures (Zeus, Anu). Furthermore, in both cases the female sky-goddess's name is simply a grammatically feminine version of her male counterpart's name (Anu/Antu and Zeus/Dione). Indeed, Dione is not normally Aphrodite's mother, which suggests that Homer has borrowed from a non-Greek source. Moreover, in both passages there is a list of mortals who are punished after interacting with the gods. However, as Currie 2016 has particularly stressed, the action of the scene in the *Iliad* has been shifted from the bedroom to the battlefield.

This aspect of the Homeric appropriation is important. Ishtar is canonically a goddess of both love and warfare, but Aphrodite is normally only a goddess of love. Both of Ishtar's aspects are present in Tablet VI: her proposal to Gilgamesh (love) and Gilgamesh's fight with the Bull of Heaven (warfare). However, the scene in Homer revolves around the question of Aphrodite's fitness for battle. Homer has therefore reversed his source material. Other reversals are evident in the Homeric passage: Diomedes wounds Aphrodite rather than simply mocking her; the list of mortals is used to console the goddess rather than to rebuke her; a goddess recounts the list rather than a mortal;

and finally Zeus does not accede to Aphrodite's request, unlike Anu who grants Ishtar's. In short, Homer consistently reverses the plot and thematic elements found in *Gilgamesh*.

I argue that Homer does so in order to establish the correct Panhellenic attributes for Aphrodite. Unlike her Mesopotamian counterpart, she does not belong on the battlefield. Consequently, Diomedes, who stands in as the Panhellenic hero *par excellence* in Achilles' absence (Nagy 1979; Louden 2006), drives her out of battle. Furthermore, Zeus, the supremely Panhellenic god, vindicates Diomedes' actions by telling Aphrodite that should concern herself with love, not war. Consequently, Aphrodite could possibly have taken on foreign aspects in this scene that were not accepted in the Panhellenic tradition of Greek mythology. But there is also some evidence that Aphrodite may have been a goddess of war in local Greek contexts (Flemborg 1991; Penglas 1994; Iossif/Lorber 2007; Budin 2010). Therefore, Homer introduces a potentially problematic Aphrodite who borrows warrior aspects from foreign (and maybe local) counterparts that were both love and war goddesses. He subsequently confronts her with two figures with solid Panhellenic credentials (Diomedes and Zeus) who restrict her to the realm of love.

Diomedes' and Zeus' rebuke of Aphrodite for taking part in the fighting can therefore take on a metapoetic significance. Homer rejects certain facets of foreign (and local Greek?) mythology as appropriate for Panhellenic epic. However, while he rejects a Mesopotamian style Aphrodite, he does so by using one of the most famous scenes from the most famous Mesopotamian epic. In other words, a Greek can play at the same game as the older and more prestigious Mesopotamians.

Session 67: Plato and his Reception

Title: Divination and Dialogue: The Construction of Philosophy in Plato's *Apology*

Name: Ethan Schwartz

This paper argues that the conceptual world of divination plays a central and productive role in Plato's construction of dialogical philosophy in his *Apology*. The study of ancient divination has emerged in recent decades as one of the most exciting comparative enterprises in Classical and ancient Near Eastern studies, uncovering the sophistication and ubiquity of this widespread cultural phenomenon (e.g. Bowden 2005, Huffmon 2007, Maurizio 1997, and Nissinen 2017). This has prompted new attention to the surprising prevalence of divination throughout the Platonic corpus. In recent studies, for instance, Kathryn A. Morgan (2010) has shown how Plato uses divinatory language to transfer authority from Socrates himself to the very practice of philosophy, while Peter T. Struck (2014 and 2016) has discussed Plato's employment of divination as a metaphor for intuitive knowledge. Naturally, attention to divination in Plato has prompted fresh consideration of the most famous divinatory phenomenon in the corpus: the Delphic oracle by which Socrates claims to have been spurred in the *Apology*. Several scholars (e.g. Brickhouse and Smith 1983, Dorion 2012, McPherran 1996 and 2002, and Stokes 1992) have emphasized the significance of the connection between the oracle and the origins of Socrates' elenchus, while Julia Kindt (2016) has compellingly shown that the *Apology* can be read as a subversive iteration of a discernible genre of Delphic narrative.

These studies share a sense that the Delphic oracle is not simply a cultural reference but an essential part of the literary drama of the *Apology*—necessary for a full understanding of its view of philosophy. They tend to present Socrates as a human spokesperson for the oracle; puzzled by its pronouncement of his wisdom, he is driven to live a life that effects the Delphic exposure of hubris inasmuch as he undermines others' pretenses to wisdom. To be sure, several moments in the *Apology* recommend such a view—most notably Socrates' famous self-identification as a divinely appointed “gadfly” (*Ap.* 30e). However, the present paper aims to nuance this approach by showing how the *Apology* mobilizes divination toward an authorization of not only philosophy in general but, more specifically, a *dialogical* vision of philosophy, in which truth emerges in the interpersonal space of conversation. In divination, knowledge results from the confrontation of two entities: the god and the patron or performer of the divinatory act. Plato's Socrates seizes upon this binary mode of knowing as a model for learning through dialogue: now, the confrontation is between two human personalities rather than one human and one divine. In dialogical philosophy, the voice of the interlocutor assumes the role of the fiat of divine pronouncement. The result is that in being activated by the Delphic oracle, dialogical philosophy ultimately supersedes it: people are now able to learn and to cultivate virtue by inquiring of each other, not oracles. In this way, although the *Apology* does not constitute an unqualified break with the world of ancient divination, it does subtly *construct* such a break from within that very cultural world.

The paper proceeds in three parts. I begin by briefly reviewing the literature discussed above and making the case for reading the *Apology* with particular attention to Delphi. In the second section, I situate this divinatory reading in relation to debates about the purpose and procedure of the elenchus (e.g. Brickhouse and Smith 1991, Kraut 1983, Seeskin 1987, Vlastos 1995, and Wolfsdorf 2008). I argue that Plato's use of divinatory concepts coheres with an understanding of the elenchus as a genuine conversation in which Socrates views himself as a participant within a shared cultivation of virtue, rather than a unilateral teacher. In the final section of the paper, I show how this is realized in Socrates' closing case for dialogical philosophy as the corrective to the "unexamined life" (*Ap.* 37e–39e), which he expresses through repeated employment of divinatory language (e.g. *χρησιμωδέω, μαντεύομαι*).

Title: Plato's *Apology of Socrates: For What Does Socrates Die?*

Name: Joseph Gerbasi

This paper interprets Socrates' defense speech in Plato's *Apology of Socrates* within the unstable context of late 5th century Athenian political ideology concerning self-sacrifice, and thereby challenges the dominant approach to interpreting the speech. Going back at least to Hegel, scholars have taken Socrates' speech to his jurors to be a performance of a conflict between philosophy and the city, between the individual and the collective, between rationalistic morality and conventional ethical values (Most 2007). For some, this conflict is unresolvable, and leads to the tragic failure of Socrates' defense (e.g. Brann 1978, West 1979, McPherran 1986, Reeve 1989, Burnyeat 1998, Cartledge 2009, Gonzalez 2009). For others, the dialogue's aim is to show that the failure was not fated, but was the result of misunderstanding, and that Socratic philosophy and Athenian democracy are essentially compatible (e.g. Grote 1879, Jaeger 1947, Woozley 1979, Kraut 1984, Recco 2009). The speech itself is ambiguous on the matter, and both traditional camps of interpretation tend to rely on the portrayal of Socrates in other dialogues and *a priori* philosophical principles as explanatory sources for making sense of those ambiguities. Against this tradition, and in agreement with recent approaches to reading the Platonic dialogues attuned to their "historicity" (Nightingale 1995), their "entanglement" in democratic ideologies (Monoson 2000), and their fundamentally "apologetic" purpose (Danzig 2010), I propose reading the *Apology* as a thoroughly ideological document, part of a narrative constructed by Plato to present Socrates as an exemplary Athenian citizen. The ambiguities in Socrates' speech, I argue, reflect, not a tension between a traditional civic morality and a higher philosophical one, but a tension intrinsic to the very conception of an exemplary citizen at this particular historical and cultural moment.

For understanding those tensions, I draw on the scholarship surrounding a change that took place at the end of the 5th century in Athenian ideology, namely, an abstraction of the very idea of the city: no longer was the city a collection of citizens, whose interests were the citizens' own, but now it was becoming a sovereign entity which transcended its citizenry and the citizenry's interests (Finley 1971, Romilly 1971, Loraux 1986, Ostwald 1986, Sealey 1987, Nightingale 1999). This change naturally produces a problem for demonstrating one's own exemplarity: according to the earlier 5th century view, the citizen, by sacrificing himself for the good of the city, partakes in a common good which is immediately intelligible to himself and other citizens; now, however, the city demands obedience and self-sacrifice from its citizens for its own purposes. My argument is that Socrates' self-presentation as an ideal citizen oscillates between both understandings and that this oscillation animates the ambiguities in Socrates' speech.

Hence the textual focus of my argument are those passages in the *Apology* where Socrates, ostensibly in order to defend his life of philosophizing, packages it in a narrative of self-sacrifice. I pay particular attention to what in Socrates' defense seems, on the contrary, to contradict or just to sit uneasily with this narrative: his comparison of himself to a foreigner (17c-18a), his appropriation of the non-democratic Achillean ethos (28b-d), his apparent willingness to disobey the hypothetical decree not to philosophize (29c-d), his dissent from the majority's condemnation of the twelve generals (32a-c) and his disobedience to the orders of the Thirty (32c-32d), his general avoidance of political engagement (32a-d), and, not least, his own ignorance concerning the right standards of conduct to teach the youth (20a-c; 23c-d). The inclusion of these details in Socrates' defense has hitherto been explained only by reference to the incommunicability between the philosophical and civic ways of life; on my reading, however, they point to an implicit tension within the ideology concerning the relationship between citizen and city itself, which Socrates, holding up a mirror to Athenian democracy, helps make explicit.

Title: Religious Practice as Play in Plato's *Laws*

Name: Justin Barney

In Plato's *Laws* 7, the Athenian stranger argues that humans ought to live out their whole lives “playing the finest games” (παίζοντα ὅτι καλλίστας παιδιὰς), which he identifies as “sacrificing and singing and dancing” (θύοντα καὶ ἄδοντα καὶ ὀρχούμενον, 7.803C7-E2). Sacrifice's inclusion in this list is peculiar, since sacrifice is not an activity that was associated with play or children, as singing and dancing both are. Studies of play in the *Laws* have not commented on sacrifices' identification as a kind of play, nor do they focus on a unique feature of these games, which distinguishes them from other examples in the Platonic corpus: they are all instances of religious practice (Gundert, Roochnik, Jouët-Pastre, Kidd). Some scholars of Platonic religion have identified these activities as associated with religious festivals (Morrow, McPherran). They have understood Plato's designation of religious practices as forms of “serious play” to indicate that such practices are delightful in themselves. While this is one reason for Plato's classification, these authors do not investigate other connections between religious practices and Plato's discussion of play throughout the *Laws*. Nor do they explore why Plato describes religious practices with an oxymoron—play (παιδιά) and seriousness (σπουδή) being directly contrasted throughout the work. This paper highlights several ways in which sacrifice, singing and dancing constitute acts of play. I argue that in the ideal city, both play and religious practice are to be strictly regulated, that each constitutes an activity that accords with reason, and that each therefore produces positive psychological effects and social benefits to the state. Finally, I will argue that religious practice, like other forms of play, produces effects that are discrete from the basic motivation of the typical participant, i.e. to pursue pleasure.

Earlier in Book 7, the Athenian argued that children's games should be strictly regulated, and warns of the dangers of children who innovate in their play (7.797A7-B4). Likewise, he explains that religious practices should conform to a conservative authority. As citizens participate in “the finest games,” the god and a guardian spirit will make suggestions as to which gods they should honor and when (7.804A3-B4). Furthermore, the Athenian states that by following the suggestions of the gods, humans live their lives in accordance with their nature as “puppets for the most part” (θαύματα τὸ πολὺ). Here the Athenian makes a connection between the proper practice of religion and his puppet analogy, as it was developed in *Laws* 1. The analogy illustrates that humans are motivated by cords that pull at them internally: two iron cords (pleasure and pain) and one golden cord (calculation). In appealing to this analogy, I argue, the Athenian suggests that the performance of religious practices is analogous to a human's use of “the golden and sacred cord of calculation,” the use of which the city's strict laws are meant to encourage (645A1).

This latter claim is seemingly undercut by the most basic definition of play in the *Laws* as an activity which is performed for the sake of pleasure alone. If the performance of religious practices is a type of play, then one might expect their performance to be an instance of following the iron cord of pleasure. But while self-rule consists of following calculation in spite of pulls from the iron cords, virtue is developed through the process of bringing about agreement between one's three internal cords. So as in other cases of play, religious practice is sought for the pleasure it produces, but because lawmakers ensure that the activity accords with reason, play habituates the practitioner to acting virtuously and produces a social benefit to the state.

Title: Roman Stoic appropriation of the Middle Platonic “imitation of god”

Name: Collin Miles Hilton

While Zeno seems to have defined the ideal aim (*telos*) of life as living in accordance to nature (*apud* Cic. *Fin.* III.22, DL VII.87), Plato formulates it at several points as ὁμοίωσις θεῶ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, becoming like to god, to the extent that it is possible for a human (e.g. *Rep.* X.613a-b, *Tht.* 176b, *Ti.* 90c-d). Likeness to god became a defining feature of Platonism in the Roman empire, as many scholars have noted (e.g. Dillon [1977:9-10], Annas [1999:6], Tarrant [2007]). Alcinous' *Didaskalikos* identifies it as Plato's authoritative *telos* (II.2, XXVIII.1), Plutarch prominently appeals to it when characterizing the Academy (*De sera* 549e-550e, cf. *Ad principem ineruditum* 780d-781a), and the anonymous commentary on Plato's *Theaetetus* contrasts it with the Stoic idea of *oikeiōsis* (cols. VI-VIII, cf. LVIII-LIX). A doxography preserved by Stobaeus attributes the exhortation to “follow god” to Pythagoras and presents the Platonic imitation of god as an intellectual elaboration (II.3.6f, cf. Bonazzi [2007]).

Roman Stoics also drew prominently from Plato, adopting not just Socrates as a philosophical hero but more specifically Platonic ideas. Seneca even lists Plato in a list of “Stoic” authorities such as Zeno (108.38; see also e.g. George-Stones [2013] on Seneca, Long [2002] on Epictetus). Musonius Rufus (XVII.90.6-12 Hense) appeals to certain divine attributes of god to characterize this likeness, such as invulnerability to pleasure, greed, and envy, as well as generousness, beneficence, and philanthropy (μεγαλόφρων δὲ καὶ εὐεργετικὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος), while his student Epictetus (II.14.13) appeals to trust (πιστόν), liberality (ἐλεύθερον), beneficence (εὐεργετικόν), and generousness (μεγαλόφρονα). Seneca adapts this idea in *Ep.* 92 so as to undermine the qualifier “insofar as possible for a human:” the person who argues that one can only obtain the “shadow and likeness” of the gods is mistaken (*umbra... et similitudo*; §27), because the divine mind is fundamentally the same as the human mind (cf. Laurant 2014:144-192), man can become *equal* to god if he becomes virtue (*hic deos aequat*; §30), not just like god. While some studies of Stoic ethics omit this appropriation of a prominent Platonic category (e.g. Arnold [1911:282-283], Stevens [2007:124-132]), others only partially recognize its prevalence in the extant remains of Roman Stoics. Russell (2004), for instance, focuses exclusively on Seneca’s *Epistle*, while Long (2002) argues that “Epictetus appears to be the only Stoic who includes the exact Platonic expression in his theological repertory” (171). Reydams-Schils (2017) argues that perhaps even earlier Stoics incorporated the idea into their ethical ideal of living in accordance to nature, influencing Platonists such as Plutarch (esp. 154-158). Erler (2009) conversely argues that Stoics generally aspired to be likened to the sage, rather than god (49).

Seneca especially, I argue, grappled with this Platonic concept in *De providentia*, also addressed to Lucilius, more than has been recognized by prior scholars (cf. Natali [1994]). He argues the good person bears an affinity and likeness to god (*necessitudo et similitudo*), because he is god’s pupil and emulator and true progeny (*discipulus eius aemulatorque et uera progenes*, I.5). In contrast to the transcendent, inhuman divinity of Platonism, he particularly pictures Jupiter as a stern father (*sicut seueri patres*, I.5), who would love to watch men like Cato valiantly suffer because he delights in the exercise of virtue (II.9-12). Seneca gives the idea of likeness to god a distinctively Stoic twist in this work, as a part of his exhortation to Lucilius to abide what is fated: even the very god (*ispe*), who once (*semel*) wrote and issued fate, now always follows and obeys it (*sed sequitur, semper paret*; V.8). So too must we suffer what is fated well. Seneca’s exposition is more strongly gendered than Musonius’, fittingly for whom Nussbaum (2002) deems an “incomplete feminist,” but it also indicates Seneca’s inclination to develop multiple formulations to integrate the Platonistic concept with the Stoic living according to nature.

Title: Academic Consolation in Pseudo-Plato’s *Axiochus*

Name: Matthew Watton

The Platonic dialogue *Axiochus* is not by Plato. Though included in the Platonic corpus, already in antiquity it was bastardized—that is, athetized (DL 3.62). In the dialogue, Socrates tries to console Axiochus who is overcome by the fear of death. Socrates offers a two main lines of argument: the soul is mortal and so does not experience death, and the soul is immortal and experiences a blessed afterlife. Axiochus is persuaded and is released from his fear of death. Scholars generally agree that the work is a product of the late Hellenistic era (*circa* 1st century BCE) based on its language and philosophical eclecticism (Chevalier, Souilhé, Männlein-Robert). Scholars also agree that the work is a riff on the traditional consolatory epistle, here put into dialogue form (Buresch, Souilhé, O’Keefe). But there is little consensus on the origins of the work, with some claiming the author is Stoic (Meister), others vaguely ‘Academic’ (Chevalier, Souilhé), others simply a philosophical consoler (O’Keefe).

I argue for another option: the *Axiochus* is the product of Academic skepticism (a view suggested but not pursued by Müller). The Academics practiced argument on both sides, arguing for opposing or incompatible theses without assenting to them as true. In *Axiochus*, Socrates persuades Axiochus to abandon his fear of death using this skeptical argumentative strategy. He proposes an exhaustive dilemma: either the soul is mortal (an Epicurean view) or immortal (a Platonic view). *Either way*, he concludes that death is not an evil. The incompatibility of these views of the soul has garnered the *Axiochus* much reproach (see O’Keefe). But the conflict dissolves when we see this as part of the author’s Academic strategy: the *Axiochus* uses Academic argumentation for therapeutic and consolatory ends.

I defend this reading by drawing attention to an under-explored parallel: book 1 of Cicero’s *Tusculan Disputations*, whose topic is *de contemnenda morte*. Here, Cicero also argues against the fear of death by employing the same

dilemma of incompatible theses on the (im)mortality of the soul. Cicero is a committed Academic skeptic, and *TD* 1 explicitly denies that the truth is attainable for mortals; we must instead aim only for the *veri simile* (*TD* 1.8, 17, 23, 99). The similarities in both argumentative structure and content suggest that Cicero and the author of *Axiochus* are writing within the same Academic milieu.

Yet a question remains: which flavor of Academic skepticism is on display in *Axiochus*? While all agree that secure knowledge is unattainable, Academic skeptics divide into two camps. The radical skeptics prohibit all assent and argue on both sides in order to lead to a total suspension of judgment (*epochê*). The moderate skeptics permit assent only to what is probable and can alter their beliefs in light of new evidence or arguments. While there is murky evidence that the radical skeptics did compose philosophical consolations (Jerome, *Ep.* 60.5), I believe the *Axiochus* fits best with the probabilist Academics.

By posing the contradictory theses about the soul in the form of a *dilemma*, the Academic is best able to attain their consolatory goal. It turns out that death is not an evil no matter which of the two views of the soul is true. While we may waver in our belief as to whether the soul is mortal or immortal, the exhaustiveness of the dichotomy makes it extremely probable that death is not an evil. The conclusion of an exhaustive dilemma leads to a view that is as secure as an Academic could hope for, and there is evidence that the probabilist Academics employed dilemmatic arguments elsewhere (*Anon. Prol. in Plat.* 10, p.205 Hermann). Thus, an analysis of the argumentative structure of the dialogue suggests that the *Axiochus* is a product of the final stage of Academic skepticism, and perhaps was composed by Cicero's own Academic teacher, Philo of Larissa.

Session 68: Greek and Latin Comedy

Title: Pherecrates' Comic Poetics

Name: Amy S. Lewis

Pherecrates' comedy appears to have been remarkably different from the aggressive political and personal comedy associated with his better-known younger contemporary Aristophanes (Urios Aparisi 1997, 83-4): the anonymous *On Comedy* (Koster III.29-31) states that Pherecrates "stayed away from abuse (*loidoria*)" and "was popular for introducing novel actions and being an inventor of plots." The titles and fragments of his comedies likewise suggest little interest in political themes (Dobrov and Urios Aparisi 1995, 150) and a predilection for innovative domestic plots (*Slave Trainer*, *Stuff*), the stock figure of the hetaira (*Petale*, *Corianno*; Henderson 2000), mythological burlesque (*Ant-Men*, *False Heracles*), and utopian fantasy (*Wild Men*, *Miners*; Ceccarelli 2000, 455-8). Little attention has been paid, however, to Pherecrates' statements about his own comedy. The aim of this paper is to offer an interpretation of these statements and situate Pherecrates in the competitive milieu of fifth century comedy (Biles, 2010). I will argue that he used many of the same competitive techniques as his better-known rivals, but that he defended a non-political comedy of broad popular appeal. In this way he differs from Aristophanes, who claims that his comedy is didactic, contributes to city affairs, and appeals to a sophisticated elite (Wright 2012, 17-18; 64).

In the first part of the paper I will consider three fragments (*Crapataloi* fr. 102, *Chiron* fr.156, and *False Heracles* fr. 163) that point to a poetic claim of non-involvement (*apragmosynê*) by denying a comedy of *loidoria*. For example, in the *False Heracles* fragment, a character on stage responds in the first person to a hypothetical spectator, described as "one who thinks he's so clever" (*dokêsidexiôn*). The character on stage rebukes the spectator, ordering him not to be so meddlesome (*mê polypragmonei*) but to pay attention. The first person address from stage enhances the metatheatrical technique of imagining audience responses to comedy. This was a popular technique, as seen in Aristophanes' *Peace* 43-5 and Cratinus fr. 342. In the Pherecrates fragment, cleverness is associated with meddlesomeness (*polypragmosynê*) and the negative imperative implies that for Pherecrates' comedy these are bad traits. We can compare this to Aristophanes, where the response to the clever spectator comes from another clever (Ionian) spectator who suggests that the dung beetle is an allegory of Cleon (*Peace* 47-8). Here, the response to Aristophanes' clever spectator is an equally clever interpretation, suggesting that this is the type of spectator Aristophanes would like.

In the second part, I consider Pherecrates' comparison of his comedy to food and drink in *Crapataloi* fr. 101 ("Whoever of the spectators is thirsty, let him gulp down a full *lepastê* like Charybdis", Kassel and Austin 1989,

150-1) and Athenaeus' testimonium (11.464) that Pherecrates' audience never went hungry. I build on Wright's observations about food as a metaphor for comedy. He argues that Pherecrates' emphasis on being full is competitive and that, in his competitiveness, Pherecrates attempts to distance himself from the "world of fine dining with its fussy presentation and insubstantial portions" (Wright 2012, 130); thus, Wright argues, he seems to aim his comedy at an audience of lower socio-economic status. Agreeing with Wright's suggestions, I offer further observations on the nature of the *lepastē* and how this contributes to a Pherecratean consumptive poetics: according to Athenaeus (11.485) the *lepastē* was notable for its size, its ability to facilitate quick drinking, and its association with excessive drinking at the expense of taste. In comic terms, this association translates to a comedy that is immediately digestible, effective, and satisfying to every spectator.

In the final part of this paper, I will suggest that Aristophanes engaged in a sustained and dynamic rivalry with Pherecrates since he was a prime example of the low-brow (*phortikē*) comedy that Aristophanes disdained.

Title: Innovation and Intertextuality in Greek Mythological Comedy

Name: Dustin W. Dixon

Greek mythological comedy often entangles audiences in an interpretive double bind. While comedians often acknowledged a debt to poetic predecessors by parodying them, they, at the same time, projected an aggressive posture of innovation. This paper explores this tension between, on the one hand, revisiting a mythological tradition that traced back to Homer, and, on the other hand, emphasizing the originality of their literary endeavors.

Parody has often been interpreted as signaling intricate reworkings of tragic plots to appropriate tragedy's prestige (on this point, Taplin is seminal). This paper, however, offers a reading of how parody in mythological plays maximizes intertextual gaps, to borrow a phrase from Briggs and Bauman, from tragedy. I argue that tragic parody draws attention to the craft of innovation itself and thus positions comedy as a nimble genre that could better serve the needs and appeal to the interests of audiences.

This argument is grounded in case studies of two fragments. Antiphanes fr. 189, from a comedy called *Poetry* (4th century BCE), presents a humorously reductive understanding of the differences between the two genres. The speaker claims that comedians must invent everything whereas tragedians rely so extensively on tradition that, as soon as a character is mentioned, the plots are known by the spectators (οἱ λόγοι / ὑπὸ τῶν θεατῶν εἰς ἐγνωρισμένοι, 2-3). This fragment echoes but explicitly contradicts Aristotle's claim that even familiar myths are familiar only to few people (καὶ τὰ γνώριμα ὀλίγοις γνώριμά ἐστιν, *Poetics* 1451b). As Konstantakos' commentary points out, Antiphanes, who wrote a number of mythological plays himself, has constructed a strawman, but this fragment shows how comedians sought to highlight their own genre's innovation by depicting the tragedians as fossils relying on hackneyed plots.

Antiphanes' fragment makes the argument in a heavy-handed way, but it usefully sets up the second case study: a more complicated example of intertextuality in Cratinus' *Wealth Gods* (429 BCE), a play which depicted a chorus of Wealth Gods recently released from prison and coming to prosecute the unjustly wealthy citizens of Athens. This play is paradigmatic of the dialectic of tradition and innovation found throughout the mythological comedies. Fr. 171 extensively parodies Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and Prometheus Bound, but it also features a number of mythological innovations, including the idiosyncratic identification of Wealth Gods as Titans. While Bakola suggests that Cratinus has used tragic parody to draw on the cultural prestige of tragedy, I argue that the parody highlights the originality of the persona he has constructed for the Wealth Gods. For example, echoes of the trial scene in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* alongside Cratinus' mythological innovation serve, as in Antiphanes fr. 189, to define both genres in opposition to one another: whereas tragedy lingers from the past, comedy's innovative verve can keep pace with the brisk and frenetic charge of the present.

My paper engages long-standing debates about comedy's critical stance towards tragedy (cf., e.g., Bakola, Silk, Zeitlin), recently renewed by two monographs (Farmer and Sells) which include significant discussion of fragments. My conclusions echo those of Sells, who argues that Aristophanes and his colleagues appropriated other genres in order to position comedy as the preeminent genre of contemporary political, cultural, and artistic discourses, but by focusing on mythological innovation, I expand on important work (e.g., Bowie, Casolari, Nesselrath) on the large

number of fragments treating mythological subjects. These fragments are crucial for understanding a vibrant type of Greek comedy not represented by the extant plays of Aristophanes and Menander.

Title: Braunfels's Aristophanic opera, *Die Vögel*

Name: Peter Burian

This paper will examine the political and religious dynamics of an ambitious operatic version of Aristophanes' *Birds*. Walter Braunfels's *Die Vögel*, was produced to great acclaim in 1920, performed in all the important German opera houses, then suppressed by the Nazi regime, and successfully revived only starting in the late 1970s. Surprisingly, it seems so far to have eluded the attention of reception scholars. And yet, its thorough rethinking of the plot and meaning of Aristophanes' comedy merits our consideration, especially as it is now widely acknowledged to be a significant milestone in the history of German opera. Repeated productions in European and American opera houses as well as recordings on CD and DVD have introduced *Die Vögel* to a wider audience, and its success has confirmed the view of Bruno Walter, who conducted the premiere, that it is an "inspired and intelligent metamorphosis" of Aristophanes' comedy.

Birds was produced in 414 BCE, after the departure of the Sicilian Expedition, but before its ignominious defeat. Whatever one's critical slant on this play, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the historical apogee of Athenian imperial ambition inspired Aristophanes' grandest and most audacious fantasy. I will argue for a similar preoccupation with the will to power in Braunfels's opera, fueled both by the composer's sociopolitical orientation and religious beliefs and by historical events during the years in which Braunfels reshaped *Birds* into *Die Vögel*, writing both libretto and music, 1913-1919.

Braunfels came from a wealthy Jewish family, who like many highly assimilated Jews were conservative politically and socially. Moreover, Braunfels converted to Catholicism as a young man, and deep Christian conviction underlies much of his creative output, emphatically including *Die Vögel*, whose libretto initially follows the Aristophanic original to a great extent, but in the second act demonstrates decisively the importance of the Christian principle of obedience. To this one must add Braunfels's experience as a soldier in the Great War, precisely during the period when he is thinking through the shape of his opera, and which undoubtedly influenced his depiction of the terribly mistaken war Ratefreund, Braunfels's Peisetairos, and the birds wage against Zeus.

In Braunfels's interpretation, Ratefreund, in his pursuit of power, persuades the birds to dethrone the gods and take their place, drawing them from their true nature, which he lacks the imagination to understand. Hoffegut, his Euelpides and a character of far greater significance in *Die Vögel* than in *Birds*, is the one whose idealism leads him to intuit and treasure the innocent world of nature the birds embody. This is made especially clear in the long duet between Hoffegut and the Nightingale that begins Act 2. The innocence of the birds is manifest, however, even as its subversion by Ratefreund is in full swing, in the childlike joy of the wedding ceremony for two pigeons that consecrates the new (but soon to be destroyed) city, an element ironically transferred from the *hieros gamos* of the triumphant Peisetairos at the end of *Birds*.

The plot veers definitively from *Birds* with the arrival of Prometheus in a role entirely reversed from that in Aristophanes. As a friend to man (and bird), Prometheus warns them that they are fools to challenge Zeus, whose power they hopelessly underestimate. This Prometheus recalls the magnificent rebel of Goethe's poem, but he has made his peace with Zeus, who has forgiven him and will forgive the birds and their human leaders if they repent of their rebellion. Ratefreund with foolhardy confidence declares war, and the birds prepare for battle. Zeus sends a terrifying storm that destroys the bird's city, and chastened they acknowledge his power and sing his praises. Ironically, however, Ratefreund, the instigator of the destruction, abandons the birds and returns to his normal existence, seeming not to have learned anything. Hoffegut is a changed man, his relation to God and God's creation somehow transfigured by the Nightingale's song and her innocent kiss.

Title: Dropping the Dramatic Illusion: A Narratological Model of Plautine Metatheater
Name: Rachel Mazzara

Since *Plautus in Performance* (Slater 1985), scholarship on Roman Comedy has acknowledged the non-illusory style of Plautus' plays, which maintain no firm boundary between their content and their performance context. Consequently, metatheatrical characteristics such as asides, plays-within-the-play, and overt references to performance do not "break the fourth wall" or otherwise breach the dramatic illusion, since such an illusion is absent. Still, even excellent scholarship on Plautine self-referentiality (e.g., Sharrock 1996, Hardy 2005) occasionally adopts the vocabulary of illusory theater.

Continued use of such vocabulary suggests a lack of alternative models to describe the perspectives that characters may adopt toward their plays. To supplement this gap, I propose an adaptation of Gérard Genette's model of narrative levels (1980), which describes the relationship between story and the act of narrating in novels. Genette argues that a story and its readers exist on separate ontological levels that are mediated through narration. Characters and events occupy the *intradiegetic* level, while readers and narrators occupy the *extradiegetic* level. The terms "intradiegetic" and "extradiegetic" denote relationships to *diegesis*. While Genette defines diegesis as the "spatiotemporal universe" in which a story is set (1969, 211), I adopt Remigius Bunia's refined definition: diegesis is an interface between narrative levels consisting of what is explicitly communicated during narration (2010). In the latter sense, diegesis is not a fully-defined story-world, but it may imply one. Bunia concludes that Genette's intradiegetic and extradiegetic levels are thus not ontological, but rather epistemological, categories that describe the perspectives of narrators, readers, and characters upon the story-world: the intradiegetic perspective views the story-world as real, while the extradiegetic perspective takes the real world as real.

My own argument first demonstrates that due to actors' dual role as characters and storytellers, Genette's model can describe the relationship between a play's content and its performance context, even though it was designed for novels. Following Bunia's refinement of diegesis, I propose that Plautine metatheater results from characters' ability to adopt different perspectives on their plays depending upon where, if at all, they locate the act of narration. The deception scheme in *Persa* (470-672) provides an illustration: during the play-within-the-play in which Toxilus, Sagaristio, Saturio, and the *uirgo* trick Dordalus, the four protagonists recognize that their actions constitute the narration of their deceptive story and so show an extradiegetic perspective upon the inset play. At the same time, Dordalus, who does not know that the others are acting, adopts an intradiegetic perspective. In planning this trick, the protagonists refer to aspects of theatrical performance, including costuming (154-60, 335), rehearsal (379-382), and the aediles who organize the event (160). In alluding to the performance context of *Persa* itself, Toxilus and his allies reveal that they can, at times, adopt an extradiegetic perspective not only on the play-within-the-play, but even upon the play in which they are characters, switching between viewing themselves as inhabitants of the play-world and inhabitants of the audience's world. *Persa* shows that Genette's model of narrative levels can describe both plays-within-the-play and the broader performance.

Because these perspectives are concerned with epistemology (how the characters understand their relationship to the play-world) rather than ontology (whether the characters belong to the play-world or the real world), I argue that in contrast to the vocabulary of illusory theater, this model does not inaccurately imply a boundary between the play's content and context. The examples from *Persa* demonstrate the potential of a customized narratological model both to define the epistemic mechanics of Plautus' metatheater and to give a precise vocabulary to scholarship on dramatic self-referentiality. I conclude with the suggestion that such a model realigns Plautus' metatheatrical moments with Lionel Abel's original concept of metatheater: when Plautine characters reference performance extradiegetically, they are not breaking the fourth wall of an illusory theater but living a "life seen as already theatricalized" (1963, 60).

Title: Wife-Erasure in Terence's *Hecyra*
Name: Hannah Sorscher

Pamphilus of Terence's *Hecyra* is a polarizing figure among scholars and readers. When he discovers that his wife, Philumena, has borne a child by an unknown rapist, he rejects both her and the baby. But when he himself is revealed as the rapist, Pamphilus joyfully changes his mind, and they remain married at the close of the play. To

some, he seems noble and sympathetic (e.g., Austin, Bianco, Denzler, Forehand, Ireland, Rosivach, Knorr); to many others, self-centered, uncaring, violent (e.g., Konstan, Goldberg 1986, Fantham, Cupiauolo, James, Pierce, Anderson, Penwill, Moore). In this paper, I identify a lexical pattern, previously unnoticed, that supports the negative interpretation: after Pamphilus discovers the child, who he is sure cannot be his, he recasts his marriage to Philumena as a love affair on a par with his previous relationship to the *meretrix* Bacchis. A close look at Terence's carefully crafted syntax and word choice reveals Pamphilus as fundamentally callous and self-centered.

Philumena has no speaking role and never appears on stage. Her name expresses her passivity (Goldberg 2013), and her absence is all the more striking considering the amount of female speech and the prominence of female characters in *Hecyra* (Slater, Knorr), famously dubbed “a woman's play” (Norwood). But Terence shows Pamphilus erasing Philumena even from his speech once he has learned about the child (361). After his discovery, his references to her by name or relationship (words like *uxor* or *nuptiae*) decrease dramatically. For the bulk of the play, Pamphilus identifies Philumena mostly by pronouns or feminine word-endings (e.g., *reducenda* 402, *eius* 403, *in illam* 472, 485; *ex ipsa* 473; *illa, quae, iniquast, aequa* 474; *indignam* 477, *quae, sua* 478; *quae...commeritast* 486; *meritam* 487; *illi* 490; *illam* 492; *suom* 846).

Scholars have noted how quickly Pamphilus rejects his wife after his discovery, even though he presents himself as tortured and undecided (Penwill). His lexical erasure of Philumena, as he first mentions abandoning her, corroborates this observation: the feminine ending of *reducenda* (402) alone indicates whom Pamphilus is discussing. As he begins line 404 with *lacrumo quae posthac futurast*, the feminine relative pronoun *quae* and ending of *futura*, along with context, create the expectation that he is concerned for Philumena's future. But as he continues, the audience realizes that he is lamenting his own life, loneliness, and fortune (*lacrumo quae posthac futurast uita quom in mentem uenit | solitudoque. o fortuna, ut numquam perpetuo's data*, 404–405).

Pamphilus also uses periphrases to avoid mentioning either wife or marriage, describing their relationship with the terminology of love affairs (*amor* 403, 448; *consuetudo* 403). This vocabulary both centers on his own emotions, rather than on Philumena, and equates her with a *meretrix*: he twists his legitimate marriage into an affair so that he can more easily abandon his wife. As he says, his experience ending his relationship with Bacchis has prepared him to treat his wife similarly: *sed iam prior amor me ad hanc rem exercitatum reddidit* (407). Pamphilus' periphrases also push Philumena back to her natal family: he calls her not his wife, but her mother's daughter (*suae gnatae* 446). By contrast, the Pamphilus of Terence's earlier *Andria* (Penwill) considers Glycerium his wife (*pro uxore* 146, 274), although they are unmarried and she is not yet revealed as a citizen (Williams, Konstan).

Even once Pamphilus learns, to his joy, that the baby is his, he continues to focus on himself and to erase his wife linguistically. By not resolving this pattern in Pamphilus' speech, Terence creates a disparity between his joy and the discomfort that viewers and readers have felt about Philumena's fate. Her lexical erasure throughout the play provides philological corroboration of Pamphilus' selfishness and his uncaring attitude towards his wife, as well as the sense of unease that hangs over the play's superficially happy ending.

Session 69: Public Life in Classical Athens

Title: Insults and status negotiation in the Athenian agora

Name: Deborah Kamen

The agora in Classical Athens was a site that brought together people of all socioeconomic and legal statuses, where distinctions between citizen, metic, and slave were blurred (Vlassopoulos 2007) and individuals contested over status (Millett 1998). In this paper, I argue that one important way in which status negotiation took place was through insults of various kinds. Drawing on distinctions that have been made between ‘playful’ and ‘consequential’ laughter (Halliwell 2008), as well as between ‘benign’ and ‘malign’ insults (Conley 2010), I show that insults could be employed in the marketplace both to reinforce status groupings and to demote the status of others. I do so by looking at representative examples of insults of differing levels of offensiveness and consequence, progressing from least to most damaging.

First, I explore the references we find in Attic comedy to mocking banter between marketplace vendors (e.g. Ar. *Frogs* 857-59; Hesk 2007: 135-41). Insults of this sort appear to have been a relatively light-hearted way for

(low-status) vendors simultaneously to bond with one another and to compete over customers. Next, I examine the sexual graffiti that have been found in the agora (Lang 1976; see also Williams 2014), which include insulting words like *katapugôn*, *misêtos*, *pugaios*, *lakkoprôktos*, *katapugaina*, and *laikastría*. We might compare these graffiti, which were likely amusing to (most of) their readers, to sexual graffiti found elsewhere in the ancient world, which were used not only to establish a status hierarchy among men but also to align sexually ‘normative’ individuals against non-normative others (Levin-Richardson 2011).

Other attested insults in the agora were more malicious, in that they had the intention of truly damaging the status (whether social or legal or both) of their targets. We might think, for example, of Demosthenes’ description of his opponent Aristogeiton making his way through the marketplace “like a snake or a scorpion with sting erect, darting here and there,” on the lookout for someone on whom he could inflict defamation (*blasphêmian*) (Dem. 25.52)—that is, his aim was to tarnish publicly the reputation of others. Finally, I turn to the ostraka found in the agora and the Kerameikos that explicitly denigrate candidates for ostracism (Brenne 1994). One such ostrakon reads “Megakles, son of Hippokrates, *moichos*” (SEG 46:78) and another “Themistokles, son of Neokles, *katapugôn*” (SEG 46:80). In this context, such insults had the potential to be tremendously harmful, since they could contribute to the removal of a fellow citizen from the civic body.

Ultimately, this paper demonstrates that insults in the agora, which ranged from playful mockery to destructive abuse, played a key role in the contestation over status that characterized Athenian society.

Title: The Trierarchy, Financial Syndication, and Impersonal Intermediation

Name: Andrew Foster

In 358/7, the otherwise obscure Athenian politician, Periandros, successfully proposed a law that fundamentally reformed the trierarchy. His law syndicated the financing of the liturgy in a manner similar to the *eisphora* collection that had been established in 378 BCE (Philochorus *F. Gr. Hist.* 328 F41; MacDowell 1986: 438). The law prescribed creating financing syndicates drawn from an established group of the 1200 wealthiest Athenians. Trierarchs would be able to collect money from a sub-division of these symmorists, known as *synteleis*, specifically assigned to support their trierarchy (Dem 47.21). Several contemporary witnesses to Periandros’ law believed that it singularly depreciated elite *philotimia* (e.g. Is. 7.38; Dem 21.154). Demosthenes even asserts that the Periandrian system encourages trierarchs to defraud both the *polis* and their affiliated *synteleis* (Dem. 21.155).

Demosthenes specifically claims that trierarchs, like the corrupt Meidias, abuse their advantageous position as intermediaries between the contributors and a sub-contractor hired by the trierarch to perform the service, a practice known as *misthosis*. This is not just a smear directed specifically at Meidias. Demosthenes habitually rails against forms of impersonal intermediation and, more generally, government regulation of the liturgical system (cf. Dem 14 and Dem. 20 *passim*). It is therefore no surprise that Demosthenes radiates from a specific accusation against Meidias to a general critique of the Periandrian system (Dem. 21.155).

That general critique has been generally endorsed by modern scholars (eg. Davies 1981: 24, Gabrielsen 1994: 209). I will demonstrate Demosthenes distorts the trierarch’s ability to accumulate infinitely superior private knowledge but more importantly ignores the *shared* interests between the *synteleis* and the lead financing trierarch. The costs of discharging a trierarchy did fluctuate (e.g. Lys. 19.29, 42; 21.12; 32.26; [Dem.] 50 *passim*, [Dem.] 51.5-6, Is. 6.60), but those serving as trierarchs and/or serving as *synteleis*, by and large, did not (Davies 1971: xvii-xxx; Gabrielsen 1994: 66-7). Based upon their accumulated practical knowledge and robust networks for sharing it, *synteleis* did not suffer from a significant information disadvantage relative to the trierarch (Ober 2008:118-159).

Additionally, the financial interests of the trierarch and his *synteleis* are aligned. The costs of trierarchy could and did vary -- significantly. Therefore, both the trierarch and each individual *syntelēs* is exposed to the same financial risk. Both parties would find contracting out the liturgy at a set price an attractive hedge against the open-ended risks of the trierarch actually performing the liturgy. A contributor therefore would be strongly inclined to pay a fixed sum that includes a “risk premium,” rather than be exposed to the prospect a financing a particularly inept or unlucky trierarch (Lignon 1998).

Since the trierarch functions as a financial intermediary and as a risk manager for his *synteleis*, he is providing valuable financial services (Mora 2015). The trierarch always is ultimately responsible for discharging the duty regardless of the sub-contractor's reliability ([Dem.] 51.8-9). The trierarch thus remains uniquely exposed to other forms of risk, such as prosecution for *lipotaxia* ([Dem.] 51.8). Charging a "risk premium" for this exposure as well as for the effort the trierarch exerts to identify and contract a suitable third party is not fraud but a legitimate "fee for service."

Trierarchs like Meidias are not "doing nothing and paying nothing." They are actively managing risk. Their *philotimia* may be suspect and utilizing *misthosis* problematic, but the shared financial interests of *both* the trierarchs and their *synteleis* encouraged the former to seek a sub-contractor and the latter to endorse the practice, which may explain why *misthosis*, though generally decried, persisted as long as the trierarchy.

Title: The Lives of Lycurgus: Self-Commemoration in Fourth-Century Athens

Name: Mitchell H. Parks

Despite his self-effacing pose in his only surviving speech (*Against Leocrates*), Lycurgus of Butadae was keen to further his own legacy and employed multiple strategies of self-commemoration. In this paper, I interpret one of his lost speeches, Lyc. fr.1, as a work of literary autobiography on the model of Isocrates' *Antidosis*.

According to Harpocration, Lyc. fr.1 was titled ἀπολογισμὸς ὧν πεπολίτευται, "a record of how he has served the state." Only a handful of words—those of lexicographical interest—survive. It seems to be the speech to which the *Lives of the Ten Orators* refers when it says ([Plut] 842f) that the dying Lycurgus asked to be brought to render the accounts of his service to the state (εὐθύναι δοῦναι τῶν πεπολιτευμένων, cf. 852d). No one dares to oppose him except for his rival Menesaechmus; Lycurgus is vindicated and leaves to die in peace.

Combined with the unusual terminology and irregular procedure (Conomis), the dramatic nature of the scenario makes it easier, in my view, to see this speech as fictive, an autobiography dressed up as a defense speech. Literary praise of his own career would have been intolerable to an Athenian democratic audience without being cast in the form of a legal defense (Most, Spatharas). Lycurgus had good precedents for writing autobiography in this mode, such as Antiphon's defense (Thuc. 8.68.2) and Demosthenes' *On the Crown*. Lambert suggests that Lyc. fr.1 is Lycurgus's version of the latter, but I believe that its line of descent originates from the first-person fiction of Plato's *Apology*. This text had inspired the *Antidosis* (see, e.g., Ober), which in turn provided a model that Lycurgus may have followed in Lyc. fr.1: Isocrates faces a made-up charge (Isoc. 15.30) in a fictional trial (15.8); he aims to leave a memorial of himself (15.7); and, as usual for Isocrates, he stresses the weakness of his old age (15.9), a weakness taken to its extreme by Lycurgus's deathbed scenario.

Additionally, we can clarify the purpose of Lyc. fr.1 by comparison with two other texts produced by Lycurgus: *Against Leocrates* and the inscribed record (ἀναγραφὴ) he erected in front of his palaestra ([Plut] 843f). This latter, which Oliver suggests amounted to Lycurgus's *res gestae*, may have formed a complementary pair with Lyc. fr.1: one a physical monument, the other a literary text; one a straightforward list of achievements, the other a dramatized narrative that could quote that list just as Isocrates excerpts his own writings (15.10). Regarding *Against Leocrates*, that speech may also form a pair with Lyc. fr.1: by disseminating two orations, one showing him as a disinterested prosecutor and the other a defense speech in which his own deeds and values are at the fore, Lycurgus, again following an Isocratean strategy, could produce a more rounded picture of himself. That Lycurgus would advertise his own legacy in such a multimodal fashion is plausible, given, as Hanink has demonstrated, the ways in which Lycurgus transformed tragedy into the Athenian cultural product *par excellence*.

Nevertheless, Lycurgus did not succeed in leaving an immutable autobiographical account: others were eager to redefine his career for their own purposes, from Demosthenes (*Ep.* 3), Hypereides (fr.31), and Philiscus (Olympiodorus on Pl. *Gorg.* 515c) to the restored democracy, which in 307/6 BCE awarded Lycurgus posthumous honors, including a statue (for the ramifications of which see Gauthier) and a lengthy inscription, preserved in two versions ([Plut] 851f–852e and *IG II²* 457 + 3207: see Lambert). The competition among all these texts, as with the multiple Socratic *Apologies*, has produced a refracted and illusory image of this pivotal figure, rather than the clear-cut account he might have preferred. By contemplating the strategies of these texts, however,

we can arrive at a better understanding of fourth-century literature, in terms of both the motivations behind the dissemination of individual speeches and the processes that shaped an author's corpus as a whole.

Title: Making Necessity of a Virtue: Hidden Value Judgments in Forensic *suggnōmē*
Name: Ted Parker

My talk examines a few exceptional uses of the value of *suggnōmē* ("pardon") in the speeches of Demosthenes (19.238-9; 21.74-5; 24.67, .200). What sets these passages apart from more typical deployments of *suggnōmē* in Athenian forensic oratory are the strong, pointedly extra-legal value judgments they imply. Whereas other requests for *suggnōmē* in the forensic context are either rhetorical ("pardon my ineloquence") or fall under an established canon of excuses (*suggnōmē* for the unintentional, unwitting, drunk, etc.), these are more tendentious and value-laden. In particular, they posit "loyalty to family" and "regard for one's personal honor (*timē*)" as acceptable reasons for breaking the law. Besides their exceptional status, these instances of *suggnōmē* are of interest for two reasons. First, they expose the larger potential of *suggnōmē* to disguise value judgments as judgments of fact—yet another misrepresentation that scholars of Athenian forensic oratory should be aware of. Second, since the extra-legal value judgments in question are aristocratic in origin, Demosthenes' attitude towards them has important implications for our understanding of the ongoing clash between aristocratic and democratic values in fourth-century Athens.

My argument builds on the work of David Konstan, who offers an elucidation of Aristotle's theorization of *suggnōmē*. On this model, *suggnōmē* is only granted to those who have committed an offense unintentionally or involuntarily. In view of this unintentionality or involuntariness, the "offense" is no longer deemed an offense, and "pardon" (rather than "forgiveness") is granted to the offender. The logic behind this model is that, since the offender lacks moral agency, he is also free from moral responsibility. In Athenian forensic oratory, a relatively established canon of uncontroversial *prophaseis* ("excuses")—ignorance, drunkenness, anger, etc.—marks off the zone of unintentional or involuntary action. I push this model one step further, arguing that the determination of what qualifies as unintentional or involuntary can itself be a value judgment, and sometimes a very fraught one.

After setting out this model, I will turn to our passages of interest in Demosthenes. While conforming to Konstan's model in assuming the involuntariness of the offender, these instances of *suggnōmē* rely on a tendentious metaphor of compulsion. They claim that the offender "had" to break the law due to the "compulsion" of familial loyalty or personal honor. Through this *metaphorical* compulsion, requests for *suggnōmē* have the potential to misrepresent value judgments—"family and honor are more important than the laws"—as judgments of fact—"the offender acted involuntarily (and therefore deserves pardon)." Thus, these examples reverse the normal logic of "making a virtue out of necessity"—that is, imparting moral value on what one would have had to do in any case. Instead, they "make necessity out of a virtue," hiding the moral content of an act under the name of "compulsion." In this way, speakers can smuggle extra-legal value judgments into the courtroom, laundering them through requests for *suggnōmē*. I will suggest that this same dynamic also applies to other *prophaseis*—e.g. anger, poverty, and "following orders"—where a metaphor of "compulsion," while less overt, still works to conceal a value judgment.

Finally, I will consider the importance of the aristocratic nature of these particular values—i.e. the valuing of family over state and honor over law. Demosthenes demonstrates a highly ambivalent attitude towards these cases of *suggnōmē*. In these passages, he either rejects their validity, accepts them in principle but not in this particular application, or accepts them only to supercede them. Most importantly, Demosthenes never fully commits to or identifies himself with any appeal to *suggnōmē* that conceals an aristocratic value judgment. In Demosthenes, these appeals exist to be rejected, undermined, or overcome. Thus, I conclude by relating this anti-aristocratic gesture of Demosthenes' to recent work that sees him as a democratic theorist (Christ), as well as to the longstanding discussion of the negotiation of aristocratic and democratic values in fourth-century Athens (Ober: 259-66, 289-92, 338-9; Loraux:172-220).

EIGHTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS

Session 70: Inscriptions and Dates (Organized by the American Society of Greek and Latin Epigraphy)

Title: How old are the earliest Mycenaean tablets? Absolute and Relative Chronology of the Linear B Tablet Deposits of the Room of the Chariot Tablets (RCT) and the North Entrance Passage (NEP) at Knossos

Name: Rachele Pierini

The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, it aims at briefly retracing the steps having led to recognise RCT and NEP as the earliest Linear B tablet deposits, focusing especially on the methodology applied to reach such a conclusion. Second, linguistic considerations will be added to further corroborate their earliest date and their strong link with inscriptions written in the yet undeciphered Linear A script.

Most of our knowledge of the Bronze Age Aegean comes from studying texts written in the Linear B syllabary. Of the two Bronze Age ‘linear’ writing systems, namely Linear A and Linear B, Linear B is the only one to have been deciphered and records the earliest form of the Greek language known to us (Mycenaean). Instead, the language behind Linear A (Minoan) is still poorly understood. From a palaeographical point of view, these are standardly understood to be derivative from one another, with Linear A having acted as template for Linear B. However, it has been recently argued that a ‘soft’ process of script adaptation is likely to have taken place on the north coast of Crete, as Linear A from this area shows the closest similarity to the earliest known evidence of Linear B (Salgarella 2018). Therefore, deepening our knowledge of these earliest Mycenaean inscriptions from Crete and defining their date becomes crucial.

Located on Crete by the Kephala Hill, the Palace of Minos at Knossos is one of the most renowned archaeological sites in the world, home to the mythical Labyrinth inhabited by the Minotaur. ‘Labyrinthine’ may be said to have been the task of identifying the find-spots of Linear B inscriptions at Knossos and dating them, primarily because of the unsystematic and contradictory nature of the primary sources (recently Del Freo 2016). With respect to the former question, one now relies on two robustly argued, precise, and up-to-date works (Firth 1996-1997; 2000-2001). As regards the latter issue, after a first classification attempt (Palmer-Boardmann 1963), a thorough palaeographical study (Olivier 1967) took the subject a step forward and, in addition, singled out two particular Linear B tablet deposits for their idiosyncratic features, namely RCT and NEP. Further in-depth palaeographical analyses, along with probative archaeological, epigraphical, and pinacological evidence powerfully demonstrated that RCT and NEP not only fail to show any link with other Knossos deposits (albeit with some *caveat*: Driessen 1999, Salgarella 2018), but also that the former is the earliest Linear B archive on Crete (possibly earlier than Mainland archives as well), and the latter is slightly later in date than the RCT but earlier than all other Knossos deposits (Driessen 1990; 1999; 2000). Recently, the phylogenetic systematics method, commonly used in biology to trace the evolutionary path of organisms, has been applied to Mycenaean palaeography and has corroborated the isolation of RCT and NEP (Firth-Skelton 2016). Follow-up inquiries have added further weight to the hypothesis that especially tablets from the RCT are the closest in shape and physical characteristics to the Linear A documents (Tomas 2017). If in terms of relative chronology RCT is currently datable to Late Minoan II-III A1 and NEP to Late Minoan III A2, what is yet difficult to establish is the absolute chronology of the Bronze Age Aegean (Karnava 2005).

A research field that provides further data to better clarify the chronology of the earliest Linear B tablets is linguistics. The chronological gap between Knossos tablet deposits has rarely been taken into due account. However, by looking at the data in their diachronic development, features taken as idiosyncratic have been recently proved to be older, e.g. the use of the syllabogram *a2* (Pierini 2014; Nosch forth.) and the ending *-Xo*, instead of the expected *-Xo-jo*, in the *o*-stem genitive singular (Pierini 2018). Drawing on this, further considerations may ensue regarding the chronology of these linguistic phenomena.

Title: Dating, and Dating by, the Antikythera Mechanism

Name: Paul Iversen

The Antikythera Mechanism was salvaged in 1901 from a shipwreck datable to *ca.* 70-50 BCE (for the date of the ship's contents, see Vlochogianni *et al.* 2012). In 2005, members of the Antikythera Mechanism Research Project (AMRP) applied both Polynomial Textured Mapping to the study of this ingenious device to better see the outer surface inscriptions, and CT scanning technology to view with enhanced clarity the inner gear work. The CT technology, however, also unexpectedly uncovered finely engraved inscriptions on its inner surfaces that had not been seen in over 2,000 years, including the complete names and order of the months of a Greek luni-solar calendar on what is now known as the "Metonic Spiral" located on the upper back of the device. The lettering of these inscriptions has been variously dated anywhere from the end of the third century to the middle of the first century BCE. In 2006, members of the AMRP, in a seminal article (Freeth, Bitsakis *et al.*, *Nature* 444.7119: 587-91 + Suppl.), established that the lower dial (dubbed the "Saros Dial") on the back face of the device described a series of eclipses using what is known today as the Saros Cycle – a period of 223 lunar months first recognized by the Babylonians in the Neo-Babylonian period (626-539 BCE) as being useful to ascertain recurring solar and lunar eclipse possibilities. The eclipse possibilities are referenced via a series of glyphs inscribed within some of the 223 individual cells, each which represents a lunar month, that are inscribed around the Saros Dial in a spiral pattern. In 2008, members of the AMRP published a second paper (Freeth, Jones, Steele and Bitsakis, *Nature* 454.7204: 614-7 + Suppl.) in which they deciphered the meaning of the glyphs, each which references a particular month for a particular eclipse possibility, be it solar or lunar or both, and the time of day. Later, two different groups of researchers (Carman and Evans 2014 and Freeth 2014), using different methods, came to the same conclusion that cell 1 of the Saros Dial best corresponds to the astronomical lunar month beginning April 29, 205 BCE. From this information, it has been argued that the start-up date of the calendar on the "Metonic Spiral" began with the lunar month beginning shortly after the new moon of August 23, 205 BCE (Iversen 2017). In this paper, I will briefly discuss each of the various means of dating the Antikythera Mechanism, from the start-up date of the eclipse cycle, to the date of the science underpinning its functions, to the date of the shipwreck, to the earliest literary references to such devices, to the working shelf-life of such devices, to palaeographical considerations. For this last point, I will introduce a new reading that demonstrates that cursive omega was used as an index letter on what is known as the Back Plate Inscription, thus possibly suggesting a date closer to 50 BCE (although it will be pointed that on the Mechanism this letter-form may have been borrowed from papyrological sources, which employed it by the late third century BCE). In the end, it will be argued that the Mechanism is more likely to date within a generation of the shipwreck. In addition to this, I will discuss how the seasons of the months that belong to this calendar can be identified within reasonable parameters, and thus how the dating events *by* the Antikythera Mechanism is also possible.

Title: Erroneous Dates In Athenian State Decrees And Financial Documents

Name: John Morgan

Scholars who study ancient Greek and Roman history must contend with the fact that literary sources describing ancient events were often written centuries afterwards at second or third hand, and frequently suffer from errors made by scribes in copying mediaeval manuscripts. Hence modern scholars tend to regard as much more reliable documents inscribed on stone at the same time as the historical events.

Since "chronology is the backbone of history", it is important that the dating of historical events be accurate. Detecting an erroneous date in a document is usually difficult or even impossible if it mentions only one date in a single calendar. *E.g.*, if a modern document has been misdated "March 9, 2009" instead of "March 19, 2009", it may not be obvious that its date is incorrect, unless it also mentions an event which occurred after March 9, or it also bears a date in the weekly calendar, such as "Thursday, March 9, 2009", since in 2009 March 9 fell on a Monday.

Similarly, if an ancient inscription was dated by the eponymous magistrate of a Greek city-state and only the day of a month in a lunisolar calendar, as was the case with the decrees of almost all ancient Greek city-states other than Athens, it will almost never be obvious that the day of the month or the name of the month is wrong. Only if the inscription mentions other dates in the same calendar, or was dated in some other calendar, might it be deducible that there is an internal inconsistency.

Because Athenian state decrees from about 340 BC onward were usually dated in both the lunisolar and the prytany calendars, it is sometimes possible to deduce that a decree's prescript suffers from an error in the name or day of the month, or the number or the day of the prytany. The last systematic survey of the "calendar equations" inscribed on Athenian state decrees involving dates in both the lunisolar and prytany calendars was published by W.K. Pritchett and Otto Neugebauer in *The Calendars of Athens* (1947). Since then there has been much progress in understanding the operation of the ancient Athenian calendars, especially in dating archons and determining whether they held office in ordinary years with 12 months or intercalary years with 13 months, many more decrees have been excavated and published, and many better restorations of the dating formulas in fragmentarily preserved prescripts have been devised. Hence it is now timely to present an updated survey of the errors in the dates inscribed on Athenian decrees and financial documents. Certain examples of these errors include the following:

- An incorrect name of the month (IG II³.385 and 885)
- An incorrect day of the month (IG I³.377, line 8, and IG II².1028, line 67)
- An incorrect number of the prytany (IG II³.857 and 1155)
- An incorrect day of the prytany (IG II³.352 and IG II² 1072)
- An incorrect name of the tribe holding the prytany (IG XII.6.1, 261, IG II².1672, and SEG 30.70)

After reviewing these certain examples of erroneous dates of Athenian decrees and financial documents, I shall discuss the calendar equations in the prescripts of two decrees of Peithidemos' archonship, one of which (IG II³.912) is the famous decree of Chremonides proposing an alliance with Sparta and various Peloponnesian cities and Ptolemy II against Macedonia. Following Meritt (*Hesperia* 38 (1969), 110-112), I shall argue that the day of the prytany on IG II³.913 should be restored so that Peithidemos' year was intercalary rather than ordinary, that the apparently inconsistent calendar equation $\text{Metageitnion } 9 = \text{Prytany II.9}$ on IG II³.912 reflects either an archon's calendar retarded by insertion of two ἐμβόλιμοι ἡμέραι or an error of perseveration in inscribing the day of the prytany, and that Peithidemos' archonship and the outbreak of the Chremonidean War should be dated to 268/7 rather than 269/8 BC.

Title: One is not enough: Double dates in inscriptions from the Greek East under Rome
Name: Ilaria Bultrighini

The subject of this paper is closely connected with the institution of the Julian calendar and its diffusion in the Roman East. As is known, in 46 BCE Julius Caesar introduced a new calendar consisting of a fixed 365-day year, with the regular intercalation of one day every four years, the so-called leap or bissextile year (Grumel 1958, 175–76; Samuel 1972, 155–58; Bickerman 1980, 47–51; Rüpke 2011, 109–21; Hannah 2005, 112–24; Stern 2012, 204–5, 211–27). Soon after its introduction, the Julian calendar started spreading throughout the Empire, though its diffusion differed considerably between the western and the eastern provinces: whereas it appears that in the West the new calendar spread massively and soon replaced completely all local calendars, in the eastern provinces – specifically in Asia Minor, Egypt, and the Near East– it also spread quickly but did not supplant completely pre-existing calendars (Stern 2012, 259–60). Before the eastern Mediterranean came under the control of Rome, the several Hellenistic kingdoms and cities operated under a multiplicity of calendrical systems, which were mostly lunar (Samuel 1972, 139–52; Hannah 2005, 71–97; Stern 2012, 231–59). After the introduction of the new solar calendar by Julius Caesar in 46 BCE, the eastern cities and provinces did not simply adopt it but adapted their local calendars to its length. This process led to the creation of several different calendars, which, however, were arranged so as to follow the Julian year. The month-names of the local calendars were generally preserved. Some calendars had months equal in length but not coterminous with the Julian months; some began the year with Augustus' birthday, while others had different New Year's dates; some calendars had a fixed 365-day year with a leap year every four years, others had 30-day months plus intercalary days to bring alignment to the Julian year, while others had more complex methods of adjustment.

A number of epigraphic documents from the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire comprise double dates, that is, dates given according to the Julian calendar and a local calendar. In a number of cases, it appears that the Roman date is required to confer official status on the document, whereas the date given according to the local calendar is presumably for the benefit of those who were not particularly familiar with the Roman system and, at the same time, adds precision to the document itself. In general terms, it could be said that double dates, particularly bilingual ones,

testify to the celebration of diversity and the multiculturalism that in many respects did characterise the Roman Empire. Quite different assumptions can be drawn from the case of official documents emanating from the Roman administration in the eastern provinces dated exclusively according to the Julian calendar and the Roman consular system – which seem to have been the norm, judging from the available evidence. Whether translated into Greek or put into Latin, a Roman date in a Greek document from the East might indeed be seen as symbolic of Roman domination, and even more so if that date is also expressed in Latin (Adams 2003, 391–92). By considering a series of cases of double dates in epigraphic documents from the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, this paper looks at the introduction of the Julian calendar and the consequent coexistence of multiple dating systems in the East, as opposed to the West, where the new calendar rapidly replaced completely all pre-existing local calendars. The analysis of this phenomenon allows new important insights into the complexity of the social and political dynamics associated to the Roman presence in the East.

Session 71: Moving to the Music (Organized by the Society for the Study of Greek and Roman Music and its Cultural Heritage)

Title: Movement, Sight, and Sound in Archaic Song-and-dance Poetry: Erotic and Ritual Kinesthesia and Synesthesia in the ‘Newest Sappho’

Name: Michel Briand

In order to underline the role of represented, perceived, and lived bodies in poetic performances, this study applies the critical tools of kinesthesia, empathy, and synesthesia to the so-called "Newest Sappho". In archaic choral song-and-dance (Naerebout 2017), instrumental music, dance, song, and text are inseparable (Ceccarelli, Catoni). Ancient theoreticians also notice that (Webb, Schlapbach, Bocksberger). On aesthetic, ethical, religious, and political levels (Kowalzig, Kurke, Poignault), the success of performance depends on forces circulating and moving inside the text, in the performing chorus, in the spectators' bodies, and between the performers and the viewers or co-participants. This typical transmediality puts synesthesia (Shane & Butler) at the core of melic pragmatics (Briand to be publ. 2019). According to contemporary dance studies (Foster, Bolens, Naerebout 1997), the audience experiences synesthetic sensations and emotions such as empathy, pleasure (Peponi 2012 and 2015), and community feeling (Schechner), on two levels (Briand 2016a): 1. Imaginative perception: sensorial images in the poem, as well as movement, rhythm, and sound effects, activate the audience's imagination and thought, especially in third-person narratives. 2. Spectacular perception (Ladianou): performances provide the audience with feelings and sensations, especially in first and second person discourses. The main mediation unfolds between *ego* (*persona cantans*) and the audience, through text and performance.

The "Newest Sappho" (*P.Sapph. Obbink* and *P. GC inv. 105, frs. 1-4*, see Bierl & Lardinois) helps to think afresh about various issues: the context of enunciation, at a *symposium* or in an outward cult; the high sensory value of themes like *eros* or war and navigation, inspired by *epos*; or even an ethno-poetic approach to ancient texts (Calame *et al* 2010). In this corpus, two main groups may be distinguished:

- 1. Fragments where *Kypris*, *eros* (Bierl 2003), and related sensations and impulses prevail, *fr. 15, 16, 16a, Kypris Song*: both in the third (e.g. Helen) and first person, erotic references underlie intense synesthetic and rhythmical effects connecting the audience and *ego*, as feeling, thinking, and acting subjects (about *noosas* movement, Briand 2016b), e.g. in the *Kypris Song* (1-2 "How can someone not be hurt and hurt again, / *Kypris*, Queen ...", and 5-6 "to pierce me idly with shiverings / out of desire that loosens the knees", transl. Obbink).
- 2. Fragments where Hera (Pirenne-Delforge & Pironi), journeys, and family relations prevail, *fr. 9, 17, 18, Brothers Song*: often in hymnic style, these poems evoke land and sea displacements, ritual gestures and utterances (e.g. prayers), with other vivid synesthetic and deictic effects, provoking active audience response, e.g. in the *Brothers Song* (13-16 "and find us safe and sound. Let us / entrust all other things to the gods: / for out of huge gales fair weather / swiftly ensues").

The impulse of *eros*, as staged by the performers and corporally and emotionally experienced by the audience (Calame 1996 and 2016), has some similarity with other impulses expressed in addresses to deities or parents, through performed or described gestures and moves. These two groups of song-and-dance fragments do not differ so much, from a kinetic or musical point of view (Calame 2007 and 2016, Bierl 2016, Ladianou 2016). Thus, Sappho's

poetry is at the same time erotic and political (Stehle, Yatromanolakis, Kurke). This approach helps in: 1. Enhancing our appreciation of Sappho's imagery, in visual, aural, but also kinesthetic terms. 2. Accounting for the multidimensionality of archaic poetry (Porter, Halliwell), as an esthetic, cognitive, and political experience (Calame & Ellinger). 3. Highlighting the embodied nature of performance poetry and the images, thoughts, and values it builds up and expresses (Lakoff & Johnson). 4. Enriching what can be said about Sappho's style, in other poems with similar synesthetic and rhythmical schemes (Rocconi 2017, Peponi 2017), as well as song and dance correspondences, e.g. *fr. 1, 31, 44-44a, 58-59, 94* (Boehringer, Briand 2016b).

Title: Komos and Choros: The Language of Dance in Greek Vase-Painting

Name: Tyler Jo Smith

The appearance of dancing scenes on ancient Greek vases enables a unique area of exploration in the combined areas of gesture and ritual. Vase-painters in the city of Athens, as well as in other regions (e.g. Laconia, Corinth, Boeotia) active during the 6th and 5th centuries BC, frequently choose dance figures and contexts as subjects to decorate the surfaces of their vessels. Among the best studied are the so-called 'padded dancers' or komasts (lit: 'revellers'), figures dated throughout the 6th century BC who may be identified based on the regular exhibition of a 'bottom-slapping' gesture as part of their routine. While the dances demonstrated by these figures reveal some indications of gestural regularity, in a large number of examples their dancing seems spontaneous and unrehearsed and a specific context can be difficult or impossible to determine. Another category of dance iconography, and one which appears by the late 7th century on vases, is circular or line-dancing; the participants, often in the presence of a musician, join hands and execute identical poses and gestures. The mood oftentimes seems more sombre and there is the sense of a more serious, perhaps religious, occasion. Regardless of type or circumstances, expressing and communicating 'dance' to the viewer/user of the object would have presented a particular set of challenges for ancient artists, and can be equally difficult for the modern interpreter. As a three-dimensional art-form rife with gestures, translating dance – its movements and postures – onto the vase's two-dimensional surface must have been rather more difficult than showing episodes of mythology, for example, where a number of other visual indicators (of which gesture is only one) provided clues to the subject being conveyed. A further set of complications unique to the study of dance on vases have come with attempts by Classical scholars to identify gestures and named dances on the basis of surviving textual evidence – a trend echoed in efforts to match certain scenes on vases with known or lost Greek dramas. For over a century, scholars and professional dancers have attempted to recreate or reconstruct ancient Greek dance. Although upholding rather different agendas, these seemingly disparate groups have uniformly drawn on the combined evidence of text and art. Starting from such figures as Maurice Emmanuel and Ruby Ginner, this paper will present this modern Greek dance history and explain how it has influenced other areas of ancient performance studies in the Classics. Using black- and red-figure vases, produced in Athens and elsewhere, it will then concentrate on the iconographic evidence of dance as a self-contained system of visual communication. Keeping in mind the inherent challenge of conveying a three-dimensional art form in two-dimensional space, the ensuing discussion will be framed according to categories, such as gesture (repetitive/non-repetitive), movement (in space/on vessel), and writing (letters/words in scenes). It will be concluded that vase-painters depicted dance on their own terms rather than as visual descriptions of ancient texts. By recognizing that dance is a special class of performance that combines movement, rhythm, facial expression, and music, and accepting the limitations of conveying it as a subject in vase-painting, it is hoped that we may better comprehend the special language of dance employed by ancient Greek artists.

Title: Dancing in Roman Dress: *Fabula Togata* and the Music of Pantomime

Name: Harry Morgan

This paper will explore the relationship between music and dance in Roman theatre during the early imperial period. The paper will focus specifically on the evolution of the dramatic genre known as *fabula togata* and the relation of this genre to the origins of the pantomime. My contention is that modern scholarship on the pantomime (e.g. Lada-Richards 2007) has promoted an overly narrow conception of how musical styles developed under the patronage of the Julio-Claudian emperors. By studying the evidence for choreographed productions of *togatae*, I hope to complicate our understanding of the history of pantomime, while drawing attention to the different ways in which song and dance were fused through the medium of theatrical performance.

Fabulae togatae were comic plays on Roman themes. Developed in the 2nd century BC by the playwrights Titinius, Afranius, and Quinctius Atta, the genre was much in vogue during the late republican period (Wiseman 2002; Manuwald 2011; Kragelund 2016). Although we know the titles of several *togatae*, no complete plays have survived, and so we must rely on scattered allusions in literary texts to understand what a typical performance might have looked and sounded like. The *fabula togata* has been identified by some scholars as an important precursor to the pantomime, which, according to Jory (1981), made its debut in Rome in 23 BC. However, it is clear from various sources that *togatae* were still being performed during the Julio-Claudian period, packaged in a strikingly original format which put choreography centre-stage. Pliny the Elder mentions a certain Stephanio, who at the Ludi Saeculares *primus togatus saltare instituit* (HN 7.159); a Stephanio *togatarius* –presumably the same man – appears in Suetonius’ *Life of Augustus* (45), in a list of performers whose notorious on-stage antics incurred the wrath of the emperor. Furthermore, in his treatise *De Grammaticis* (21), Suetonius tells the story of C. Melissus, a favourite freedman of Maecenas and later an intimate of Augustus, who is credited with the invention of ‘a new form of *togatae*’.

Suetonius saw the advent of pantomime as bringing about a radical change in the way Roman audiences experienced the combined effect of music and dance: *Pylades Cilex pantomimus, cum veteres ipsi canerent atque saltarent, primus Romae chorum et fistulam sibi praecinere fecit* (Suet. *De Poetis* fr. 3 Rostagni; see Wiseman 2014). Other sources give a similar impression (cf. Macr. *Sat.* 2.7.18). And yet, in terms of the interaction between sound and movement, the pantomime and the *togata* were qualitatively different (*contra* Hunt 2008). While we should be wary of drawing sharp distinctions between performance categories (following, e.g., Wiseman 2002), it is evident from Suetonius that *togatarii*, unlike *pantomimi*, did not perform as soloists, and it seems likely that they sang as well as danced. How are we to make sense of these discrepancies?

I will conclude that the arrival of pantomime did not change the face of Roman music overnight, as scholars have suggested. Rather, the pantomime and the *togata* together point towards a pattern of Roman experimentation with musical and choreographic modes, which continued long after 23 BC. Seen in this light, the careers of Stephanio and Melissus can provide new insights into the diverse theatrical landscape of early imperial Rome.

Title: The Pantomimic Voice: Ovid’s Echo and the Body-Voice Relationship in Dance
Name: Amy Koenig

Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, as scholars have compellingly demonstrated, can be fruitfully read in dialogue with Roman pantomime dance, with points of contact ranging from its mythological subject matter and its focus on bodies and gesture to the way it depicts movement and transformation (e.g. Galinsky 1975: 68-69; Richlin 1992; Garelli 2013; Ingleheart 2008; Lada-Richards 2013, 2016, 2018). The tale of Echo and Narcissus in Book 3 of the *Metamorphoses* has drawn attention as one of the episodes whose “pantomimic qualities...are striking” (Galinsky 1996: 265; see also Galinsky 1975: 68). Most of this attention, however, has hitherto focused on the figure of Narcissus, whose inaccessible desirability and fixation on a silent, gesturing reflection of himself readily lend themselves to comparisons with the pantomime dancer and his relationship to his audience.

This talk centers instead on the companion figure of Echo, whose vocal mimicry, on the one hand, can itself be seen as a kind of mirrored equivalent to pantomime performance: in contrast with the pantomime, whose suppression of his voice plays a key role in his chameleonic degree of mimetic ability (see e.g. Montiglio 1999), Echo’s final dissolution into a voice without a body seems to permit her a supernaturally multiplicitous power of imitation. On the other hand, Echo’s juxtaposition with Narcissus can be read as a mythologized embodiment of the distinctive relationship between body and voice in pantomime dance. Echo’s desire for Narcissus, I argue, engages with an existing poetic tradition of depicting the relationship between singing voice and dancing body in performance as an erotic one. In lyric works like those of Sappho or Alcman, for instance, the speaker(s) of the poems often either describes in erotic terms, or explicitly expresses desire for, one or more members of the chorus (for discussion of *eros* in choral lyric, see e.g. Rawles 2011). In such situations, the desire is complicated—or, perhaps, fulfilled—by a performance context in which the performers are both singing and dancing. While the desire the voice expresses may not be requited within the text of the song, the act of performing choral lyric can in a sense provide the union for which the speaker yearns: body and voice come together in the persons of the performers.

The fact that Echo is so markedly and catastrophically denied erotic union with Narcissus, however, indicates a different dynamic that highlights a key feature of pantomime: the separation of dancer from singer (in performances with a vocal accompaniment), the conspicuous silence of the dancer, and the subordination or absence of the voice in performance as the body takes center stage. Narcissus rejects Echo not because of the restrictions on her voice, but because she has a body distinct from his—he flees at the moment when she reveals herself and attempts to embrace him (3.388-390)—and the verbal desire for unity expressed in their call-and-response of *coeamus!* (3.385-386) never comes to physical fruition. Echo is thus, I finally assert, at once a mirror of the pantomime dancer in herself and a symbol of pantomime’s denial of the union that other types of dance permit: an embodiment of the unbridgeable gulf between the dancing body and the suppressed or marginalized voice.

Session 72: If Classics is for Everybody, Why Isn’t Everybody in my Class? Building Bridges and Opening Doors to the Study of Classics

Title: Increasing the diversity of graduate students in Classics: The University of Michigan’s Bridge M.A. and Bridge to the Ph.D Programs

Name: Sara Ahbel-Rappe and Sierra P. Jones

The Bridge to the Ph.D., a two year-old program at the University of Michigan, is designed to increase the diversity of graduate students in Classics and related disciplines. In 2017, 35% of the incoming First Year class at the University of Michigan identified as something other than “white, Caucasian.” Students and faculty in the Classical Studies program are even less diverse, a fact which can discourage students of color from enrolling since it sends the message that the study Greece, Rome, and the Greco-Roman cultural legacy is not for them.

When a student encounters ancient history, archaeology, or classical receptions as a Sophomore or Junior in college, there is little time to achieve proficiency in the Ancient languages that would enable graduate study. For many of these students, post-baccalaureate programs are a necessary prerequisite to graduate, but prohibitively expensive since they must be financed from private funds. The Bridge M.A. provides an affordable way for underrepresented students to strengthen their language skills and prepare for doctoral-level work in Classical Studies.

This presentation will outline the way the Bridge program opens doors to doctoral programs in Classics for students who would otherwise be excluded because of financial hardship and other barriers. A Bridge student will participate in this presentation to discuss her experience as a person of color who studied Classics through Michigan Humanities Emerging Research Scholars Program (MICHHERS) in 2018. We will discuss how to support students’ academic growth and personal wellness through access, equity, and inclusion, the core values of the Bridge Program. While these strategies are geared towards graduate students preparing for PhDs, they are applicable to any educator or institution committed to expanding inclusivity in Classical Studies.

Title: Creating systemic change within existing structures

Name: Danielle R. Bostick

“Latin is for everyone” is a core value of the American Classical League. In reality, the majority of Latin programs are not for everyone. When I started teaching in my current school, a public high school where 60% of students are of low socioeconomic status and over half are students of color, I inherited a program that was almost all-white and all-affluent. Within a semester, my first-year students reflected the demographics of our diverse school in terms of race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and academic preparation. To start my fourth year this fall, my Latin III students will be disproportionately non-white. It takes more than marketing and messaging to create and sustain a proportional program. Everything about our practice-- from course materials to assessments-- needs to reflect that Latin is for everyone so that we create an equitable learning communities instead of simply classrooms that include more people of color.

I will provide concrete examples of how I initially diversified my classroom by countering misconceptions about classics and engaging with key stakeholders in my community. I will also describe how I have reframed instruction about ancient Roman culture in a way that amplifies student voices and prioritizes the development of critical

thinking skills so students can engage more effectively with the ancient world and their own communities. Finally, I will provide suggestions for leveraging resources outside of the field to improve our programs.

Attendees will leave with practical strategies for eliminating barriers and for implementing practices that promote equal access, opportunities, and engagement from all students.

Title: Integrating diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds in the Latin classroom, and reconsidering the place of Classics in non-western traditions

Name: Sonya Wurster

In my presentation, I will discuss the transition from academia to secondary teaching and approaches that have been helpful teaching Latin to students with a diverse range of skills and existing knowledge-levels: 1) modifications to the curriculum to meet individual student needs; 2) the inclusion of cultural content that resonates with girls of color; 3) the incorporation of non-literary material culture in addition to literary sources.

Brooklyn Emerging Leaders Academy (BELA) is an all-girls charter high school in Bedford-Stuyvesant (Brooklyn) that attracts students from a wide-range of New York City middle schools. All students are required to take Latin their first two years, and many will continue through their senior year as part of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program. In a first-year Latin class, students with strong academic skills and educational backgrounds learn alongside students who are well below grade level in reading and have no prior exposure to ancient Rome.

I have found that my experience teaching Classical Studies, Greek and Latin in Singapore and Australia to students from diverse linguistic, cultural and socioeconomic has prepared me to teach my students in New York City; and further, prompted me to reconsider how Classics positions itself in relation to non-Western traditions.

Title: Expanding Classics through the visual and performing arts, in and out of the classroom

Name: Nina Papathanasopoulou

In my presentation, I will discuss how I reach across disciplinary boundaries to incorporate visual and performing arts in college courses that are usually solely text-based or primarily focused on language; and, further, how the inclusion of the arts made the courses more accessible to students of a greater variety of learning styles, interests, and backgrounds.

I incorporate fields trip to performances and exhibitions such as Aquila Theatre's *Our Trojan War*, Martha Graham's Greek-inspired dances, and Marcus Gardley's *black odyssey*. I will share the reflections of some of my students, including those from underrepresented groups (including African-American, Asian, and Latinx) about how the inclusion of the arts in our classes facilitated and enriched our discussion of topics such as gender dynamics, human responsibility, and divine and human justice; or, as one student put it, helped them to "connect their learning in the classroom to the real world."

Session 73: Novel Entanglements

Title: Time-psychology in the *Cena Trimalchionis*

Name: Karen Ni-Mheallaigh

This paper presents a new Petronian-Plautine entanglement as a key to help us understand Trimalchio's obsessive attention to time in the *Cena Trimalchionis*, arguing specifically that this was related to his status as an ex-slave.

Trimalchio's fascination with time is well-known (see Branham 2001, esp. 23–8). The narrative is liberally furnished with chronometric devices, real, fanciful, and imaginary, e.g., a clock, probably mechanical (*Sat.* 26; see Magnusson 2000); a *parapēgma* (*Sat.* 30); the zodiac dish (*Sat.* 35); the sundial on Trimalchio's tomb (*Sat.* 71).

Moreover, he is himself a connoisseur of astrology, who knows precisely how much life-time is left to him (*Sat.* 35 and 77, with de Vreese 1927).

This paper opens up a new interpretation of Trimalchio's peculiar obsession, based on a comparative reading with a fragment of a comedy called *The Boiotian Woman*, which is attributed to Plautus and preserved in Aulus Gellius' miscellany (*NA* 3.3.5). In this fragment, a parasite bemoans the shift from a primitive, subjective, and ultimately more satisfying form of "gastro-chronology"—in which one judged the time of day according to appetite—to an objective chronology based on the movements of the Sun and measured out by the newly invented sundials that decorate the city (see Gratwick 1979; Schechner 2001). The hungry parasite curses the inventor of the sundial, which now governs his day—whereas in his youth, his own belly was the truest "clock" (*nam unum me puero venter erat solarium / multo omnium istorum optimum et verissimum*).

This Plautine passage offers us important insights into ancient time-psychology and how the introduction of new chronometric instruments impinged on it (Schechner 2001). I will argue that Trimalchio's lavish display of time-devices can be read in this light as an attempt to control time, which is a symptom of his status as a former slave who had no control over his hours. I shall further show that the mechanical *horologium* (*Sat.* 26) can be interpreted as a metaphor for the ex-slave who was formerly, in accordance with Aristotle's famous definition, a mere "tool with a soul" (*Pol.* 1253b27). Mesomedes' two poems on *horologia* (fr. 7 and 8), which are themselves works of an ex-slave, will be adduced as illuminating comparative material in the final section of the paper. By entangling Petronius with Plautus and Mesomedes, we open up the richly nuanced time-psychology of the *Cena Trimalchionis*. The comparative reading with Mesomedes' poetry also adumbrates a new and important dimension of the reception of ancient time-technology, suggesting that clocks—like lamps—might have been "good to think with" about slavery in antiquity (on lamps and slaves, see Bielfeldt 2014; Sabnis 2011).

This analysis will illustrate how the material imaginary of the novelistic story-world serves not only to authenticate the fiction by orienting it towards the reader's world and by "fleshing it out" (the so-called "reality effect"); it can also complicate our reading by nudging our horizons of interpretation beyond the confines of the fictional world. Striking or enigmatic objects in particular can be intertextually charged, i.e. prone to entangle one text or world with another as the reader tries to gain a clearer understanding of their precise nature or role. Trimalchio's wondrous *horologium*, I will argue, is one such intertextual artefact whose presence entangles the *Cena* with other meditations on time and time-devices. This approach offers us insights into the semiotic superabundance that is a hallmark of novelistic fiction with its intricately realized story-worlds.

Title: Awkward Authority: *Gnomai* in Heliodorus and Nonnus
Name: Emma Greensmith

Nonnus and Heliodorus are, in many ways, the most disruptive members of their literary worlds. Their sprawling works, the *Dionysiaca* (fifth century C.E.) and the *Aethiopica* (c. third/fourth century C.E.) programmatically flaunt their disobedience of generic rules. Nonnus' gargantuan romp through epic mythology, its forty-eight books deliberately matching the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined, announces with the slippery god Proteus a bendy, protean poetics (*D.*1.14) and mixes throughout pastoral settings, novelistic romance and lyric self-promotion. For Nonnus (who also wrote a verse paraphrase of St. John's Gospel) generic and cultural traditions can be collided vehemently, the seams unapologetically on show. Heliodorus is equally fearless in manipulating the tropes of a genre in which he actively positions himself (Morgan 1993; Gill and Wiseman 1993): the novelistic expectations of young love, delayed reunions and sexual awakening are relentlessly acknowledged and redrafted. But crucially, both works locate this disobedience in an intense concern with authority: literary and narrative. For example, in their obsessive use of inset narratives, they test the limits of readers' control of conflicting strands of the plot and trust in the veracity of its storytellers. And yet despite increasing attempts to read imperial Greek novels and epics in dialogue (e.g. Miguélez-Cavero 2016, Frangoulis 2014), Nonnus and Heliodorus have not been connected in this way: as distinctly reflective and subversive explorations of their own authoritative voice, and that of their earlier models.

This paper explores these dynamics through the use of *gnomai*, arguing that these works' sustained and similar approach to the device offers a crucial, under-considered vehicle for assessing their self-positioning within and *between* their genres.

Gnomai have long been recognised as a central rhetorical method of asserting authority through claims to universal or perceived wisdom or truth (*Rhet.* 1357a34; *Phdr.* 273d3–4). In the imperial period, gnomonic material appeared copiously in school-texts, anthologies and almost all kinds of literature (Morgan 1998, 2007). This range of uses suggests that the device’s popularity was also linked to its ability to be excerpted: these were literary parts that could be extracted from original scenes and re-applied to fit multiple new contexts.

The high density of *gnomai* in certain imperial Greek epics and novels has received scholarly attention (Morales 2000 on Achilles Tatius; Fernández-Garrido 2014 on Heliodorus; Maciver 2012:86–124 on Quintus; Geisz 2017:170–96 on Nonnus). Drawing these discussions together, I seek to show how the *Dionysiaca* and *Aethiopica* reveal an intense, *critical* awareness of the rhetorical and literary power of *gnomai*. I first discuss the patterns of *gnomai* in these texts, revealing some significant similarities: both use a reduced number, but greater range of *gnomai* than their contemporary generic siblings; both favour Homeric *gnomai*, frequently glossed with daring explicitness; and often place them in highly un-Homeric scenarios of sex and erotic love. For example, both authors attack the exceptional Iliadic *gnome* about love (πάντων μὲν κόρος ἐστὶ καὶ ὕπνου καὶ φιλότιτος, *Il.* 13.636). Heliodorus’ Cnemon says that the story of Theagenes and Chariclea, he *thinks*, makes Homer wrong in this assumption (*Aeth.* 4.4). In Nonnus, Dionysus’ unquenchable passion proves that “the book of Homer lied” (*D.* 42.181).

Both texts thus play with the basic strategy of audience complicity promoted by the *gnome*: the universal applicability and Homeric familiarity of the statement is strained and tested as much as confirmed. But what does it mean for *these* works to use *gnomai* in this way? I conclude by suggesting the wider ramifications of reading these treatments together. Does Heliodorus reflect late epic modes to thwart a straightforward reading of his novel? Does Nonnus employ Heliodoran moves to destabilise his (anti-)epic endeavour? In their shared penchant for gnomonic unsettlement, both works reveal themselves as operating outside, as well as within, the models that they cite; dialogically irreverent and insistently uncontainable in their approach to genre and form.

Title: Between Skeptical Sophistry and Religious Teleology: The Multiperspectivity of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*

Name: Benedek Kruchió

Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica* is not only the latest Greek novel but also the one concerning which recent scholarship has been most divided. Winkler (1982) reads it as a text about metaliterary issues and hermeneutic uncertainty, which is not resolved by the novel’s end; Morgan (1989; 1998), instead, argues that the novel’s strong closure overrides earlier interpretative challenges and Heliodorus is primarily concerned with ethical questions. Since these pioneering treatises, much valuable work has been done on other aspects of the *Aethiopica*—see e.g. Telò (1999) on Homeric scholarship; Whitmarsh (2011) on identity; Tagliabue (2015) on intermedial intertextuality—but scholarship has failed to set into relation Winkler’s hermeneutic and Morgan’s teleological concept.

My paper aims to bridge this gap by showing that both approaches play equally important roles in the *Aethiopica*; in fact, their subtly balanced coexistence is one of the central and most sophisticated features of the novel’s architecture. I shall proceed from specific observations to increasingly general ones, first focusing on a single character, then discussing the novel’s macrostructure and finally linking my reading to reference points in late Imperial culture.

First, I analyze the Egyptian priest Calasiris, who sometimes behaves like a holy man, sometimes like a charlatan, thereby creating serious interpretative challenges. Especially his claim that he acts at the behest of the female protagonist’s mother (4.12f.) has raised many eyebrows since Hefti (1950). Previous accounts of Calasiris either argue that his two sides are compatible (Billault 2015; Dowden 2015) or suggest that the tension between them is resolved, as the priest’s manipulative actions serve a higher cause (Futre Pinheiro 1991; Fuchs 1993: 174–78). I shall show that Calasiris’ two sides are both incompatible and carefully balanced; as a result, readers are prompted to make an interpretative choice, which has a significant impact on their understanding of major events. Consequently, the scholarly controversy about Calasiris appears to be a result of the very composition of this character: he is crafted in such a way as to engender precisely these hermeneutic debates.

Subsequently, I shall examine the impact of Calasiris' double nature on the reader's relationship to the *Aethiopica* as a whole. The Egyptian priest is the most important secondary narrator of the novel and acts as the author's alter ego (Hunter 2014). His double nature thus affects our relationship to the entire work, as we are invited to read it from two completely different perspectives: on the one hand, we can be as skeptical towards Heliodorus as towards Calasiris the trickster, taking no information at face value and burying ourselves in hermeneutic problems; on the other hand, Calasiris the prophet invites us to read the *Aethiopica* teleologically as a story about the implementation of a divine plan. Making use of the narratological work of Nünning and Nünning (2000), I shall characterize this remarkable feature as multiperspectivity and discuss passages where the coexistence of the two perspectives is particularly striking, e.g., the speeches of Charicles and Sisimithres in Book Ten (cf. Kruchió 2018).

Finally, I will compare the novel's skeptical-hermeneutic and religious-teleological sides to works commonly associated with the Second Sophistic (Lucian's *True Stories*, Philostratus' *On Heroes*) and Neoplatonic/Christian texts (Porphyry's *On the Cave of the Nymphs*, the Greek *Hymn of the Pearl* found in the *Acts of Thomas*) respectively. On the one hand, the hermeneutic puzzles and subversive handling of fictional truth that characterize the *Aethiopica*'s skeptical side function in a strikingly similar way in "Sophistic" literature; on the other hand, allegoresis and teleology, which allow religious interpretations of the novel, play comparable roles in Neoplatonic and early Christian texts. I shall conclude that the *Aethiopica*'s multiperspective nature can be read against the background of the multicultural late Imperial Period, which was characterized by the coexistence of conflicting movements: reacting to the ideological clashes of his time, Heliodorus invites us to experience this pluralism while we explore the different interpretative paths laid out by the novel.

Title: The Novel and Bookspace

Name: Tim Whitmarsh

The novel was the central Greek literary innovation of the Roman Empire and might be expected to have played the same culturally central role that (e.g.) drama did in classical Athens, Muromachi Japan, and Elizabethan England. The impact of this new genre is undeniable: for Achilles Tatius alone we now have eight papyrus fragments (more than for any other imperial author except Plutarch), and clear evidence for influence upon Lucian, Philostratus, Aristaenetus, and so forth. Equally undeniable is the widespread nature of novelistic production: alongside the five fully extant romances and related texts, we have fragments from numerous others (Stephens and Winkler 1995, to which can now be added *POxy* 4760–2 and 4811).

But what is it about this genre that appealed so much to this era? *Why* did the novels become so central? And—crucially for this panel—how did the novel come to be the imperial Greek genre of genres, the absorber and transmitter of all other literary modes? Most answers to these questions have focused on content, in particular on the history of gender roles and the supposed shift of sexual norms away from pederasty towards matrimonial ideals (Foucault 1986; Konstan 1994; Goldhill 1995; Cooper 1996; Morales 2008 etc.) This paper, by contrast, considers the novel as form. (Form is a topic undergoing something of a renaissance in the field: Vasunia forthcoming is eagerly awaited.) After all, it is clearly not just the content of drama (to return to that analogy) that appeals: the theatre carries with it a distinctive "way of seeing," both literally and metaphorically (in the sense of a distinction between the seen and the unseen, the inside and the outside, the performance and concealment of identity, and so forth).

Can the same be said of the novel? I argue in this paper that the distinctive formal property of the novel is its construction of an imaginative space within the material confines of the book. The novel is, after all, arguably the first Greek literary genre born into a fully textualized environment, and the representation of reading and writing is (as has often been noted) widespread throughout the texts. The most obvious manifestation of this textuality is the frequent correlation of the novels' individual books ("books" here in the sense of "tomes") with distinct geographical and thematic spaces (e.g. Nakatani 2003; Whitmarsh 2009).

More than this, however, physical books are bounded and contained in a way that encourages a sense that their texts can have a closed, definable significance. We might call this the "morselization" of meaning: hence the emphasis in the novels on "nuggets" of knowledge, on *gnomai* (see the paper "Awkward Authority" in this panel), on exemplarity, on anecdotes (Goldhill 2011), on epitomization (e.g. Whitmarsh 2010).

Books, moreover, are portable: they can be moved, borrowed, stolen, lost. They gain new meaning not necessarily by the addition or subtraction of words (though there is some evidence for this in the novelistic transmission: Sanz Morales 2006), but by recontextualization. Books (as Socrates famously observed in the *Phaedrus*) travel, and as they do so they lose their link to their original site of production. We know from the papyri of Egypt that the novels travelled, either along the seaways or the maintained roads of the Empire. Within the novels too we perceive an interconnected Mediterranean, in which a common Hellenic cultural *koinē* remains constant-but-different across multiple spaces. Viewed in this way, the novel becomes not just a genre entangled in others, but the perfect expression of the complexities of a mobile book culture enacted within a reticulated imperial system.

Session 74: Personhood and Authorship: Collective Living Commentary on a Project of Tom Habinek

No abstracts

Session 75: Greek History

Title: Whose Tyrant Are You?: The Installation of Tyrants in the Archaic and Classical Worlds

Name: Marcaline J. Boyd

One of the features noted of Greek and Persian relations in the so-called archaic “age of tyrants” is the concentration of tyrants who sprung up on the western frontier of the Persian Empire. It is generally held that the Persians imposed these tyrants over the subject Greek cities under a system of ritualized friendship (i.e. “rewarding benefactors with gifts and positions of power” (Austin 1990, 306; see also Luraghi 1998) and that these Persian-installed tyrants represented a phenomenon independent of the *tyrannoi* of mainland Greece (Andrewes 1956; Murray 1993; Lane Fox 2005; Cobet, s.v. “Tyrannis, Tyrannos” *New Pauly*). This paper broadens the conventional scope of investigation and considers tyrant-makers apart from the Persian king and after the archaic age. It argues that the Persians continued to install and support tyrants during the Classical period (when tyranny is usually held to have no longer existed) and that Macedonian kings, such as Philip II and Alexander the Great, and even Greek tyrants themselves operated as tyrant-makers.

The *locus classicus* of archaic Persian-installed tyrants is the episode at the Danube bridge in Book 4 of Herodotus’ *Histories*. Twelve tyrants are named and based on what Herodotus says elsewhere about several of them (e.g. Aeaces of Samos (6.22.1, 25.1) and Histiaeus of Miletus (5.11)), they were rewarded with these positions as “benefactors” (εὐεργέται) of the Great King. This practice of establishing tyrannies, however, was not coterminous with the Archaic Period. After Salamis (480 BCE), the Persians set up Theomestor as tyrant of Samos (Hdt. 8.85.3). We also find previously installed tyrannies on Chios and at Lampsacus in the fifth century (Hdt. 8.132; Thuc. 6.59). In the fourth century, the descendants of Demaratus (ca. 491 BCE) and Gongylus (470s-460s BCE), both of whom the Persian king had originally installed, were still in power in Aeolis (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6). In the 330s BCE, the Persians set up tyrannies on the islands of Tenedos, Chios, and Lesbos (Arr. *Anab.* 2.1.1, 3.2.3, cf. D.S. 17.29). One of the best-attested cases from the late fourth century comes from the city of Eresos on Lesbos, where a dossier of inscriptions mentions two tyrants Eurysilaus and Agonippus whom the Persians installed in 333 BCE (*IG XII²* 526).

Just as the Persian king, Macedonian and Greek rulers also partook in the installation of tyrants. Philip set up tyrants in the Euboean cities of Eretria (Dem. 9.58; *FGrHist* 328 F 160; D.S. 16.74) and Oreus (Dem. 18.71; *FGrHist* 328 F 159) and at Sicyon (Dem. 18.48, 295; Plut. *Arat.* 13.2; Plin. *NH* 35.109). Alexander followed in his father’s footsteps establishing tyrannies at Messene and Pellene ([Dem.] 17.4, 10). Tyrants could also be active tyrant-makers. Pisistratus installed Lygdamis on Naxos (Hdt. 1.64.2), Dionysius I supported Aeimnestus at Enna (D.S. 14.14.7), and the Spartocid Satyrus I granted Sopaeus power in the Bosphorus (Isoc. 17.3).

One noteworthy difference in the installation of tyrants by Persians vs. Macedonians/Greeks is language. There is a greater prevalence of the vocabulary of ritualized friendship in accounts of Persian-installed tyrants, but this is a result of the evidence rather than a fundamental change. One of our best sources about Macedonian-installed tyrants

is Attic oratory where the typically anti-Macedonian outlook of the speaker denounces the role of the tyrant-maker as paymaster or bribe-giver (e.g. Demosthenes of Philip II (9.60)). This mercantile association, as conceived by the Greeks, rendered the ruler's connections unseemly and base and thus precluded any genuine attributes of ritualized friendship. Nevertheless, among non-Greek and Greek rulers, installation offered a powerful tool for securing loyalty to the tyrant-maker and this technique would continue to prove instrumental, especially for leaders with expansionist aims. Rethinking the installation of tyrants beyond its archaic and Persian contexts reveals new tyrant-makers and brings the political *realia* of tyranny in the Classical period into clearer focus.

Title: A Game of Timber Monopoly: Atheno- Macedonian Relations on the Eve of the Peloponnesian War

Name: Konstantinos Karathanasis

By 432 B.C., the alliance of Athens with Perdikkas' internal enemies had precipitated a fall in the formerly amiable Atheno-Macedonian relations. This paper focuses through the lens of timber commerce on this peculiar termination of goodwill with Perdikkas. The main contention is that Perdikkas effectively opposed Athenian imperialism by restricting his monopolistic supply of silver fir (*Abies alba*), since timber from this *Abies* taxon was a nonpareil resource for shipbuilding and available only in Macedon. As a result, the shift of allegiance recorded by Thucydides emerges as part of an elaborate Athenian strategy that among other advantages would also facilitate access to invaluable ship-building resources.

In his narrative of the affairs preceding the revolt of Potidaea, Thucydides briefly remarks that Perdikkas had become an enemy at the time; "the reason for his enmity was the common alliance of the Athenians with his brother, Philip, and Derdas, who were in league against him" (1.57.2-3 ἐπολεμώθη δὲ ὅτι Φιλίππῳ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῷ καὶ Δέρδῳ κοινῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐναντιούμενοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ζυμμαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο). It is clear from this remark that Perdikkas had had more than good reason to turn hostile, but what about the Athenians? In the past, Perdikkas was an Athenian ally and so was his father, Alexander I (Hdt. 8.136.1). Moreover, given that Thucydides entertains no motives for the decision to side with his enemies, the Athenian aggression towards Perdikkas seems unprovoked. Therefore, considering that the Macedonian king was not only a friend and ally but also capable of turning the tide of affairs in the north, this reversal of Athens' allegiance poses a mystery.

This mystery has been treated nonchalantly by commentators; Gomme (1945) and Hornblower (1991) discuss Perdikkas' actions at length but do not offer any comment on the expediency of this new alliance for Athens. On the other hand, Badian (1993) and Cole (1974) consider the political motives behind the alliance but leave important factors of expediency unexplored. In particular, as indicated by literary and epigraphic records (*IG I³ 117*; Plat. *Leg.* 704d-705d; Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.11; [Xen.] *Ath. pol.* 2.11-12), we do know that Athens depended heavily on Macedon for the provision of ship-building timber. In view of that and Athens' expansionism to the north, exemplified by the continuous attempts to colonize the Strymon delta until the successful foundation of Amphipolis in 437 B.C., Psoma (2011) reached the conclusion that Perdikkas must have stopped exporting timber to Athens in reaction to the aggressive expansion of her control sphere. Psoma based her argument on numismatic research (2000, 2002), the findings of which suggest that the content of Macedonian coinage in silver seems to be fluctuating in accordance with the commercial relationships between Athens and Macedon in terms of shipbuilding timber. In other words, Perdikkas' debased coinage was an emergency measure due to his financially catastrophic commercial policy. However, a question arises: if Amphipolis provided Athens with ship-building resources, as suggested by Hoffmann (1975) and Borza (1987, 1990), can Perdikkas' commercial embargo provide adequate reason for Athens' hostility?

Archaeobotanical research of the last two decades has come to confirm and further illuminate Theophrastus' observations in his *Historia plantarum* on the supreme quality of Macedonian firs for shipbuilding and construction purposes. Specifically, the superior quality of the firs coming from the Almopian massifs of northern Macedon was due to their belonging to the *alba* taxon of the *Abies* genus, which was the tallest and hence the most apt for shipbuilding purposes of the *Abies* taxa growing in Greece (i.e. *borisii-regis* and *cephalonica*). As a result, Perdikkas' embargo must have had considerable impact. Accordingly, given that Perdikkas' brother, Philip, ruled over the *archē* comprising modern Mt. Paiko, where *Abies alba* fir-tress would grow, the alliance of Athens with Philip seems to have been the most strategic way to employ a divide-and-conquer strategy, while bypassing Perdikkas'

anti-imperialist commercial policy and regaining access to the ship-building resources necessary to maintain a naval empire.

Title: Redistribution, Public Wealth, and the Cretan *Andreion*

Name: Evan Vance

While the Cretan *andreion* has of late been the focus of important studies on citizenship and commensality (Seelentag 2015, Whitley 2018), this paper focuses on the *andreion*'s economic role. It argues that the Cretan *andreion* can be considered as part of a broader system of redistribution and mobilization beyond the aim of providing citizen subsistence. There existed in sixth- and fifth-century Crete intersecting public economies in kind and coin. The scale of the public economy in kind may serve to explain some interesting features of Cretan economic life and provides a case study in redistributive economies in the broader sense now suggested by Nakassis et al 2011.

The Cretan *andreion* has often been described as redistributive, but in the narrow sense of feeding the citizen body (e.g., Lavencic 1988). The epigraphic evidence for public wealth in kind and in coin is difficult to reconcile with a narrow image of the *andreion* as a site for citizen subsistence, but makes sense when seen as part of a wider redistributive sphere. I begin with two fifth-century Gortynian inscriptions, G77B and G75B2 (following Gagarin and Perlman 2016's nomenclature). G77B has generally been interpreted as relating to the *andreion* because it empowers officials known as *karpodaistai* (produce distributors) to seize produce, although the *andreion* is not explicitly mentioned. The magistrate title and the difficulty of understanding the flow of produce in this inscription may attest to a degree of state management that transcends *andreion* allocations. G75B2 is generally considered a list of private goods safe from seizure, but contains a puzzling clause about the *andreion* that is difficult to reconcile with this reading: included on the list are "from an *andreion*, whatever the leader provides for an *andreion*" (ἐξ ἀνδρείου ὅτ' ὁ ἀρκὸς παρέκει κατ' ἀνδρείου). Whether this inscription enjoins or prevents seizure, it attests to the phenomenon of goods moving in and out of the *andreion* outside the strict sphere of subsistence needs.

Wages in kind (G79, Da1), including sustenance (*tropa/thropa*: Axos1, Da1), suggest substantial resources in kind at the state's disposal. It is likely that the *andreion* was just one component of publicly managed agricultural goods. In particular, the cycling of payment in kind and fines in coin seen in G79 suggests that the in kind and in coin economies were both important and ongoing features of public wealth. The existence of a wage in addition to sustenance also suggests a sphere of secondary exchange of goods and coin, raising questions about the pessimistic view of Cretan economic life painted by Davies 2005 on the basis of the *andreion* system.

With the epigraphic evidence in mind, this paper briefly returns to the literary sources. I reconsider Dosiadas' testimony (BNJ 458 F 2), which describes precisely the broader kind of redistribution envisioned in this reading of the epigraphic evidence. His notion of the *andreion* remains difficult, but could reflect the reality of an earlier system as understood in later history. Likewise, the confusion endemic to the passage of Aristotle's *Pol.* (1272a) on the funding of the Cretan *syssitia* (Chanotis 1999) may stem precisely from the high degree to which the *andreion* was embedded in broader modes of public property. Because later authors were so interested in comparing Crete and Sparta (Perlman 1992), the institution of the *andreion* took on an oversized role in the narrative.

I conclude by considering what this reading of the *andreion* as an institution for managing Cretan public property contributes to our understanding of Crete's economic life, particularly its atypical behavior around coinage (Stefanakis 1999). Crete may have coined later than other regions of the Greek world, not simply out of a lack of bullion but because its structures for wealth in kind functioned at an exceptional scale. We are thus presented with a different notion of economies in kind in historical periods.

Title: Carving Communities in Stone: Cosmopolitan Space on Hellenistic Kos
Name: Sjoukje M. Kamphorst

In this paper, I demonstrate how the island polis Kos used inscriptions as a medium for connectivity within the larger Hellenistic community of cities. This case study sheds light on a paradox in the position of the Greek city in the early Hellenistic era. Greek cities in this period were confronted with the new and ever-shifting hegemonies of the diadoch dynasties. At the same time, however, they managed to maintain a striking degree of cultural similarity and intense cosmopolitan interactions among each other, even across the boundaries of these empires. Furthermore, we see a huge rise in the production of inscribed decrees by those cities, a large part of which concerned those inter-city relationships. Looking at how inscriptions were employed as a medium in inter-city communication will help us understand the relation between these processes.

Interest in Hellenistic inter-city relations has been on the rise since the late 1980s, with essential publications dedicated to the institutions in which these interactions were embedded, such as the indispensable corpora on *asylia* (Rigsby 1996) and interstate arbitration (Ager 1996). Some suggestions for thinking about Hellenistic inter-city connectivity as an umbrella subject were given by John Ma in his seminal 2003 article *Peer Polity Interaction*. Most recently, research has developed in the direction of analysing inter-city networks, of which the monograph by Will Mack on proxeny (2015) and the new project on Hellenistic festival networks by Van Nijf and Williamson (2016) are excellent examples. My paper contributes to the debate by exploring what happens when we study inscriptions as constituent elements of interaction: as media, rather than as passive records.

The epigraphic corpus of Kos serves as a case study of this new approach. Kos presents us with more than 150 decrees related to inter-city interactions. This includes honorific decrees issued by other cities for Koan judges and doctors who had travelled abroad; Koan decrees appointing *proxenoi* in other cities; responses by other cities to the *asylia* venture of 242 BCE, in which the Koan Asklepieion and its festival were broadly promoted; and various texts of individual interest. To bring this material into focus, the paper is divided in three parts.

In the first part, I use publication clauses in the relevant inscriptions to bring out the media strategies involved in publicizing information about inter-city relationships. These are a) inscribing; b) (oral) performances at public events; c) the duplication of (oral) performances between cities; and d) the duplication of inscriptions between cities. In the second part of the paper, it will become clear how these strategies endow polis populations with the type of common knowledge needed for effective inter-city cooperation. The example of the Koan sacrifice in honour of the victory over the Galatian Celts in 279/8 BCE (IG XII 4.1.68) illustrates how this process contributed to the creation of a sense of community between cities. Finally, I compare various groups of Koan inscriptions to highlight how different places in the city were employed to publicize different types of connectivity. Tracing the development of the city's publicity programme in this way will show how Kos made a conscious effort to develop a cosmopolitan space, where connectivity could be explicitly experienced by locals as well as by visiting foreigners.

This way of studying inscriptions as media instead of just as sources, I argue, gives a clearer outlook on how cities instrumentalized their connectivity with the rest of the Greek world. In the end, this will not just provide a better understanding of how Kos carved out a place of its own in the cosmopolitan playing-field. It will also shed light on the enigmatic rise of an intricately interactive and sustainable community of cities under the changeable hegemonies of the Hellenistic empires.

Session 76: Style and Stylistics

Title: Timotheus of Miletus' *Persae*, 150–161: "Entwining Greek with Asian Speech"

Name: Milena Anfosso

The linguistic repertoire of Anatolia during the Achaemenid Era (6th–4th centuries BCE) included many varieties: the dominators' languages, old Persian and Aramaic; the epichoric languages, one of which was Phrygian; and Greek, whose penetration into the intermediate zone between the western coast and the Anatolian hinterland was promoted by the Achaemenid administration (Asheri 1983: 15–17). In this multilingual context, the scene represented by Timotheus of Miletus in his nome *Persae* (late 5th century BCE) is not implausible. In one of the

direct speeches describing the Battle of Salamis (480 BCE), the poet gives the floor to a Phrygian soldier from Kelainai, engaged in the Persian army. In 150–161 Page (= 162–173 Wilamowitz), the Phrygian soldier begs his Greek aggressor to spare his life, speaking in *broken Greek*.

Through his attempt to reproduce the overall effect of the Phrygian soldier's imperfect knowledge of Greek, Timotheus connects himself to a tradition already established by Ancient Comedy (cf. *Ar.*, *Ach.* 100, 104; *Av.* 1615, 1628–1629, 1678–1679; *Thesm.* 1001–1007, 1083–1135, 1176–1201, 1210–1225). Several studies have been devoted to these passages, including from a sociolinguistic point of view (Brixhe 1988, 2012; Willi 2003: 198–225), but this has never been done before for Timotheus' Phrygian soldier's speech.

In order to assess Timotheus' degree of mimesis, I will carry out a linguistic analysis of 150–161, using conceptual tools elaborated in modern sociolinguistics. The incomplete linguistic competence of a non-native speaker in a target language is known as a linguistic register called *broken language* (Ferguson&DeBose 1977), which can be easily imitated by a native speaker through a register called *secondary foreigner talk* (Hinnenkamp 1982: 40–41). In a literary context, this *secondary foreigner talk* is a very precise technique that aims to obtain different effects, according to the author's needs (Traugott&Pratt, 1980: 358–397).

Commentators (among the most recent ones: Janssen 1984; Hordern 2002; Sevieri 2011; Lambin 2013) have often focused on the “grammatical mistakes” present in the Phrygian's speech, considering their analysis as an end in itself. However, it seems much more interesting to situate these deviations from the norm of Greek language in the framework of *secondary foreigner talk*, in order to understand the strategies used by Timotheus to reproduce in a credible way the type of Greek spoken by the Phrygian soldier, including in the light of the latest knowledge of Phrygian language.

The Phrygian soldier speaks an Ionic dialectal variety (150, κῶς; 151, 155, αὔτις; 158, κεῖσε; 151, οὐδαμ' (ά); the sigmatic variant of the aorist of ἄγω, ἤξει in 153, comparable with ἄξαι, *Antiph.*, 5, 46, is probably an Anatolian Greek variant), but his Greek is still at a beginner's level. His incomplete linguistic competence is suggested by the lexical repetitions, by the multiplication of pronominal forms, by the asyndeton, by the association of prepositions with incorrect cases and by the active verbal forms constructed artificially for *media tantum*, such as ἔπομαι (ἔπω, 150), ἔρχομαι (ἔλθω, 151; ἔρχω, 155), μάχομαι (μαχέσ' (αι); 155), κάθημαι (κάθω, 156).

A word really comparable to a form known from Paleo-Phrygian inscriptions is Ἄρτιμις in 160, whose vocalism /e/ > /i/ (≠ Ion. Ἄρτεμις) is comparable to *artimitos* of the Vezirhan stele (Brixhe 2004: 42–67, B-05, line 3). A more subtle form of exoticism is created by the enumeration of the cities of the Persian empire, Κελαιναί (141), Σάρδι, Σοῦσα (158), and Ἀγβάτανα (159), which is even supposed to reproduce a Persian pronunciation, and by the evocation of the cult of Artemis at Ephesus (161), which finds confirmation in inscriptions as well as in indirect sources. However, Timotheus chose to use a very moderate *secondary foreigner talk* to characterize his Phrygian soldier, in order to avoid all the most extreme phonological traits that would make his character sink into comedy (cf., e.g., the lack of aspiration in the Greek unvoiced aspirated consonants).

Title: “Why is it impossible to do it well?” Aristotle and Quintilian on Narrative Brevity in Forensic Oratory

Name: Sidney Kochman

Although scholars in recent years have written about the contents of the narratives contained in forensic orations (e.g. Johnstone, 1999; Roisman, 2006; and Wohl 2010), they have given less attention to the form of those narratives. Ancient rhetoricians, on the other hand, because they wanted to teach people how to compose speeches, provided a great deal of information about narrative form that has yet to be studied. In this paper I resolve an apparent conflict between Quintilian and Aristotle on the ideal length of narratives in forensic rhetoric by looking at their statements on narrative length in comparison with what the Attic Orators say on the topic in their forensic orations.

When Quintilian says that he agrees with Isocrates that a narrative in a forensic speech should be clear, brief and plausible (4.2.31-2), he says that Aristotle mocked the idea that narratives should be brief. Indeed, when Aristotle

discusses narrative in his Rhetoric, he says that asking whether a narrative should be long or short is like the man who asked the baker whether you should knead bread hard or soft, to which the baker responded “why is it impossible to do it well?” (3.16.4). Aristotle advocates for a measured narrative, which he defines as one that will clarify what happened for the jury (3.16.4).

While Aristotle may reject brevity as a goal, this is not true of the Attic Orators. They frequently accompany the transition from proem to narrative with a promise to provide the facts of the case as briefly as possible. For example: Lysias (12.3), Demosthenes (54.2), and Isocrates (19.4) all introduce their narratives with this assurance of efficiency. They are not, as Aristotle implies, proposing to leave out vital facts. In each of these cases they make it clear that they intend to convey the necessary information about the case as efficiently as possible.

Since Lysias had in 12.1 already mentioned that his opponent’s crimes were too numerous to recount within the time limits of a case, his promise of brevity is a promise to confine himself to the facts relevant for the current dispute. Although Demosthenes may promise to relate the events as briefly as possible, he also promises to show that he has been wronged and to narrate how each of the events happened (54.2). Isocrates 19, being an inheritance dispute, could easily turn into a complete narrative of the lives of the speaker and the testator. This possibility is the reason that Isocrates chooses to delimit his narrative by starting at the point “from which you [the jury] will be able to learn most quickly about what we are in disagreement” (19.4).

In each of these cases, the promise of brevity is not a promise to speak for a short amount of time, rather it is a promise that the speaker will confine himself to the facts of the case, giving enough information to judge what crime the speaker alleges to have occurred. This promise to stick to the necessary facts is particularly meaningful given the lack of restriction about speech contents and the loose standards of relevance in the Athenian courts. This further emphasizes the fact that, as Lanni (2006) points out, character evidence was considered necessary information for judging a case.

When Quintilian defined brevity in the *Institutio Oratoria*, he understood what orators meant when they advocated a brief narrative. He says that “a narrative will be brief if we begin to lay out the facts from where they concern the judge and then if we say nothing outside the case” (4.2.40). Although Quintilian claims that Aristotle disagreed that brevity was a recommended quality for narrative, his definition is no different from what Aristotle says that a measured narrative will include.

Title: *nomine nos capis*: Cicero’s Cato and the theory and practice impersonating orators
Name: Lydia Spielberg

In this paper, I analyze Cicero’s impersonation of Cato in his *De senectute* to construct a new model for *prosopopoeia* in literary Latin prose.

Speaking *in persona* was a cornerstone of ancient rhetorical education and entertainment (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 3.8.49-54). Yet despite the proliferation of both prose and poetic pseudophigra (cf. Peirano), and the truism that a man’s style reflects his character, significant stylistic pastiche is rare in oratory and historiography: when Cicero invokes Appius Claudius Caecus to chastise Clodia (*Cacl.* 33-34), there may be allusions to the famous speech against Pyrrhus, but the style and rhetoric are entirely Ciceronian (Osgood); the speeches of Caesar and Cato in Sallust’s *Bellum Catilinae* are stylistically undifferentiated from the style of the rest of the work; it is unclear whether there is any significant presence of Cato’s language in the speech that Livy puts into his mouth on the Oppian Law (34.2.1-4.20, with Tränkle 11-16, Briscoe 39-43). But unlike many modern critics, ancient readers evidently did not feel that this stylistic homogeneity -- usually ascribed to the strictures of aesthetic unity -- detracted from a vivid sense of distinct characters. Both Cicero and Livy are praised for their ability to adapt oratory to *persona* (Quint. 3.8.54, 10.1.101).

What does constitute oratorical verisimilitude, therefore, when impersonating a well-known speaker from the past? Cicero’s *prosopopoeia* of Cato the Elder in *De senectute*, I argue, can provide us with a kind of limit case. Not only is Cato’s language barely dissimilar from Cicero’s own (Bréguet 1964, Powell 22-23), but Cicero openly acknowledges that Cato serves as a proxy for himself. Yet, in the preface to the companion dialogue *De amicitia*,

Cicero writes that the force and authority of his chosen *personae* are such that “I myself am sometimes so affected when reading my own words that I think it is Cato and not I who is speaking” (*Amic.* 4), as if the name alone can produce an effective impersonation (*Amic.* 3). This is an especially bold claim given that a few years previously, Cicero had dramatized in the *Brutus* an argument between himself and Atticus over Cato’s style, in which “Marcus” claims that Cato would need a little modern polish to make him a perfect orator (*Brut.* 61-68), and “Atticus” accuses his friend of exaggerating, and conflating Cato’s moral authority with rhetorical skill (*Brut.* 292-295). In *De senectute*, Cicero draws attention to the issue when he has Cato reflect on oratorical memory and *prosopopoeia* himself, citing the already century-old speech of Appius Claudius from the *Annals* of Ennius “although the speech itself is extant” (*Sen.* 16) -- a speech that Cicero himself seemed to regard with some disdain (*Brut.* 61).

From these passages, and several comments on style and historical oratory, I trace a Ciceronian theory of *prosopopoeia* in which reproducing the affective qualities of an orator on the reader takes precedence over the linguistic particulars of their style. Although Cicero’s dialogues *in altera persona* carefully avoid anachronistic references and inconsistency of character, his speakers display rhetorical virtues such as *elegantia*, *Latinitas*, and *gravitas* in terms that match Cicero’s rather than their own attested practice. Such a move, which associates Cato, Laelius, and other *personae* with Cicero himself, certainly serves Cicero’s own self-fashioning as a statesman and orator, as well as his position in the stylistic polemics of the 40’s BCE (see e.g. Dugan 2005, Stroup 2013). But Roman historians also use this deliberately modernizing approach to *prosopopoeia*, which we can analogize to the practice of “domesticating” translation (cf. Venuti 1995, McElduff 2013). This tacit acknowledgement of stylistic change over time, insists, paradoxically, on the continuity of social, moral, and rhetorical values, and the affective exemplary force of the past. If the sophisticated reader of the late first century BCE is unlikely to be sufficiently impressed by Cato’s transmitted speeches, then Cato must be given a more suitably Catonian voice.

Title: *Ne procaces manus rapiant*: Stylistic Shifts as a Defensive Strategy in Pliny the Elder’s *Naturalis Historia*

Name: Scheherazade J. Khan

In this paper, I reinterpret the often-noted stylistic shifts that characterize Pliny the Elder’s prose in the *Naturalis Historia* as components of a defensive strategy the author employs in an effort to prevent his encyclopedic work from being exploited by the wrong sort of reader. This defensive strategy is a crucial component of the greater complex of rhetorical strategies that Pliny uses to guide his readers’ use of his text and which he explicitly models on strategies he observes Nature, herself, using to guide humans’ and animals’ use of the resources she provides. It is therefore simultaneously functional and mimetic—germane to Pliny’s commitment to the project of creating a work that both describes and imitates Nature.

Henderson (2011), Carey (2003) and Beagon (1995) have advanced our understanding of the ways that Pliny designs a text that seems to mimic its subject at every level—as Henderson puts it, a “cosmogram.” It is not surprising, given how often Pliny foregrounds his preference for art that faithfully reproduces the works of nature, that he should have modeled the structure of his own work on that of his subject. My contribution is to propose that Pliny’s frequent shifts in tone or style—most often, between what strike us as descriptive or “scientific” passages and moralizing digressions—have a key role to play in this larger strategy. The cornerstone of my argument is an important but curiously understudied passage at *Naturalis Historia* 22.7. In this passage, Pliny describes the strategies whereby Nature attempts to influence the ways her creatures use her works. Sometimes, as in the case of medicinal flowers, she uses aesthetic charms or coatings to draw our attention to beneficial things she has crafted for our use. She also, however, sometimes employs a different strategy, encasing useful things within structures that are thorny or otherwise repellant. These, Pliny explains, are protective measures Nature takes to prevent important resources either from being eaten by greedy animals (*avida quadrupes*), exploited by people with wicked intentions (*procaces manus*) or harmed by the actions of careless individuals. The things we hate, then, in nature, have been engineered for the sake of humankind (*hominum causa excogitatum est*). It is important that this passage follows directly a passage in which Pliny had drawn a comparison between his work, the *Naturalis Historia*, and the works of nature—specifically, that they have both been criticized as trifling.

I suggest that, since Pliny began this passage by aligning himself and his work with Nature and hers, he invites his critics (which are the same as Nature's) to accept this as an apology for the bittersweet style of both. I illustrate in a variety of examples, focusing on 9.102-5, that Pliny's stylistic shifts are a consequence of his imitating Nature even on the level of style and didactic method, employing a pleasant, often exuberant stylistic mode in imitation of *Natura ludens* to entice the reader towards a proper appreciation of her works (and, concurrently, a proper use of his text) and a bitter, mocking rhetoric to shame and redirect the wrong-headed reader away from an unhealthy and exploitative relationship Nature (and his text). The latter strategy is particularly important, as Pliny is aware that the scope of his work means that readers will be likely to use his index to skip around. By interspersing within passages that inform the reader of facts that could be misused sudden, mocking diatribes on the detrimental effects they have had and continue to have on foolish people, Pliny prevents would-be magicians, for instance, or connoisseurs of pearls and silks from plundering his text to their own ruin without at least swallowing some bitter medicine first. Furthermore, besides catching the reader off-guard, the stark nature of the transitions between descriptive to mocking rhetorical modes has the effect of illustrating how greed and vanity hinders one's ability to understand and appreciate Nature.

Session 77: Constructing a Classical Tradition: East and West

Title: Decorum, Obscenity, and Literary Authority in the Letters of Poggio Bracciolini and Panormita

Name: Nathan M. Kish

Panormita's *Hermaphroditus* (1425), a slim collection of 81 classically inspired epigrams, is rife with graphic depictions of sex, caustic abuse, and the Latin equivalent of four-letter words. Although initially greeted with praise by other humanists, a few years after publication the work was widely castigated for its lascivious language and content and Panormita found himself under heavy attack.

Before the full outbreak of this maelstrom, Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) and Panormita (Antonio Beccadelli, 1394-1471) discussed decorum and obscenity and how the imitation of classical authors informs these topics in a brief but respectful exchange of letters. In Poggio's letter, in which he advises Panormita to abandon his practice of writing obscene poetry, his admonishments are rooted in the ancient conception that language and style are indicative of character (*talis oratio, qualis vita*; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 114); Panormita, however, argues that classical custom, most famously exemplified by Catullus (Poem 16), should grant a poet the freedom to use licentious language. Nevertheless, neither author's position can be mapped perfectly onto the ancient precedent he espouses; rather, each develops and molds classical theory to fit his own ends in a humanist game of literary authority, in which the board is the parchment and the pieces the bits of the literary tradition each author can array for his side. While scholars have addressed the uproar that Panormita's notorious book caused (Rutherford 2005, Rao 2007) and the sophisticated literary nature of Panormita's *defensio* (Gaisser 1993, O'Connor 1997), I argue that the theoretical position that each author maintains, as well as the use of obscenity itself, were performative acts undertaken to meet the demands of specific rhetorical situations.

Taken as a whole, Poggio's letter (Harth II.2.5) smacks of elderly condescension: Poggio assumes the role of Simo the *senex* by quoting that character's words from Terence's *Andria* and Panormita accordingly becomes the wayward *adulescens* in need of forgiveness and guidance. It is a hallmark of Poggio's and other early humanists' classicism to turn to ancient authors for literary authority, but in this instance Poggio simultaneously accrues for himself paternal authority. Nevertheless, Poggio distances himself from the position he advances by voicing it through a dramatic *persona*. And so, although Poggio amplifies his point by presenting it through a Christian lens by making a Hieronymic distinction between the kind of literature that is appropriate for pagan authors and the kind suitable for Christians, the charm of his literary pastiche suggests that the whole matter is in some measure a game.

In contrast to Poggio's letter, Panormita draws on a wide assortment of authors to make the case that poetic license and classical custom should grant a poet the freedom to use licentious language. Turning to Apuleius' *Apologia* (10-13), for example, Panormita asserts that it is specifically when a person makes an effort to conceal something potentially disreputable that he reveals his nature. An assumption underlying this position is that what one does in private is especially indicative of character. Doing the same thing openly and publicly, however, becomes a sort of performance or game.

This logic should be kept in mind when one considers the obscene language that characterizes humanist invective, as it far exceeds ancient practice. The act of composing these texts was a performance in which humanists were attempting to define the boundaries of a distinctly humanist genre, one that melded in an unprecedented way the notions of decorum found in classical rhetoric and oratory with the greater license granted to epigram, satire, and iambic poetry. Whereas ancient orators when abusing an adversary turned to rhetorical stratagems such as *praeteritio* to maintain an appearance of dignity, the humanists showed significantly less regard for this. Fusing the decorum of oratory with the license of low genres is a difficult endeavor, but the challenges it presented drew the humanists to it. They endeavored to throw a larger variety of ingredients into the pot and in the process concocted something new.

Title: "A Single, Easily Managed Household": Antiquity and the Peloponnese in Late Byzantium

Name: Eric Wesley Driscoll

This paper argues that an increasing clarity of vision about the geographical unity of the Peloponnese is evident in several key texts from Late Byzantium, and that this increasing clarity is not simply a reflection of changing political conditions but attended a more intensely felt reception of ancient texts dealing with Sparta. Antiquity plays a crucial role in constructing a relationship between Hellenic ethnicity and territory, a relationship theorized in tandem with increasingly solid Byzantine control of the fragmented political landscape of the Peloponnese. Theodore Metochites' 100th *Essay*, on the constitution of ancient Sparta, is my earliest text, and the latest is a letter from Cardinal Bessarion to Constantine Palaiologos urging him to reform and modernize the Despotate of the Morea.

In Late Byzantium, the Despotate had become a key stronghold for the imperial family, seeming to offer a safe harbor from what Demetrios Kydones called the "general shipwreck" of Byzantium (as quoted by Shawcross 2013: 424). A chief exponent of the early Palaiologan renaissance that bloomed a generation after the 1261 recovery of Constantinople (Beck 1952, Ševčenko 1975, Medvedev 1984), Metochites wrote before the Morea had assumed that role. His discussion of the Peloponnese in *Essay* 100 (I have collated the defective 1821 edition against what Hult 2002 identifies as the best manuscript) is a rather indistinct *mélange* of Plutarchan ideas drawn mainly from the *Lives* of Agesilaos and Lysurgus, but also the *Apophthegmata Laconica*. Sparta is the very model of a philosophically sound *polis*, but its isolationism is also presented as a cause of ignorance and disorganization. Metochites is not simply recapitulating Plutarch but engaging in active theorization (cf. Featherstone 2011). Ultimately, however, I argue, his *Essay* does not coherently suggest any relationship between land and ethnicity or antiquity. By contrast, Bessarion advises Constantine that he must restore "the most well-arranged constitution of the Lakedaimonians." His letter develops a complicated and highly rhetorical argument for emulating antiquity, in which Bessarion explicitly equates ancient Sparta, the contemporary Peloponnese, and the *genos* of the Hellenes as such.

These two texts belong to very different genres, but I attribute the different way in which Bessarion approaches the Peloponnese as a geographical space not so much to the exigencies of advising a prince as to the intellectual revolution that occurred around the start of the 15th century. Mystras, the Despotate's capital, developed into a cultural and intellectual center (Zakythinis 1952), closely associated with the presence of the infamous George Gemistos Plethon, the "last of the Hellenes" (Woodhead 1986) and a man deeply steeped in ancient texts. Plethon wrote a sequence of *Memoranda* to the imperial family, in which he drew on Plutarch and Plato to develop a utopian vision for Peloponnesian society, radically reconfigured behind the safety of the newly rebuilt Hexamilion wall across the Isthmus of Corinth. In his letter to Manuel II, Plethon famously tells the emperor that "we over whom you are leader and king are Greeks by *genos*, as our language and ancestral education attest," and goes on to argue that the Peloponnese is the one most quintessentially and ineradicably Hellenic landscape (cf. Siniosoglou 2014).

None of these texts has been published in English translation (Plethon's *Memoranda* have been extensively paraphrased; German translations also exist) and while Plethon's *Memoranda* are well known and have been much discussed (highly selective but representative: Tozer 1886, Masai 1956, Woodhouse 1986, Siniosoglou 2011, Shawcross 2013, and most recently Smarnakis 2017), their intertextual relationship with Metochites' *Essay* seems to have garnered little or no discussion, and Bessarion's epistle has mainly been treated superficially as a footnote to Plethon. My paper begins to redress this imbalance. It shows that Metochites, Plethon, and Bessarion offer an

increasingly clear sense of the Peloponnese as a geographically unified territory, characterized by metonymic slippage from Sparta to Peloponnese--and from antiquity to modernity--as ancient texts are used to help situate the present-day Morea as both Hellenic and Byzantine.

Title: Progymnasmatic Ekphrasis at the Latin School of Arezzo and Vasari's "Memory Images"

Name: Jesús Muñoz Morcillo

In the present paper, I focus on Giorgio Vasari's rhetorical formation at the Latin School of Arezzo in order to explain, which ekphrasis understanding was passed down at the beginning of the 16th century and how this *progymnasma* may have coined the language of early art history.

Although some authors have pointed out that the father of early art history, Giorgio Vasari, followed ekphrasis patterns for the description of works of art (Albers 1995; 1960), there are no studies dealing with the progymnasmatic influence of the Latin School in the rhetoric formation of the humanist that eventually coined our notion of art history.

Vasari's *Lives* is probably the best-known case, but also the Aretians Leonardo Bruni and Poggio Bracciolini wrote epideictic discourses and descriptions. This three Humanists went, at different times, to the Latin School in Arezzo, one of the few free of charge pre-university educational centers in Renaissance Italy (Black 1987, 1996; Grendler 1989; Blum 2011). Traditionally, the humanist program of this kind of school included the Donatus, the *ars dictaminis*, and the *progymnasmata*. One of the most advanced progymnasmata was the *ékphrasis*, "a descriptive speech" that "brings the subject shown before the eyes with vividness", i.e., *ἐναργῶς*, as described by the rhetoricians Theon, Aphthonius, ps.-Hermogenes, and Nikolaos of Myra. These exercises were known in Western Europe thanks to Priscian's translation of Hermogenes' manual in the 6th century CE. But Italian humanists only knew the whole progymnasmatic tradition after the publication of the Latin translations of Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* of and other authors of the Second Sophistic such as Philostratos and Lucian. In some documents of the commune of Arezzo at the beginning of the 16th century, we read that Latin teachers were expected to dominate both Latin and Greek Grammar and Literature (Black 1987, p. 224). Therefore, as Black (1987) suggests, it is possible that Vasari enjoyed a Greek-Latin education. This would explain his encomiastic and psychological descriptions, influenced by Byzantine and Second Sophistic *ekphrásaes*, including those attributed to Libanios and Nikolaos.

Against this background, I will turn my attention to the progymnasmatic influences on Vasari's *ékphrasis* understanding. On the base of the manuals and model *ekphrásaes* that were usual at the Aretian Latin School, I will explain the *ékphrasis* notion that Latin teachers used to pass down there. I will argue that this notion was probably influenced by Nikolaos of Myra's progymnasmatic explanations on *ékphrasis* of pictures and sculptures and by collections of *ekphrásaes* of sculptures, paintings, battles, and other topics, attributed to Libanios and Nikolaos (e.g., *ekphrásaes* of sculptures, Gibson 2008, pp. 453-476, 479-484, 491-502; *Paintings in the Council Chambers*, Gibson 2008, pp. 433-444, 435-436). As Ruth Webb has pointed out (2007, p. 465), these model *ekphrásaes* have somehow the signature of an "analytical interpreter," differing from previous descriptions written by rhetoricians, such as Philostratos, and classical authors that expected prior knowledge and emotional involvement from their audience. I will summarize the main characteristics of some Vasarian descriptions with a focus on emotions, narrative, and artifacts, such as Giotto's Navicella Mosaic (cf. Albers 1995), Raphael's Parnassus (cf. Winner 1995), or Brunelleschi's stage machinery (cf. Larson 1957). Then, I will compare the Vasarian *ekphrásaes* with the main characteristics of model exercises, the recommendations of the manuals, and some classical texts that were most likely known by Vasari, such as Vergil's description of Dido's murals (cf. Putnam 1998), or Lucian's description of the "Calumny of Apelles". This allows for figuring out, which ekphrastic notion was passed down at the Latin School of Arezzo in the late Renaissance and to which extent the practice and transformations of progymnasmatic ekphrasis was crucial for the emergence of a "new" language for historicizing art, i.e., Vasari's narrative and encomiastic descriptions as memory and knowledge images.

AIA'S EIGHTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS

Session 78: Inter-Regional Networks in Hellenistic Eurasia (Joint AIA-SCS Session)

Title: Transitional Spaces and Connective Tissues: Harbor Dynamics in Hellenistic Asia Minor

Name: Lana Radloff

A *polis* with an urban center situated on the coast usually had a harbor (*limen* or *epineion*), often including an *emporion*, a special market for foreign trade that operated alongside the *agora* in the urban interior. Separated from the land- and seascape, harbors were not only integral to commerce and transportation, but also functioned as connective tissues between the larger communication networks of the surrounding sea and the terrestrial environment of the interior. Thus, urban and maritime infrastructure was built to facilitate and/or to restrict the movement of seafaring people from the sea to different urban zones. Using case studies, such as Kos, Miletos, Knidos, Elaia, and Rhodes, this paper examines patterns of spatial access between open sea, harbor, and urban interior in Hellenistic Asia Minor. A holistic approach is applied to the maritime environment to emphasize the interaction of land, coast, islands, and sea, integrating the totality of maritime “scapes” into the internal dynamics of coastal settlements, while maritime access is modelled with space-syntax and axial integration analysis. Together, space-syntax and axial integration incorporate spaces and streets – key components for modelling movement on land (streets, agora, residential districts) and sea (coast, sea, harbor) that embody the methods and aims of connective relationships within settlements. Spatial modelling highlights trends associated with different harbor types and settlement topography, such as those with single, multifunctional harbors and others with multiple, functionally specific bays for commercial, military, and religious purposes, which guided movement within cities and integrated and isolated different maritime and terrestrial zones. Viewshed analysis is also used to incorporate the natural topography and connections between maritime and terrestrial “spaces” not physically adjacent to one another.

Examination of the harbor-urban matrices of coastal settlements allow large-scale, diachronic insights into the networks that facilitated movement from the Mediterranean shores to inland areas. These settlement patterns facilitate the identification of overarching strategies of maritime management across the Mediterranean and aid in recognizing outliers. In turn, the data produced will help create explanatory models of change. An innovative approach such as this introduces new ways to think about maritime space that serves as a framework to evaluate local, regional, and inter-regional networks within Asia Minor, the Aegean, and broader Mediterranean world. It highlights the role of the maritime environment in negotiating cross-cultural interaction and integrates seafarers, maritime communities, and patterns of movement between city and sea into discussions of the topographical and geographical development of maritime space in the creation of urban environments and community identities.

Title: Networks and Networking in the Economy of Seleucid Uruk

Name: Talia Prussin

Hellenistic Babylonia, arguably the heartland of the Seleucid empire, has produced a wealth of data about local economic actors (whether traders or priestly elites) because of the hardiness of cuneiform tablets. In this paper, I will focus on Uruk, a Mesopotamian city southeast of Babylon on the Euphrates, as a case study of Seleucid Babylonia. Using the corpus of Hellenistic economic texts from this city, I reconstruct networks of economic actors within the city, which I will use as a model for economic activity

In this paper, I specifically wish to study the role of Hellenicity in the economy of Babylonian cities. Much like in Ptolemaic Egypt, Seleucid Babylonia has a widespread phenomenon of double names. The same individual has both a Greek and a local name, often of Akkadian origin. Unfortunately, we can usually detect this phenomenon only when a document explicitly states that an individual was also known by a second name, so this phenomenon may actually have been more prevalent than we know. While it is impossible for us to know now how these individuals viewed their own ethnic identities, it is possible for me to evaluate whether this deliberate ethnic duality changed the shape of Urukeans' economic networks.

Conscious ethnic self-coding as Greek or non-Greek may have allowed economic actors to gain access to different markets within the city. This intentional deployment of ethnicity may have facilitated access to the royal (Greek-identified) versus temple (local-identified) economies. This approaches one of the largest issues in the study of first-millennium Babylonia: to what extent did the Babylonian temples continue to shape the economy of Babylonian cities after the fall of the Neo-Babylonian empire?

This question also profoundly affects the role of Hellenistic Babylonia in Seleucid studies. The enormity and importance of the data from this region has been diminished by concerns that Babylonia and its cities were not typical of the Hellenistic world or the Seleucid empire. I will offer a few suggestions based on my findings about the working relationship between the Seleucid kings and the Babylonian temples and how individual Urukians engaged with the royal and sacred economies. By better defining and explicating these relationships, I hope to dismantle the perception of Babylonian urban economies as exceptional in hopes that Babylonian evidence may become more accepted into mainstream Seleucid studies.

Title: After Polity: Hellenistic Networks in Northwestern India (200 BCE – 200 CE)
Name: Jeremy Simmons

Can Hellenistic networks exist without Hellenistic polities? The study of Hellenistic Central Asia and northwestern India, when not focused on broader questions of cultural interaction, has largely been defined by the scholarly pursuit to reconstruct a chronology of political history from limited lines of textual and archaeological evidence. As a result, diplomatic ties between Hellenistic states and those further south in the subcontinent have received extensive scholarly attention because of numerous surviving testimonies, whether it be fragments of Megasthenes, Ashokan Edicts, and the Heliodorus Pillar. However, this narrative of political history overshadows indications that other types of Hellenistic networks existed and even persisted after the decline of Hellenistic political autonomy in the second and first centuries BCE.

This paper explores the evolution of Hellenistic networks in northwestern India after Hellenistic political control over these regions, from those sustained by Hellenistic peoples of Central Asia and the Punjab to a much larger global phenomenon. In particular, it demonstrates how Greek-speaking peoples expanded and maintained networks in the subcontinent by participating in Indian institutions, which in turn laid the groundwork for a much larger “Hellenistic” network spanning the Indian Ocean.

One example of this phenomenon, which serves as the main focus of this paper, is the presence of Greek-speaking denizens of Central Asia and the Punjab at Buddhist monasteries in northern and western India. These monastic complexes served important financial roles as a result of donations from dedications. Importantly, many of these individuals self-identify with the Prakrit ethnonym *yona* or *yavana* (a term borrowed from earlier Semitic and Persian terms for “Ionian”), and many Buddhist sites bear accompanying sculptural representations of these foreign dedicators. Such dedications, immortalized by inscription, allowed for Central Asian Greeks to establish links over vast distances and opt in for particular resources, infrastructure, and an institutional framework provided by Buddhist monasteries that developed along the primary land routes of the subcontinent.

These Hellenistic networks receive renewed activity at the start of the Common Era, when new Greek-speaking peoples frequent coastal Sind, Saurashthra, and Malabar in the course of ancient Indian Ocean trade. Buddhist monasteries continue to benefit from the patronage of *yavanas*, now hailing from larger corporate groups of merchants. It begets the tantalizing possibility that Greek-speakers from the Mediterranean world, hailing from the Egypt or the Syrian Steppe, connected with the well-established heirs of a Far Eastern Hellenistic to form global networks of commerce. The groundwork laid by practitioners of local networks thus allowed for the development of a far-wider Hellenistic commercial network, linking Egypt, the Near East, and northwestern India. The maintenance of these Hellenistic networks is thus paralleled by something much more ephemeral, wherein human bodies serve as vehicles for knowledge and artistic expression, whether it be Greek astrologers in Indian royal courts, the presence of Hellenistic artistic motifs at Buddhist sites, or creative uses of Greek script on Indian coinage.

By looking beyond the political history of eastern Hellenistic states, we can trace the presence of Hellenistic networks in northwestern India well beyond an age of polity—it becomes one of several global networks,

maintained by human agents moving hundreds or even thousands of kilometers, propelled by the pursuit of profit, practice of faith, and need for institutional support.

Title: Mediterranean Pathways: GIS, Network Analysis, and the Ancient World

Name: Ryan M. Horne

We live in a world that is increasingly defined and shaped by networks. Electronic networks, once envisioned to be open highways of communication, are increasingly the site of largely isolated homogenous networks of information shaped by ideology. Some scholars have considered these groups, despite their embrace of technical innovation and involvement with social uprisings like the Arab Spring, as another component of a complex web of social, political and geospatial networks dominated by powerful nation-states. These networks are often studied as a proxy of larger social phenomena, or used to quantify the movement of people and material through complex geospatial systems.

Such an approach is not restricted to studies of the modern era. Some scholars of the pre-modern era recognize and envision complex societies as geospatial networks of relationships between different entities places, and use new digital tools to study the ancient Mediterranean as a connected system of relationships. However, perhaps due to earlier technological limitations, such work has not been widely adopted or used in the ancient studies community broadly. Even less work has been done to integrate networks and geospatial studies, or to expand this inquiry beyond the traditional confines of Greece and Rome. Additionally, although numismatic studies have embraced linked open data (LOD) resources, the application of network analysis to the field, especially combined with geospatial studies, is in its infancy.

Through the use of new software, digital techniques, and resources, this paper demonstrates how research projects can transform simple digital gazetteers and data collections into a larger examination of networks and connectivity. By modeling Hellenistic kingdoms as networked systems, this paper builds upon the pioneering work of Monica Smith and Stanford's *ORBIS* project to show how coin production and distribution, combined with careful textual analysis, can help to elucidate the social and political networks of the Hellenistic world. Building upon the NEH-funded *Aeolian Alexanders* project, this paper will discuss how network analysis and geospatial studies can dramatically change how die studies and other numismatic inquiry both conduct and present their findings. In addition, this paper will illustrate how existing resources, like roads data from UNC-Chapel Hill's Ancient World Mapping Center and Harvard's Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilizations (DARMC), travel costs from *ORBIS*, coin data from the American Numismatic Society's *NOMISMA* project, and the *Pleiades* gazetteer can be leveraged by non-specialists to model the flow of materials and communications between urban centers in the Hellenistic east.

It must be stressed that this paper is not a step-by-step tutorial on these technologies or a complete analytical analysis of the Hellenistic world. What it offers is a high-level view of a digital methodology that enables a non-technical specialist to efficiently construct geospatial network depictions of complex human systems for further research, and how those technologies can be applied to numismatic and historical studies.

Session 79: The Roman Army During the Republican Period (Joint AIA-SCS Session)

Title: Men of Bronze or Paper Tigers?

Name: Jeremy S. Armstrong

The traditional model has long held that, in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, ancient Roman warriors covered themselves in heavy bronze armor, turning themselves into slow-moving, invincible behemoths, who – like their Greek cousins – likely banded together into tight phalanxes. And while the argument around the early Roman use of the phalanx formation has heated up in recent years (see Rich 2007, Rosenstein 2010, and Armstrong 2016), there are few scholars who argue against the simple existence of heavy infantry in early Rome. From the tenets of the Servian Constitution, to the copious finds of bronze military equipment from sites around Central Italy (Veii, Tarquinia, Lavinium, Paestum, etc.), the evidence for 'heavy infantry' in archaic Rome seems unequivocal. But is it?

This paper will suggest that the answer is far more complex than it initially appears, and will work to problematize the role of bronze armor in both the definition of ‘heavy infantry’ and in supporting its presence in Italy. Specifically, it will use recent analyses conducted on military equipment finds from the Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia in Rome, the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Paestum, and items in private collections, to explore what detailed study of bronze military equipment finds from archaic Italy can actually tell us. Two key points will be made based on initial findings.

First, it will confirm what scholars like Krentz have recently argued looking at the Greek world: that the weight of bronze military equipment is often (massively) overestimated. While a range obviously exists, most individual pieces of equipment examined in the collections weighed less than 2 kg each, and usually closer to 1 kg. Thus the total weight for an Italian warrior’s equipment, even with the full, traditional panoply – helmet, cuirass, shield (*aspis*), greaves, spear, and sword, would certainly fall within Krentz’s (2013, p. 135) recent suggestion of 14-21kg. This stands in stark contrast to the oft cited figure of 31kg put forward by Rüstow and H. Köchly (1852), and still often followed in modern scholarship.

Second, with this light weight came thinness. Many of the pieces of bronze equipment examined – and particularly those from before the fourth century BCE – were only between 1 and 1.5 millimeters thick. It is therefore highly likely that, as has been well attested previously for the *aspis* (Bardunias and Ray, 2016), many pieces of bronze military equipment would have represented little more than a thin, decorative shell which was placed over what was likely the true strength of the armor: layers of organic materials (presumably leather and felt).

Thus, in conclusion, the paper will suggest that bronze equipment from Italy in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE – although often used as a key piece of evidence for ‘heavy infantry’ – is actually not as straightforward an indicator as many have suggested. While work is still ongoing, and the sample of items is by no means either comprehensive or fully representative, preliminary study suggests that, in this period, bronze needs to be considered as only part of a warrior’s defensive system – and perhaps a largely decorative part.

Title: Beyond Celtic: Panoply and Identity in the Roman Republic

Name: Michael Taylor

This paper examines how the Roman army in the early Republic adopted a Celtic panoply, in the process abandoning Greek-style hoplite equipment. This paper considers Roman panoply as a cultural problem, and examines the links between the distinct visual appearance of Roman legionaries and how this was deployed to articulate both Rome’s national identity as well as its waxing Mediterranean hegemony.

The first part details the Celtic origins of the major pieces of Rome’s new military equipment: sword (*gladius*), shield (*scutum*), javelin (*pilum*), mail armor and Montefortino helmet. While the Celtic origins of many of these items is relatively well established, the cultural implications of the panoply deserve scrutiny, especially given how shifts in panoply might reflect and even constitute cultural identity (Taylor 2017). Indeed, one curious result of the new panoply was that a Roman legionary appeared very similar to a Gallic warrior, even at the time when the Romans, along with their Hellenistic counterparts, were starting to fashion the Celts as the ultimate "Other" (Marszal 2000).

The next section seeks possible military and cultural explanations for the new panoply, suggesting among other factors that the new kit may have been driven by mass recruitment from outside of the narrow hoplite class. While the new panoply worked well with the new manipular tactics of the period, the paper argues that the adoption of the new equipment was largely disconnected from manipular tactics. The Romans most likely did not seek emulate the flashy aesthetic of Celtic warriors (on the model of 19th century Zhouves), and indeed often toned down Celtic decorative motifs on the models they adopted. The paper concludes that the adoption of Celtic military equipment may have been a coincidence, as Celtic gear became widely available precisely at the same time (fourth century BC) as Rome began to recruit from a wider portion of its citizen body, drafting men who had no tradition of using Greek-style hoplite equipment (Armstrong 2017 for the *pilum*).

The panoply eventually coalesced into a symbol of specifically Roman identity, especially as the Romans deployed distinctively equipped armies into Magna Graecia and the Hellenistic East. The new panoply was increasingly identified by the Greeks as Roman: this includes the Montefortino helmet on the Entella VI (Ampolo B1) tablet and the *scutum*-type shield and Celtic sword carried by the goddess Roma on the third century coin minted by Rhegion. The Romans themselves started using their visually distinctive military equipment to articulate their own hegemony. After proclaiming "freedom for the Greeks," Flamininus deposited his personal *scutum* at Delphi (Plut. *Flam.* 12.6), while the Pydna monument of Aemilius Paullus celebrated the panoply of Paullus' legionaries (Taylor 2016). To paraphrase Denis Feeney (2016), the borrowed panoply was now "Beyond Celtic," associated not with Celtic warriors, but with Roman identity and hegemony.

Title: Cultural Transformation of the Roman Army in Republican Spain

Name: Dominic Machado

The experience of Roman soldiers fighting in Spain in the Middle Republic was markedly different from those serving in other theaters during the same period. Beginning with the Second Punic Wars, troops commissioned to the Iberian Peninsula were stationed in the region for prolonged periods of time, often in excess of six years. Throughout the extent of their service, Roman soldiers did not just keep to themselves. They were meeting, communicating, and creating relationships with various local inhabitants throughout the Iberian Peninsula. This paper examines the impact of these interactions by investigating how both Iberian and Roman representations of war changed throughout the second and first centuries BCE. What emerges from this analysis is that these interactions produced significant change in the visual cultures of the Iberian Peninsula and the Roman world. Consequently, the armies that fought in Spain during Republic can be seen not just as military machines hell-bent on imperial expansion, but as cultural agents who played a key role in defining what it meant to be Iberian and Roman.

In interpreting changes to visual representations of warfare in this context, this paper will use the theoretical framework of creolization, taking inspiration from new approaches to the study of the Roman provinces (Webster 2001; Dietler 2010). As opposed to more traditional theories of acculturation, the framework of creolization has the advantage of recognizing cultural exchange as multi-directional, while still acknowledging the importance of power imbalances in these exchanges. Further, this paper also draws on recent work on the Roman Imperial army as an important socio-cultural force in provincial life and extends it to a similar situation in Republican Spain (Pollard 2000; Allison 2013).

The impact of Roman soldiers on Iberian culture can be clearly seen in the changing depiction of warriors in local artwork. Beginning in the second century BCE, Iberian pottery begins to feature soldiers with headgear that closely resembles the Montefortino helmet worn by Roman soldiers during the Middle Republic (Quesada Sanz 1997a). This new iconography is mirrored by a change in armory among Iberian warriors who adopted the helmet in the wake of Roman incursions into the peninsula. As Roman rule became more firmly established in first century BCE, the visual representations of Iberian soldiers reflected the resultant changes in warfare in the peninsula. For example, in the Osuna reliefs, which date to the middle of the first century BCE, Iberian soldiers are depicted in auxiliary garb, a change of reflective of the new role for Spanish soldiers in Roman warfare (Mierse 2008).

It was not just the Iberian peninsula that was transformed by interactions between Roman soldiers and local inhabitants. Visual representation of Roman warfare took on new forms after the experience of war in Spain. The *gladius Hispaniensis*, which was modeled closely on similar Celtiberian weaponry, found its way immediately into visual representations of Roman warfare (Quesada Sanz 1997b). Roman soldiers with the *gladius Hispaniensis* already appear in large-scale reliefs, such as the Pydna monument and the Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, by the second century BCE. The presence of the *gladius Hispaniensis* in these highly publicized displays of aristocratic excellence and martial dominance illustrate how that the sword had quickly become instantiated in Roman military culture. Over the course of the first century BCE, the *pugio*, which was modeled on the Iberian bidiscoidal dagger, also became a prominent part of the visual representation of Roman soldiers. This can be seen in the grave stele of the centurion, Minicius Lorarius, which prominently displays a stylized *pugio* in the center of the relief (Keppie 1991). The centrality of the dagger on Lorarius' tomb is matched by the broader archaeological evidence: finds from the first century BCE reveal a preponderance of decorative *pugiones* in Roman military contexts beyond the Iberian Peninsula.

Title: How Loyal Were Middle Republican Soldiers?

Name: Kathryn Milne

The Roman soldier has often been a victim of elite disinterest on the part of commentators both ancient and modern. One of the most striking areas where he has been ignored is what happened to him after far-flung battles and wars. The Romans associated the idea of loyalty to the military with land, allowing only those in ownership of land to serve in the legions. The idealized soldier's experience was constructed as a system that was both exemplary and cyclical. Veterans were supposed to bring their stories, awards, and courage home to inspire others to join and to contribute to a culture that valued military service highly (Polyb. 6.39.8-11). When they returned they should perpetuate the state's armies by having sons who would serve in their turn, like the exemplary soldier Spurius Ligustinus described by Livy (42.34). This paper will suggest ways that we can explore the question, how motivated were soldiers *really* to return to their lands?

The idea that the default position of a soldier was to return to his family farm has already been weakened by the growing consensus that veterans of the second century were given settlements of new land (Tweedie 2011, Erdkamp 2011) and that against a background of large scale mobility across the Roman world, veterans were especially desirable recruits for Rome's colonies (Scheidel 2004). Rosenstein (2004) has shown that the middle Republican legions were overwhelmingly composed of young, unmarried men, and the high rate of those who did not return provided more opportunity for those left behind. This suggests that some soldiers would know their futures lay elsewhere. Homo (1970, 115) remarked that many soldiers might simply choose to remain in the provinces to which they had been sent. This paper looks at two ways that soldiers who did not go home are likely hidden from us: when deserters were subsumed into casualty figures, and when soldiers were dismissed in the provinces.

The number of securely attested deserters in the sources are surprisingly few, although 'temporary deserters' who left their posts or fled a battle line before returning were more common, as were defections, which were more frequent among allied troops than Roman (Wolff 2009). Those who were never discovered, however, would hardly be notable, and it has long been recognized that Roman casualty numbers can obscure the numbers of deserters and captives (Brunt 1971, 694-7). These rates from Roman sources are notoriously problematic and are frequently wildly high in defeats (e.g. 44, 50%) and low in victories (0.5, 0.7%) especially in comparison to Greek rates at an average of 5% mortality in a win and 14% in a loss (Krentz 2011). A comparison of rates of desertion in armies with similar conditions (e.g. punishments, ease of escape) will suggest a range of percentages that we can consider realistic.

The second clue, which has received almost no scholarly attention, is the fact that return of middle Republican soldiers was diverse, *ad hoc* and chaotic, and it was rarely the case that an army came home together. The exact compositions of each legion changed by the year, as some men finished their required years of service, new commanders led reinforcements out to their provinces, and some soldiers received early discharge for bravery. The normal practice seems to have been discharging the army in the province or at its border (e.g. Livy 45.38.14) from where the soldiers made their way back in groups (40.41.9). When the whole army was returned to Italy accompanied by commander and officers, it is usually because it was needed for a triumph. Normally the general was not legally nor religiously compelled to return his soldiers to Italy. I suggest that for many, faced with a daunting walk and a better idea – like trade, business, or piracy – the attachment to a Roman farmstead was an elite projection, not a lived reality.

Title: The 'Disappearance' of Velites in the Late Republic: A Reappraisal

Name: François Gauthier

It has traditionally been held that the *velites*, the light infantry of the Republic, were eventually replaced by auxiliaries over the course of the first century BCE. This has often been related with the 'Marian reform' in which Marius supposedly disbanded citizen cavalry and *velites*. However, the theory of the Marian reform has recently been heavily criticized and is no longer tenable (Cadiou 2018). Indeed, it has for instance been demonstrated that Roman citizen cavalry continued to exist in the first century BCE (Cadiou 2016). Moreover, it is now commonly acknowledged that auxiliaries were regularly used in substantial numbers since the Middle Republic (Prag 2007). Therefore, the 'disappearance' of *velites* cannot be explained by a supposed Marian reform or a trend concerning the emergence of auxiliaries.

This paper wishes to challenge the traditional view by arguing that the *velites* were not actually disbanded. They continued to be used until the end of the Republic. The enduring modern historiographical construction that is the Marian reform and the often imprecise terminology of our sources are largely responsible for the old view. It is of course possible that *velites* eventually ceased to be recruited from among the poorest and youngest of all citizens (Pol. 6.21.7). However, references to light infantry in the first century exist and they are not necessarily accompanied by the precision that they are foreign auxiliaries (e.g. Caes. *BAlex.* 17; *Bciv.* 1.48.7, et al.). For instance, *evocati* are mentioned as fighting as light-armed troops (Caes. *Bciv.* 1.27.5). In summary, the proposed paper would fill an important gap in modern research by exploring a question whose answer has for a long time been taken for granted as a result of the theory of the ‘Marian reform’.

Session 80: Monumental Expressions of Political Identities (Joint AIA-SCS Session)

Title: Representations of Interstate Cooperation in the Archaic Treasuries at Olympia: A Constructivist’s Interpretation

Name: Nicholas Cross

Between 600 and 480 B.C.E., ten Dorian Greek communities from across the Mediterranean world – six from the west (Syracuse, Epidamnus, Sybaris, Selinus, Metapontum, and Gela), one from the Propontis (Byzantium), one from north Africa (Cyrene), and two from the Greek mainland (Sicyon, Megara) – dedicated treasuries at Olympia. In the northern sector of the Altis, the treasury terrace (*Schatzhausterrasse*) overlooked the Sacred Road which connected the preexisting Temple of Hera to the west and the Stadium to the east. Ranging from 4.42 x 5.78 m (Treasury VIII) to 13.17 x 10.85 m (Treasury XII), each treasury displayed objects of a military, athletic, mythological, or religious nature. Why did the donors exhibit their objects in this way, and why at Olympia? What was it about this site, a place of competition and religious ceremony, that attracted such monuments? What messages were conveyed through these buildings, their location, and their inventories?

Questions such as these have occupied scholars ever since Ernst Curtius and Wilhelm Dörpfeld published the results of their Olympia excavations in the late nineteenth century. The treasuries have been characterized as “une offrande et comme un abri d’offrandes” (Roux 1984, 154), a means of elite display (Morgan 1990; Neer 2007, 225-264), “a permanent embassy, representing the . . . wealth of the cities that had built them” (Valavanis 2004, 63), “club houses” for visitors from the donating communities (Spivey 2012, 187), and an “‘international’ stage for architectural display and . . . a center for architectural innovation” (Klein 2016, 132). This paper engages with and builds upon this previous scholarship but proposes that the treasuries signified interstate cooperation between their donors.

Although it is tempting to compare the treasuries at Olympia with those at Delphi (Morgan 1990; Jacquemin 2003, 67-80; Mari 2006, 36-70; Scott 2010), a comparison which leads to interpretations of the treasuries at both sites as symbolic of interstate rivalries, this paper sees the ones at Olympia as emblematic of interstate cooperation in the Archaic period. The first half of the paper shows this through its exploration of the archaeological and literary evidence (Paus. 6.19.1-15; Ath. 9.479f-480a; Di Nanni 2012) for the architectural features, location, and inventories of the Olympic treasuries. Their relatively homogeneous architectural designs, their interactive grouping in an orderly, roughly equidistant line, and the similarity of (and transferability of) their inventories make it difficult to see the buildings engaging in a fundamentally agonistic display. Instead, when taken all together, the treasuries and their common elements of design, location, and inventory were visible expressions of interconnected political identities.

Having established the appearance and spatial dynamics of the treasuries, the paper proceeds in the second half to interpret this evidence in light of Constructivism (no relation to Constructivist Architecture of the early twentieth century), a relatively new political science model that sees relations between states as socially constructed through ideas and discourse (Zumbrunnen 2015, 296-312). When applied to the treasuries at Olympia, Constructivism illuminates the intersection of the buildings and the interstate political identities of their donors. While following many scholars who reject the Panhellenic ideology as a motivating factor the building of the treasuries (Morgan 1990; Scott 2010; Spivey 2012), this paper’s Constructivist reading nonetheless argues that the treasuries were positioned in a collective dialogue with each other and with those who viewed them. For the majority of the donors, located far away from the mainland, investing in the development of Olympia, instead of in their own civic centers or their metropolises, was a sign of their Greek identity and their treasuries communicated a collective political identity. In the Archaic period, Olympia, already a popular site for religious activity and athletic competition, became a conductor for interstate

cooperation. By focusing on the competitive aspects in the athletics and architecture at Olympia, modern scholarship has neglected this important feature of the treasuries. This paper, with its interdisciplinary and innovative approach to the subject, fills in that gap.

Title: Local Legends and Power Politics in the Cult Statues of the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura

Name: Ashley Eckhardt

A cult statue within a Greek temple simultaneously manifested the presence of the divinity in the human realm and communicated that deity's ties to the local community. A marked escalation in the production of cult statues occurred in the second century B.C.E. as Greek poleis used the erection of sacred monuments to negotiate the changing political environment of this time. Among this production was the monumental cult statue group created for the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura, which had been incorporated into the Megalopolitan synoecism of 369 B.C.E. I argue that the cult statue group at Lykosoura helped redefine an Arkadian identity in the second century B.C.E. through the employment of a local sculptor, local marble, and allusions to the Arkadian goddess's local mythology. In so doing, Megalopolis not only solidified its preeminence in Arkadia, but also promoted its own position within the contemporary political turmoil of the Mediterranean by aligning itself with an esteemed cult, largely of its own making.

In the first section of the paper, I examine how the distinctly Arkadian elements of the cult statue group contributed to the creation of a pan-Arkadian identity at Lykosoura. Scholars of Hellenistic religious practices have demonstrated that numerous cities throughout the Mediterranean propagated their patron cults through the implementation of Panhellenic festivals, monumental architectural renovations, and new cult statues (Chaniotis 2002; Parker 2009; Platt 2011; Melfi 2016). I suggest that the renowned second-century B.C.E. sculptor Damophon of Messene created the Lykosoura statue group in such a way as to make the cult of Despoina seem even more venerable than it was in practice. Pausanias described the worship of Despoina as the most prevalent in Arkadia (8.37.9), yet the goddess's sanctuary is not mentioned in any extant literary or epigraphic source prior to the second century B.C.E. The extant architectural remains of the sanctuary date after the Megalopolitan synoecism, leading Alaya Palamidis (2018) to suggest that the newly established city of Megalopolis transformed Lykosoura into a cult center that communicated a pan-Arkadian identity to link the formerly independent communities together. Damophon expressed this Arkadian character in the Despoina cult group through his choice of figures; the four major figures of the composition were linked only in the local Arkadian mythology of the goddess. The Arkadians worshipped Despoina as a powerful nature goddess tied to the pastoral life specific to the region. Moreover, by using local marble for the cult statue group, Damophon expressed physically the ties between this deity and the natural resources of Arkadia.

In the second section of the paper, I demonstrate how the scale of the cult statue group highlighted the political identities of Megalopolis and the Arkadians. Much scholarship on Hellenistic cult statues has discussed how many smaller temples like that at Lykosoura contained comparatively colossal cult images in this period, thereby clearly evoking the power and majesty of the divine figure (Cain 1995; Faulstich 1997; Damaskos 1999; Ridgway 2000; Mylonopoulos 2011). Damophon used the temple's small dimensions to his advantage; though they would have stood just under six meters tall, the Lykosoura figures filled the entire back wall of the temple's cella. As such, they commanded an imposing presence that illustrated the magnificence of the deities. However, I suggest that this monumental scale further highlighted the significance of the sanctuary within Arkadia through the illusion of an awe-inspiring monument, reminiscent of the famed cult statues of the Classical period. Through his choice of content, materials, and scale for the Lykosoura cult statue group, I argue in this paper that Damophon created a monument that exhibited a distinctly Arkadian character while also providing the sanctuary with an air of antiquity and veneration that masked its relatively recent creation. This monument thus fabricated simultaneously the local identity of the community and the significance of this pan-Arkadian cult in order to bolster Megalopolis's political position in the second century B.C.E.

Title: The Honorary Decree for Karzoazos, Son of Attalos: A Monument for a ‘New Man’?
Name: Emyr Dakin

Although the first edition of the Olbian posthumous honorary decree to Karzoazos, son of Attalos, was published well over a century ago (Henzen 1876), it has garnered little attention, usually only referred to when the honorand's name is included among inscriptions that contain Iranian names (Podossinov 2009). Latyshev's edition of the text dated Karzoazos' decree to the "Imperial period," after Olbia had been destroyed by the Thracian invasion of Burebista in the 50s B.C.E. (*IosPE* I² 39). According to Dio Chrysostom, the city was rebuilt post-invasion and the citizenry replenished by the acceptance of indigenous people into the citizenry (36.11). In this paper, I argue that the decree is important evidence of both the expansion of the citizenry and an inclusive notion of civic identity.

Karzoazos's Iranian name is not the only indicator of his new status. Much more important is the lack of reference to the honorand's family and ancestors – details typically mentioned in such decrees. The salience of the absence of any family references, I propose, allows the orator who composed Karzoazos' decree to cast the city and its past benefactors as the honorand's surrogate family. At the same time, the orator deflects any reaction of envy at what could be called metaphorically, a *new man's* success. He accomplishes this, as I show in the second section of the paper, by portraying the honorand's civic duties as painful and burdensome. Finally, I examine the term *philanthropia*, which appears in line 21 of the decree, in the context of a new man. Although the expression has been associated with the encroachment of Roman power (Grey 2012), I argue that Olbia's decision to monumentalize *philanthropia* had special importance in a city where civic identity could not be characterized as a simple dichotomy between Greek and barbarian.

Although the allusion to an honorand's parents was a standard element of Greek honorary decrees, contemporary rhetorical handbooks offered a strategy to adopt if an honorand's ancestors were of little or no consequence. Theon's *Progymnasmata*, for example, suggests that a man's city could fill a surrogate role (8.110). The honorary decree to Karzoazos is a unique example of this approach. The orator not only employs a metaphor that is commonly associated with blood lineage to incorporate Karzoazos into the city's ancestry of benefactors, but also exploits the notion of experience, toil, and pain to efface any idea of inherited virtue. The same strategy, I maintain, serves to negate any envy that might arise at the success of what could be called a new man.

Although some honorary decrees depict their honorand's activities as both painful and burdensome, these are for living persons (Wörle 1996). The rhetorical handbooks corroborate the notion that envy was not associated with the dead when they assert that "envy is a rivalry with the living" (Theon, 110), underlining the singular attempt by the orator of Karzoazos' posthumous decree to ward off any resentment felt at a new man's success. Furthermore, no other Olbian decree shows evidence of such a strategy. The orator's particular approach to introducing the honorand strengthens the argument that the honorand was a new man.

Finally, this paper examines the term *philanthropia*, as used in the decree. Grey suggests that the celebration of *philanthropia* towards all men, in place of pride in Greek ethnicity, was part of the ideological process by which civic Greeks reached an accommodation with Roman dominance at the end of the Hellenistic period (Grey 2012). However, I argue that the term is in keeping with the rest of the decree, extolling a man because of his political accomplishments – despite the nature of his background. Moreover, I also show that for all the cities of the North shore of the Black Sea, there was never a simple dichotomy between Greek and barbarian. The epigraphical record suggests a more complex relationship between the indigenous and Greek peoples – one which the monumental decree to Karzoazos illustrates.

Title: Refashioning the East in the Roman Provinces: The Relief of Nero and Armenia at Aphrodisias' Sebasteion
Name: Timothy Clark

How local elites, especially those who governed cities in the Hellenized eastern provinces of the Roman empire, constructed their identities despite owing ultimate allegiance to Rome has been the subject of much scholarship (Price 1984; Alcock 2002; Raja 2012). The Sebasteion from Aphrodisias in southern Asia Minor represents an ideal case for

this question. This sanctuary to Aphrodisias' principle deity, Aphrodite Prometer, and to the Julio-Claudian emperors was built by two elite Aphrodisian families between 20 and 60 C.E. who boasted close ties to the imperial cult and local civic life. In my paper, I relate the Sebasteion's sculptural program to an area of Roman ideology that research on the sanctuary has largely ignored. In the complex's South Building, Nero is shown supporting an Amazonian representation of Armenia, whom he has just defeated. I explain how the differences between this representation of an Eastern "Other" sponsored by the local Aphrodisian aristocracy and those produced at Rome under the Julio-Claudian emperors explicates our understanding of the Sebasteion as a symbol of Aphrodisian civic identity within the Roman empire.

The image of Nero and Armenia formed part of a series of reliefs on the third floor of the South Building along with other scenes of emperors conquering foreign nations. Armenia sags, defeated and demoralized, in Nero's arms. Her slouched head and deadened expression signify her death or complete dejection. Her exposed breasts, Phrygian cap, and bow marked her as an exotic Eastern Other. Nero is shown naked, with a Corinthian Helmet, like a Greek hero. By contrast, imagery during Augustus' reign never showed a Roman explicitly subduing either Armenia or Parthia, the empire's two principal Eastern enemies, but showed them kneeling before or hailing the emperor (Rose 2005; Lerouge 2007). Augustus' regime thus never explicitly declared that Parthia or Armenia had been conquered and were now part of the empire *per se*. Under Nero, however, images of the two states disappeared from Roman material and visual culture entirely. By contrast, Armenia's deadened expression and feeble form testify to Nero's violent subjugation of her.

My paper first examines the relief in the context of the Sebasteion's sculptural program. R.R.R. Smith (1987) has argued that Nero delicately cradles Armenia and that he will soon gently bring her into the Roman fold. However, building on Caroline Vout's analysis of the relief (2007), I argue that this scene actually implies Nero's sexualized and forceful incorporation of Armenia into the Sebasteion's Hellenized vision of the Roman empire. The second story of the South Building tied the images of conquering emperors to Greek myths, such as Aeneas or Herakles and Nessos. The combination of the two floors recast Nero's defeat of Armenia as the act of a Greek hero or god who has subdued a threat to the order of the cosmos that the Olympian deities maintained.

In the second part of my paper, I go beyond Smith and Vout and draw conclusions about how this depiction of Armenia elucidates Aphrodisian political identities. I relate this relief to the Parthian Arch of Augustus, the Prima Porta statue of Augustus, Nero's Parthian Arch, and numismatic representations of the Parthia and Armenia created under Augustus and Nero. These comparisons show how the Sebasteion relief marks one of if not the earliest representations of actual Eastern conquest. Armenia here is not simply deferential to Roman rule but has been forced to become a full new member of the Roman *oikumene*. This view of Armenia suggests that the Sebasteion's aristocratic benefactors constructed its vision of the Roman empire using ideologies that departed sharply from views in vogue at the imperial metropole. As my paper demonstrates, the relief signifies the important autonomy of the elites in the Greek East, who could create their own conception of who the emperor was and what kind of empire he led.

Title: The Herakleion and Expressions of Political Identities at Gades from the Hellenistic to Early Modern Age

Name: Pamina Fernández Camacho

The Herakleion, a temple dedicated to the Phoenician god Melqart, who became identified through syncretism with the Greek hero Herakles, was the most significant building on the Western Tyrian island colony of Gades, off the southwestern coast of the Iberian peninsula. Founded at the same time as the colony in about 900 B.C.E., it is mentioned in classical sources more often than the city itself, as a center of religious worship frequented by various historical figures, as an oracle, and as an observation point for scientific phenomena connected to the end of the world, like the sunset and the tides. From all the information contained in classical sources, this temple must be understood as a monumental complex. It had shrines dedicated to both the Greek and Phoenician versions of Herakles and various deified abstractions; statues of heroes and generals like Themistocles or Alexander; a treasury full of symbolical objects, such as the girdle of Teucer or the golden olive tree of Pygmalion; and even a fountain whose strange behavior prompted wonder and speculation worldwide. Those elements were on display for the public to admire, and served, not only to boast of the temple's "sanctity, antiquity and riches" (Mela 3.46), but also as building bricks of the city's political identity in the Hellenistic world and later in the Roman Empire.

As a monumental complex, the Herakleion projected a very particular image of the ancient colony as a hybrid between its old Tyrian identity (used to claim kinship and preeminence over other commercial hubs in the area), and its new Graeco-Roman one, the latter reinforced as the city evolved from a Roman ally to an important *municipium* of Roman citizens (Rodríguez Neila 1980). The complex visually harmonized the different identities, presenting the old side by side with the new, the real cult elements side by side with mythical landmarks, hero keepsakes, and bodies of monsters which were originally a figment of Greek imagination. It was a public testament to the city leadership's willingness to adapt in a changing cultural landscape.

This paper analyzes the contents of the Herakleion as described by ancient Greek and Roman authors, such as Polybius, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Silius Italicus, Philostratus, and Porphyry. Previous scholarship has approached this monumental temple complex to gain a better grasp of Phoenician religion and the workings of Eastern temples (Will 1950-1951; Tsirkin 1981; Bonnet 1988; Marín Ceballos 2011), or to discuss the imaginary landscape of the Far West in Greek and Roman sources (Cruz Andreotti 1994; Marín Ceballos 2011; Fernández Camacho 2015). But the purpose of this paper's analysis is to study the projection of the city's political identity through the Herakleion. This new perspective recognizes the agency of this community of citizens, who have so often been reduced to the role of mere recipients of cultural colonization by studies that have focused on the Graeco-Roman view of the remote West.

Such a shift in focus agrees with the archaeological and literary evidence of the city's importance during the Hellenistic and Imperial eras. There are clear parallels between the Herakleion and the great Eastern temples (Marín Ceballos 2011), where conscious adaptation of traditional cults to Graeco-Roman parameters had a political dimension, and was not part of a cultural effacement forced upon them by outside agents. As an enclave of an Eastern civilization in the West, Gades retained a similar measure of control over how it wished to be perceived by the successive powers who held sway over the area, in contrast with other Iberian peoples who were often forced into the paradigm of uncivilized savages.

The paper concludes with a brief survey of medieval and early-modern traditions that involved the survival of pagan imagery originally connected to the temple and its god under Christian avatars (Almagro Gorbea 2011; Fernández Camacho 2017). Evidently, the old practice of representing flexible identities in the face of cultural changes did not die with the Herakleion temple.

NINTH SESSION FOR THE READING OF PAPERS

Session 81: Greek Culture in the Roman World (Organized by the American Classical League)

Title: Lucilius Philosophos? Manipulation of Greek Philosophy in the Early Roman Satires
Name: Marcie Persyn

It is undeniably difficult to assess the state of Greek philosophy in Rome during the years following her conquest of Greece. Our knowledge is limited, in part, by the state of the evidence, which is predominantly fragmentary, as well as by the domestic turmoil at Rome during this period, when the emulation of Greek culture and language appeared particularly polemic. While the seminal work of Rawson (1985), Gruen (1992), Moatti (1997), and Hutchinson (2013) has improved our comprehension of how Greek philosophy was incorporated into the Roman way of life during the first century BCE and onward, how Roman culture embraced, rejected, modified, and adapted Greek philosophy during the second half of the second century BCE remains shadowy.

Yet some light may be shed on this problematic relationship by looking to the fragments that survive of the poet Lucilius. As one of our few surviving witnesses to the time period, Lucilius, a prolific and incisive observer, offers much potential insight into the matter of Greek culture at Rome during the latter half of the second century BCE. Philosophy—and philosophers—are a recurrent theme and frequent target in the *Satires*, particularly in his earliest books, and thus it is within the surviving fragments of Lucilius that we find much of the earliest evidence of Roman engagement with Greek philosophy (see Vesperini 2012).

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the Lucilian manipulation of Greek philosophy and to question how the satirist's account reflects or potentially distorts the context of intercultural adaptation of Greek philosophy within the Roman world. I will focus on evidence found in one of the longer fragments of the *Satires*, building on work begun by Farrell 2014 and Lévy 2017. This fragment (784-90M/805-11W/28.29C/789-795K)—likely produced circa 131 BCE (see Raschke 1979)—is part of a satire that told the tale of an attempted lovers' tryst; the fragment itself depicts the unfortunate paramour brought up before the magistrate on the grounds of physical assault. It is a complicated account, and culminates in a confrontation between the judge and defendant, into which Greek philosophical terminology is jarringly inserted.

Cultural and linguistic fusion lies at the heart of this satire, which interweaves distinctly Greek and distinctly Roman elements throughout. In this satire, Lucilius grants his reader a little bit of everything: aborted romance, attempted assault, juristic litigation, political commentary, Greek philosophy, and literary emulation of a type scene derived from New Comedy. The form, setting, and characters are Roman; but the genre parodied, the philosophy quoted, and the terms incorporated are Greek. Thus, when threatened with the Roman formula for exile (deprivation of fire and water), the witty rejoinder offered by the defendant is to appeal to Greek philosophy trans-lingually. This rich layering of culture is echoed in the poet's mixture of elemental terms, half in Latin (*ignis, aqua*), half in Greek (*γῆ, πνεῦμα*). These terms, together with the two other borrowings (*ἀρχή* and *στοιχεῖον*), resonate with Greek philosophical overtones, paying homage to multiple, foundational philosophers at the same time—all while avoiding ground previously covered by Ennius (see Fabrizi, forthcoming).

But the humor, and, indeed, the point of the satire is ultimately lost if the reader is not simultaneously fluent in both languages and, furthermore, well-versed in the aspects of each culture that are activated in these lines. What we gain from close study of this fragment, then, is not only a glimpse of the erudite and elusive comedy in play during the late second century BCE, but an idea of the Greco-Roman cultural knowledge required—and expected—of readers who wished to understand the joke. Lucilius tackles Greek philosophy from a distinctly Roman point of view, and, in so doing, offers modern scholars a compelling example of Greek and Roman cultural interaction during the Republican era.

Title: Greek Philosophy and Roman Politics in Cicero's *De consulatu suo*

Name: Jovan Cvjetičanin

In a recent work on genre in Cicero's *De consulatu suo*, Katharina Volk points out the important fact that the hero of this epic was also an intellectual. The uniqueness of Cicero's position in the poem is reflected in the uniqueness of the poem itself, as it offers us an insight into Cicero's early intellectual interests. The idea of an early period of Cicero's philosophical writing in the late 60s in which he and his brother figure as embodiments of the Platonic ideal of the philosopher-ruler has been proposed by Plezia. This period includes *De consulatu suo*, and other scholars (Alfonsi, Gaillard) have pointed out Cicero's attempt to reconcile the philosophical *otium* and the political *negotium* in the poem. In this paper, I will expand upon previous scholarship by proposing that Cicero's poetry is anticipating his intellectual project of integrating Greek philosophical thought and Roman political practice. I intend to show this through a close reading of the conclusion of Urania's speech, the longest extant fragment of *De consulatu suo*.

Urania's speech (*Cons.* fr. 2 Soubiran) deals with the omens preceding the Catilinarian conspiracy and Cicero's actions as consul. The speech concludes with a general observation that the gods favor those who worship them properly, showing their favor through warnings in form of omens. Already here a parallel is drawn between Greek and Roman rulers (fr. 2.66: *veteres* and 68: *vestri*) in terms of politics and religion. The emphasis, however, is placed on the *sapientia*, or practical wisdom in matters of government, of the Romans. In the following verses, Cicero turns his attention to the Greek philosophers, describing them as performing their activities in the Lyceum and Academia. These philosophers may have the *otium* to pursue more noble things (72: *otia...studiis...decoris*), but their idleness is in opposition with the active life necessary both for a political career and proper worship of the *vigens numen* (70), the active deity that the Romans worship. This seeming tension between politics, religion and philosophy is diffused in the final verses of the poem with the introduction of Cicero. Urania singles Cicero out as someone who has been educated in Greece in his youth, but removed from this world of philosophical *otium* and thrown straight into the eye of the Roman political storm (76: *in media virtutum mole*) where he must compete for

the highest rank in the *cursus honorum*. Even in this tumultuous *vita activa*, however, Cicero will have time to devote himself to the arts of the Muses and, I would argue, even philosophy. This entire final passage can be read as a defense of a Roman politician's engagement with art and philosophy and an attempt to show that these activities would not be detrimental to his political ambitions. Using himself as a prime example, Cicero demonstrates what some would consider contradictory: that a Roman enriched with Greek learning will not only be successful in the political arena, but that he can also obtain the highest honor Rome can bestow, the title of *pater patriae*.

Title: The Anti-Roman Sibyl

Name: Helen Van Noorden

The classification 'resistance literature' has recently gained ground as a description of the *Sibylline Oracles*, a collection of Greek hexameters intriguingly blending world history, eschatological prophecy directed to various nations and ethical advice, ascribed to the pagan prophetess Sibyl but in fact composed, expanded and updated by Jews and then Christians from c.2nd century BCE onwards. This paper takes up the question of what *forms* of resistance are promoted by these oracles, bearing in mind how (subtly) 'resistance literature' is usually said to operate, and paying attention both to content and to generic form.

The Sibylline prophecies of 'weal and woe' are remarkably international in outlook, and earlier scholars categorized this collection as 'missionary', introducing the Jewish apocalyptic world-view to pagans. However, most of the extant 'books' of oracles seem to have been produced in the first two centuries of the Roman Empire (book 3, the oldest section, is thought to derive from an Egyptian Jewish community – see e.g. Collins 1983), and while precise dates, locations and authors in the accumulated corpus are impossible to pin down (Gruen 1998), an explicitly anti-Roman tone is one of its most consistent and distinctive features. In consequence, scholars have read these oracles as indicative of 'the atmosphere that fostered' various Jewish revolts.

Genre is the first point of discussion. In adopting the voice of the most popular prophet of the Roman world, whose books were consulted by a select group of officials at times of crisis, Jews were taking what had become a Roman tool of power and knowledge and using it to speak against Rome, in part by emphasizing their own Hellenic identity. Both the ascription of their oracles to the Sibyl and the use of archaic Greek hexameters may be considered forms of 'compositional resistance' (Rader 2011) whereby authoritative genres are inverted. I will also briefly consider the use of etymology and word-play (e.g. deriving 'Hades' from 'Adam') in this corpus, in order to explore whether its authors sought more to escape or to control dominant forms of language and knowledge in their society.

The examination then moves to the level of content or theme (in Rader's term, 'contextual resistance'), subdivided into the topics of history, eschatology and ethics. Characteristically Sibylline schematic presentations of history into generations and empires, apparently anti-Macedonian material updated to position Rome as the last earthly empire before the arrival of the kingdom of God, may be considered a 'strategy of inversion' (Portier-Young 2014) and a bid for control of the cultural record (Quint 1993), whose effectiveness has been debated (Eddy 1961, Friesen 2014). Mythical and historical events are put into a longer timeframe through typological readings; the effect is to suggest that the same wars are ever renewed, but the Jews will survive as they have done in the past. Next, apocalyptic visions ranging from underworld judgement on sinners to the return of Nero as eschatological adversary can be seen to emphasize that Roman elements will be turned against Rome. Thirdly, addressing the topic of ethical prescriptions, the paper will suggest that the *Sibylline Oracles* model various sorts of behaviour recommended for the faithful, such as continued praise of God and maintenance of temple worship.

Turning back finally to the form of the *Sibylline Oracles* as a whole, this paper notes in conclusion that, while the oracles seem to adopt a range of strategies that may be counted modes of 'resistance', the sheer extent of replication and repetition within this collection should not be overlooked if we are seeking to understand the production of these oracles as a sustained act of resistance to Roman rule.

Title: Christian Interaction with Greek Tragedy in the Second and Third Centuries
Name: Sarah Griffis

Christians under the Roman Empire continued to take up the culturally significant category of classical Greek tragedy and to utilize it to their own rhetorical ends. Despite arguments that Christians would not have engaged with the ideas or works of “pagan” authors or, even more drastic, that tragedy was not a category well-known to Christians (Tracy, “Augustine our Contemporary,” 52), there is ample evidence that tragedy continued to exist and to form the cultural imagination (Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 179; Gildenhard and Reverman, *Beyond the Fifth Century*; Csapo and Slater, *The Context of Ancient Drama*) well beyond its fifth-century BCE golden age. Scholars working on the reception of classical tragedy have acknowledged the continued presence of Greek tragedy in the Roman world, although the topic as it relates to specifically Christian reception has not been given deep coverage. Where the topic is raised at all, scholars typically mention only that it is a neglected area of research (Gildenhard and Revermann, 12; Easterling, *Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy*).

In this paper I discuss references to Greek tragedy in the Roman world in the writings of select Christian writers, and argue, first, that Christian writers, like other individuals in the Roman Empire, not only knew about Greek tragedy in a general sense, but they were well acquainted with specific plays, biographical information about tragedians, and a range of interpretations of tragic plots. Beyond their knowledge of these cultural phenomena, Christian writers capitalized on the ubiquity of this category by posing commentary on tragedy as a hinge: first establishing a common ground with their audience by appealing to tragedy, but then pivoting away from tragedy toward Christian ideas as “improvements.” This legitimization technique occurs simultaneously with a proposal of Christian ideas that are posed as not at odds with those ideas tragedy puts on offer, but as taking those ideas to their logical end: improving upon a well-established category in the repertoire of ideas in antiquity.

I will demonstrate this thesis by examining two second to third century Christian writers who explicitly mention either classical Greek plays or classical tragedians. The first thinker, Tertullian, uses tragedy as a conceptual scaffolding in two texts, *de Spectaculis* and the *Apologeticus*. The second, Clement of Alexandria, uses his *Exhortation to the Greeks* to discuss what types of events are encapsulated in tragedies and how Euripides’s plays can be a tool to help lead Christians to real truth. By showing early Christian thinkers engaged with the topic and contents of Greek tragedy, I point to the continued reception of Greek tragedy in the Roman world and to a specific group of people within it, as well as provide evidence that Christian thinkers were preoccupied with ethical concerns about suffering also found in many tragedies, especially the role that notions of ἀμαρτία play in suffering, justice, and agency.

Session 82: How and Why Does Soul Matter to the Various Discourses of Neoplatonism
(Organized by the International Society for Neoplatonic Studies)

Title: “Souls and Daemons: The Contribution of Porphyry’s Commentary on the Timaeus for Later Platonist Psychology”

Name: Aaron P. Johnson

As simultaneously one of the most astute students of Plotinus and one of the most wide-ranging and careful readers of the classical philosophical heritage among his peers in the later third century, Porphyry of Tyre displays a sustained interest in the nature and relational dynamics of the soul throughout several of his writings. Of these, unfortunately the most significant discussions survive in the sparse fragments of otherwise lost works (aside from the exquisite Sentences). The paper proposed here for presentation at the 2020 ISNS panel to be convened under the auspices of the Society of Classical Studies dedicates itself to delineating the contribution of his fragmentary Commentary on the Timaeus to the ongoing development of later Platonist thinking about the soul. In particular, the numerous fragments offering exegesis of the Timaeus’ myth of Atlantis (frags. 1-27 Sodano) bring into focus the nature of the soul in relation to the ontologically and theological hybrid beings that received the label of daimones. Whether daemons are defined according to a triple or a double classification (Comm.Tim. frags. 10 and 23, respectively), souls are said in both instances to fall within Porphyry’s conception of the daemonic. Yet, the

daemons of the Comm.Tim., which remain understudied in treatments of his daemonology, are portrayed as relating to individuated souls in rather complex ways.

On the one hand, as just stated, souls are one of the classes of the ontological category of “daemon.” On the other, they are attacked by daemons while they are ascending or descending (Comm.Tim. frag.10). Yet, elsewhere, a daemon is the guardian of their transference into generation (On the Styx fr. 377) or it is daemons who lock souls into bodies (Comm.Tim. frag. 17). Many of the processes of souls are paralleled by those of daemons: e.g., souls foster *ēthē* while one class of daemon is said to be *ēthos*making; a soul improperly buried remains *epigeios* as do bad daemons; and so on. The paper proposed here seeks to shed light upon Porphyry’s psychology by grappling with this fecund area of daemonological thinking by first addressing the ways in which Porphyry engages key elements of pre-Socratic daemonology (in particular, claims made by Heracleitus and Empedocles) in his allegorical exposition of the Timaeus’ myth of Atlantis and second by tracing his articulation of difference between souls and daemons (in spite of his assertion that souls were a class of daemon). While material from his other works can (and will) be marshalled to clarify (or complicate) our understanding of his thought in the Comm.Tim. fragments, the paper hopes to show that close attention to those fragments has much to offer the broader study of later Platonist psychology: from the very basic recognition that, for later Platonist philosophers, psychology was inseparable from daemonology to the more narrow understanding of the precise nature of the soul as it stands “in relation” to physical phenomena before, during and after its life in a particular body.

Title: Neither the Body Without the Soul: Why does Medicine Matter?

Name: Svetla Slaveva-Griffin

In this paper, I propose to examine the Platonic understanding of healing as illustrated by two patients’ cases: 1) Charmides’ headache for which Socrates insists that in order for his remedy (*φάρμακον*) to work on the young man’s body, it has to be accompanied with an adjuvant incantation (*ἐπωδή*) to his soul (Chrm. 155b–157d); and 2) the single living being of the kosmos (*τὸ πᾶν*) which is held together under the spell of Nature’s sympathetic bonds and is therefore a subject to the diversity of the many powers working on it (Enn. IV.4.40–45). According to Plotinus, magic (*γοητεία*) – with help from either incantations (*ἐπωδαί*) or Nature itself – and the diverse nature of the living being of the universe are two of the ways in which spells work and make the universe itself a patient whose parts, like animal’s organs, are susceptible to disease and need to be treated with drugs (*φάρμακα*), amputated, or re-arranged. The first case opens Plato’s examination of temperance in the Charmides, the second closes Plotinus’ examination of magic, incantations, and man’s engagement with the practical life, beneficial or harmful, at the end of Ennead IV.4, the second installment in Porphyry’s division of Plotinus’ treatise Problems Concerning the Soul.

While scholars have scrutinized the top-down role of the soul in the psychosomatic compound of the individual, in Plato, or the universe, in Plotinus, the nature of the (Neo)Platonic understanding of healing, and the bottom-up role of the body and its accompanying art in the healing process have been left largely unexamined. This paper proposes to do just that. Through close examination of the above two examples, I will argue that the Platonic understanding of healing, despite the top-down architecture of its psychology, elicits and perhaps even redeems the importance of the body and the art of medicine in maintaining the health of the individual and the health of the universe.

From this perspective, the concept of health, although a specifically medical construct, acquires a genuinely Platonic facelift with two tributary ideas: 1) that the healing process is holistic in nature, involving both the body and the soul of the living being; and thereby 2) that the healing process includes both the art of medicine and the art of the Platonic way of living and its ensuing worldview.

The title above comes from the concluding thought of Socrates’ well-known analogy in the Charmides that we should not attempt to cure the eyes without the head, or the head without the body, so neither should we attempt to cure “the body without the soul” (*οὔτως οὐδὲ σῶμα ἄνευ ψυχῆς*, Chrm. 156e1–2). The analogy has earned its reputation as Plato’s equation of “moderation” or “temperance” (*σωφροσύνη*) with the health of the soul. But the presence of the first, medical half, of the analogy suggests that there is more to Plato’s view of the analogy than the health of the soul. It presents, I conclude, his understanding of healing as a bipartite holistic process which includes the health of the body, attended by its accompanying art.

Plotinus, in his turn, problematizes the smoothness of the bipartite healing process in Plato by examining the dual, beneficial and harmful, role of incantations in this process and ultimately promoting the understanding that the single living being needs the help of the art of medicine, with its drugs, amputations, and adjustments, to maintain its health. He defines health as the state in which “the body is put together harmoniously” and disease as “a disturbed rational principle” (Enn. VI.9.1–2). In Enn. IV.4, before his discussion of magic, Plotinus presents a classification of the arts according to which the art of medicine, together with agriculture, is auxiliary to the natural processes. This definition of medicine puts the art in the felicitous position to be indeed the auxiliary art to the self-preservation power of nature and thus being a partner to the soul in restoring the health of the living being, individual or universal.

Plato and Plotinus offer two different, if not opposite, explanatory models of the Platonic understanding of health and healing in which the participation of the soul in the healing of the individual body matters as much as the participation of the body in the healing of the soul of the single living being. Instead of offering another example of the standard interpretation of the psychosomatic dichotomy in which the soul gets all the credit and the body gets all the blame, the Platonic understanding of health offers an ameliorative example. In it, the body and the art of medicine take the first step towards restoring and maintaining the health of the living being the second step of which is completed by the soul and its spell-bound agglutinative powers, influenced either by incantation, as in Plato, or by Nature’s binding charms or the arts of magic, as in Plotinus.

Title: Neoplatonic Language of the Soul in Cyril’s Scholia on the Incarnation

Name: Sarah K. Wear

Cyril uses the terminology of *asynchytos* and *henosis* in a number of passages with respect to his teachings on the metaphysics of the Incarnation. He compares the Logos taking on flesh to the soul taking on body— an analogy rooted in Aristotle’s *De Anima* where Aristotle likens the relationship between soul and body to that of form with matter. Aristotle calls matter and form a nature (*physis*) and essence (*ousia*); soul and body are thus two natures or *ousiai* constituting one individual human being. Likewise, Cyril calls manhood and divine in Jesus two natures in one person or hypostasis. Beginning in 736b of *Quod Unus Sit Christus*, Cyril draws an analogy between the union of manhood and Godhood in Jesus with the union of soul and body of man; namely, the proper conception of man consists in the joining of flesh with soul. In *Quod Unus Sit Christus*, without the union of both components, man can no longer rightly be called man (736c); this is echoed in Cyril’s eighth Scholia on the Incarnation, a text emphasizing the difference between soul and body, where the soul assumes a body, experiencing its sufferings without becoming carnal itself. For Cyril, the way the body relates to the soul shows how two distinct realities can be mixed to create a human being, and yet each component of body and soul are maintained. Uses of the phrase *asynchytos henousthai* with respect to descriptions of how soul relates to body appear in Porphyry’s *Summikta Zētēmata*, a work influential in chapter 3 of Nemesius’s *De natura hominis*, as well as Priscian’s *Solutiones ad Chosroen*. Cyril, as with Porphyry and Numenius, uses the analogy of the way the body relates to the soul as a union “without confusion” (*asynchytos henousthai*). This paper will explore use of such terminology in Syrianus’s description of forms and henads.

Title: "Plutarch and the Non-Rational Soul: A Defense Against the Republic’s Psychological Criticism of Poetry"

Name: David Ryan Morphew

Plato’s *Republic* provides some of the most damning criticisms of poetry. In the end, Socrates argues that poetic representations are too dangerous to be admitted into the City of Speech, though he would gladly hear a defense of poetry since it provides such a bewitching charm. In Book 10, Socrates argues that poetic imitations are far removed from reality and feed and strengthen, as it were, the worse parts of our soul, the non-rational parts, against the rational part. Since virtue and the healthy state of the soul depend on the rational part’s rule over the nonrational parts, poetry endangers the internal harmony and receptivity of the soul to virtue. Call this the Psychological Criticism of Poetry. We would expect Plutarch to follow through on these points, either openly accepting the Psychological Criticism of Poetry or challenging it, since he self-identifies as a follower of Plato. Plutarch’s *How a Young Man Should Read Poetry*, however, argues for the positive use of poetry in moral and philosophical progress without addressing this criticism directly. Why is Plutarch silent on this point?

In this paper I argue that though Plutarch seems to go against the grain of the Republic, his arguments for the usefulness of poetry follow from Platonic arguments on the importance of developmental stages from childhood. Plutarch shows that Plato's Republic implicitly agrees with his own position. Poetic representations provide a good starting point for moral development. Before children are capable of philosophical investigation, they are able to learn moral lessons and memorize words of wisdom that they come to appreciate and understand later. They are dyed with precepts that are hard-to-remove; the passionate dispositions of the nonrational parts of their souls are made to conform to virtuous action before they understand why.

For Plutarch, then, the defense of poetry lies in the effect it can have in shaping our non-rational dispositions, especially early in life, rendering them well-prepared for the development of a virtuous life. Given the powerful impetus it provides for intensifying desires to become virtuous, it would be a shame not to use the charm of poetry, even as Socrates admits in the Republic.

Title: Origen's Resurrection of the Rational Soul and Its Ascent to the Likeness of Angels
Name: Jonathan Young

Scholars argue that Origen of Alexandria conceives the soul's spiritual progress within a modified Platonic paradigm (Marx-Wolf; Ramelli). Others have been more skeptical of Origen's Platonism (Edwards). According to Ramelli, Origen advances that the rational soul occupies an earthly, human body only once (*ensomatosis*), rather than a cycle of multiple bodies (*metensomatosis*). This notwithstanding, Marx-Wolf argues that the soul, separated from the body at death, still is capable of spiritual advancement.

Origen suggests that rational human souls are capable of ascending to higher states of being. One can partake in the Divine by properly understanding the true hierarchy of beings (from highest to lowest): God, the Logos, the rational souls of angels, daemons, humans, and the irrational souls of animals. By employing this knowledge, one can, in a sense, move up the divine hierarchy by turning away from the lower daemons, and instead praying to the higher angels and especially to Jesus. In this hierarchical arrangement, Origen, in his *Contra Celsum*, characterizes rational human souls, according to his hierarchy of beings, as below that of the angels. Eventually, the purified souls of the good will ascend to the "likeness" (ἑξομοίωσις) of angels and become their equals (4.29; I Corinthians 8:5-6). This full ascension of the human spirit to the realm of angels, according to Origen, will not occur during a human's lifetime, but rather at its hopeful resurrection (*Contra Celsum* 4.29).

The ascent of the soul occurs elsewhere in *Contra Celsum* two additional times. First, Origen alludes to Plato's *Phaedo* 80d-81d at which Socrates contrasts the pure and impure soul (*Con.Cels.* 7.5). Second, Origen refers to Plato's myth of the soul's ascent from the *Phaedrus* 247b-c). The third reference is to the apostle Paul's first letter to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 8:5-6) and his argument concerning our ascent to the "likeness" (ἑξομοίωσις) of angels. We see that Origen appeals to Plato and Paul as bases for the ascension of the human soul. When these three passages are taken collectively, we see that Origen reframes the soul's ascent as described by Plato to imply the ascent to the realm of the angels, wherein the body has its resurrection.

Origen insists that the Christian teaching of the resurrection should contrast with *metensomatosis* (*Con.Cels.* 5.29, 3.75). Origen's *Contra Celsum* and *De Principiis*, however, belie full disavowal of *metensomatosis*. Instead, he harmonizes Plato's "cycle of generation" (*Phaedrus* 249a) with the Christian teaching of the soul's resurrection (cf. 1 Corinthians 15). Additionally, like Plato, Origen preserves the idea of the soul's future embodiment (cf. *Phaedrus* 247b-c). For Origen, however, one obtains this spiritual body at its resurrection in heaven, not on earth (*Con.Cels.* 7.32, 7.44). Origen contends that the body must undergo some sort of qualitative change. Accordingly, the soul needs a body better suited to its purer state. Thus, the soul dons a "spiritual body" in its new embodiment which is better suited to "ethereal" area of heaven (*Con.Cels.* 5.19; 7.32).

This new embodiment of the soul after its ascent is only available to those who have purified their minds according to reason and who are ready to undergo the steps of initiation into the mysteries of Christian community dependent upon their level of spiritual progress. Origen argues that it is imperative that those of the Christian community spread the message of the Logos to everyone and not admit only those who are pure of soul. He extends the soul's ascent even to so-called sick souls. Origen sees the hope in helping such sick souls lacking reason (*Con.Cels.* 8.50).

The goal, then, according to Origen, is for them to progress to a state of irrationality to a state of reason. Thus, while the healthy, rational soul might attain progress upon death, might then fully realize the soul's ascent and become like the angels, which serve for Origen the highest of the rational souls.

Origen limits spiritual resurrection to rational souls. Barred from the ascent to heaven are the irrational souls of animal. Origen disagrees with the idea that the irrational soul can ascend or descend into multiple incarnations, i.e. the suggestion that the human soul is born into animals or vice versa (e.g. Plato, *Phaedo* 81d-82b, *Phaedrus* 249b). Origen frames his refocusing of *metempsychosis* within the context of a philosophic debate over the spiritual capacity of animals' souls, which Origen characterize as irrational. Origen solves this conundrum by incorporating the Stoic distinction between the spiritual abilities of the rational human soul and the irrational animal soul (cf. Gilhus; cf. *Con.Cels.* 7.17, 8.18). Thus, Origen adopts this Stoic dichotomy to preserve the paradigm of *metempsychosis*, whereby its scope is limited only to the rational soul. The soul's future embodiment occurs at its heavenly resurrection and not in another human lifetime. This study provides a window into not only third-century CE debates among Platonists and Stoics regarding the spiritual advancement of animals, but also the interpretation of Plato's writings.

Session 83: Childhood and Fictive Kinship in the Roman Empire

Title: On Roman *collactanei*: “Milk-kinship” From Ancient Rome to Modern Turkey and Cape Verde.

Name: Gaia Gianni

The practice of allomaternal feeding in Rome can be traced to the mythical time of Romulus and Remus. There is ample evidence that wet-nurses were employed to feed free and enslaved children alike, thus creating a peculiar situation: elite and low-class infants were *collactanei*, who shared the same breast milk (Bradley 1991, 149-54). Cato the Elder's wife reportedly nursed, in addition to her own son, all the *vernae* to inspire in them a sense of affection for her child (Plutarch, *Cato Ma.* 20.3). This kind of relationship is also attested in legal texts, where it is presented as a kind of fictive kinship, a deep connection established through shared milk (e.g. *Digest* 40.2.13). This paper investigates how Romans experienced this type of connection, and compares their attitudes to modern societies in which “milk-kinship” is both present and productive. The comparison with more well-documented societies suggests why and how Romans believed the sharing of breastmilk created quasi-familial relationships.

While *collactanei* have received little attention in studies of the Roman family – with the notable exception of an appendix in Bradley 1991 – “milk-kinship” is a staple of anthropological scholarship on the development of kinship and family. In Cape Verde, children are often breastfed by women sharing childminding responsibilities. By watching and nursing each other's children, neighbors and friends become family through daily acts of care (Lobo 2014). Shared nursing is fundamental to the creation and maintenance of kin-like rapport. Likewise, in Turkey and other Muslim-majority countries, such as Nigeria and Qatar, the bond between milk-siblings is so strong that they are not allowed to marry each other (El Guinidi 2012, Ergin et al. 2018).

Moreover, a handful of representative Latin inscriptions show that Romans also maintained the bond between milk-siblings into adulthood. For example, in *CIL* 6. 27119 and 29728 *collactanei* arrange for the burial of their “siblings” decades after childhood. Moreover, enslaved children are sometimes memorialized as *collactanei* of elite freeborn children. For example, *CIL* 6.16057 features an enslaved mother and nurse for the imperial family commemorating her child as the *collactaneus* of Drusus' son, demonstrating her child's claim to superior status among his peers via his unique bond to an imperial child.

In conclusion, the institution of milk-kinship is present and productive in Roman society, and sheds light upon interpersonal connections among non-kin individuals.

Title: Pliny's *threptoi*: a case of cross-cultural confusion?

Name: Judith Evans-Grubbs

Among the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan in Book 10 of Pliny's letters is an exchange about the status (*condicio*) and rearing costs (*alimenta*) of *threptoi* – an issue that, Pliny says, pertained to his entire province of Bithynia and Pontus and required an imperial ruling (Pliny Ep. X.65). Trajan responds that the question of those who were born free but abandoned at birth (*liberi nati expositi*) and then picked up and reared as slaves had often been the subject of rulings, but there was no empire-wide policy on them. He rules that recovery of freedom by those who could prove their free origin should not be contingent on payment of rearing costs (Ep. X.66). Pliny's letter (as we have it) does not actually define the Greek word he uses, *threptoi* (literally, "nurtured ones"). Trajan's response (as we have it) does not use the word *threptoi*, and Pliny's request does not explicitly say that the provincials whose status was of concern were *expositi* ("placed out ones"). This discrepancy is probably due to later editing, either by Pliny himself (Woolf 2015) or someone else after Pliny's presumed death (cf. Coleman 2012). It is clear, however, that Trajan and his concilium equated the *threptoi* of Pliny's province with *expositi*, i.e. those who had been abandoned at birth by their parents. Pliny and Trajan both note that there were previous imperial rulings on *threptoi* responding to other places in the Greek East, primarily the province of Achaëa and the Lacedaimonians (who enjoyed the status of a free city within Achaëa). They agree that such rulings were not pertinent to *threptoi* in Bithynia and Pontus, presumably because the circumstances that prompted claims by *threptoi* or their rearers were different in mainland Greece than in northern Asia Minor.

I argue that Trajan's equation of *threptoi* with *expositi* is inaccurate, and says more about the Roman legal tendency to categorize and define relationships than about who these *threptoi* actually were. There is considerable epigraphic evidence in the inscriptions of Asia Minor, including Pliny's province, for *threptoi*. Some are of slave birth, but others are clearly freeborn, and in some cases even of higher status than their rearers. The term *threptoi*, which "denotes any person, slave or free(born), nurtured by someone other than their natural parents" (Riel 2009: 94), had far more semantic flexibility than *expositi* (or even the closest Latin equivalent, *alumni*). It is this very fluidity of meaning that probably caused problems for Pliny: one size did not fit all, either in Bithynia or Achaëa. *Threptoi* are yet another example of the fictive kin relationships that Roman imperial subjects constructed for themselves, relationships that did not fit within the status hierarchy of Roman law. A careful examination of the epigraphic evidence for *threptoi* in the Greek east can shed light on the "translation" of provincial mores into Roman policies.

Title: '...and all the troubles of nursing to which their station condemns them...'

Maternitas and social motherhood in the Roman world.

Name: April Pudsey

Both biological and emotional aspects of breastfeeding are today considered equally important to infant and maternal health and wellbeing, as both a source of human and mammal life-giving, and a crucial means of bonding and socialization. Such issues lie at the heart of medical and social comment on whether biological mothers ought to breastfeed their infants (Horta *et al.*, 2007). Across the Roman world, breastfeeding by both mothers *and* wet-nurses was ubiquitous (Bradley, 1986), and the focus of scholarship which deals with the practices is largely centred solely on the biological aspects. Medical writers were well acquainted with some of the physiological implications for infants, in particular in terms of duration of exclusive breast feeding and weaning onto animal milk and foods. Indeed, recent archaeological research has contributed to our understanding of weaning patterns and their impact on infant health and mortality, on the basis of stable nitrogen isotope analysis of infant skeletal remains (Pearson *et al.* 2010; Dupras *et al.* 2001; Prowse *et al.* 2004; Fuller *et al.* 2006; Bourbou and Garvie-Lok 2009). But the emotional aspects of breastfeeding, and in particular wet-nursing others' infants, are absent from the scholarship. This paper will examine the emotive aspects of nursing in the Roman world, from a perspective of wet-nurses and their nurslings – the fictive kinship and emotional bonds which add to growing evidence for *maternitas* as incorporating 'social motherhood' (Hrdy, 1999).

A large collection of wet-nursing contracts from the village of Tebtunis in Egypt illustrates that wet-nurses were hired primarily to nurse infants who had been exposed and destined for slavery, and some free children (Masciadri and Montevecchi, 1984). But also, a great deal of this material relates to free women engaging in a type of wage

labour activity, similar in some ways to Islamic nursing contracts in Egypt from 11th-15th centuries where lactation was considered a service rendered by women, not a legal obligation of a mother (Shatzmiller, 1997.). Many of these documents can reveal the emotive aspects of nursing within family life, for instance nurses were sometimes given the privilege of naming the child. In some legal documents from the city of Oxyrhynchos there are cases of dispute around the death of infants during their nursing, and provision being made for the emotional impact on those women. This paper will delve into an array of systematically collated contracts, letters, petitions and other documents to examine the emotive nature of the nursing relationship between nurse and infant, and indeed her own infant(s), both evidenced and apparently expected.

But what about this fictive kinship from the other perspective: that of the nursed infant? A wealth of epigraphic material from across the Roman world reveals the extent of young adults' and their families' emotional bonds with their wet-nurses, who appear to have been considered part of the family well beyond their nursing years. Nurses' emotional investment in their nursed infants is matched by the genuine sentiment expressed on their funerary commemorations, by family members and by their infants once grown to adulthood. These cultural aspects of wet-nursing can be gleaned from a wide array of sources, which this paper will systematically collate and examine with a view to exploring emotional ties between nurses, their infants and the infants' families. The paper will also ask how these emotional bonds were understood, nurtured, and provided for across families and communities more broadly.

Title: Taught as a Child: The Family-Forging Effect of Instruction in Early Christianity and its Historical Influences

Name: Zane McGee

The kinship-like relationships between the earliest followers of Jesus of Nazareth are well-attested by the New Testament (NT) literature, perhaps most evident in the use of ἀδελφός as a form of mutual address. The origins and functions of such terms, however, are less than clear. While earlier religious traditions no doubt influenced such language, with the Apostle Paul these relationships take on new rhetorical effect as he employs kinship language in direct correlation to his role as teacher.

Education is a relationship-forging endeavor for Paul, appropriately illuminated by kinship terminology. Those taught by him may have “10,000 pedagogues” (μυρίους παιδαγωγούς), but they have only one true “father” who begets them by his instruction to the gospel (1 Cor. 4:14-15; sim. 1 Thess. 2:12). More surprising than fatherly imagery is when Paul takes on the nurturing role of mother, declaring himself to be in labor (ὠδίνω) at having to reread elementary principles (Gal 4:19). He is also a nursing mother who cares tenderly for her children (1 Thess. 2:7: τροφὸς θάλπη τὰ ἑαυτῆς τέκνα) and gives instruction *qua* milk to those unable to receive solid food (1 Cor. 3:2)—analogies of particular interest in light of milk-kinship practices found elsewhere. Those who become children of God under Paul's guidance also become his own children, as with Onesimus, “my child, whom I begot” (Philem. 10; sim. 1 Cor. 4:14, 17; 2 Cor. 12:14; Gal. 4:19; Phil. 2:22). Paul's role as parental nurturer is filled out in later legends which attest that at his beheading nourishing milk flowed forth from his wound (*Acts of Paul* 11.5; see Penniman 2017, 79–85).

This linkage between kinship and instruction is not novel; rather, it picks up on elements that are naturally found in the ancient education of children where training was tied closely to the household and its members. Ancient authors recognized that a range of household relationships impacted the intellectual, social, and moral development of a child, including the selection of a wet-nurse (Ps.-Plut. *Lib. ed.* 3e; Quint. *inst.* 1.1.4) and interactions with slave playmates (Ps.-Plut. *Lib. ed.* 3f). Parents offered the earliest “instruction” to their children and continued to exert influence even as some children went on to receive more advanced instruction (e.g., Cornelia; Cic. *Brut.* 104). Education, family, and the ancient household were intrinsically linked. As the child transferred from parental instruction to formal education, the bonds that existed between father-as-teacher could be transferred to teacher-as-father (Kaster 1988, 67ff). This is most evidenced in late antiquity, as seen with Libanius's reference to a child having multiple fathers—one who begot him and one who convinced him to love rhetoric (*Ep.* F1071). Elsewhere, he can claim to have co-reared a child jointly with his biological father (*Ep.* F59: ἀμφοτέροι γὰρ ἐθρέψαμεν; see Crihiore 2007, 138ff).

While early Christianity found universal kinship under the shared parentage of God, I argue that Paul employs such language to new rhetorical ends—establishing kinship relationships with his “converts” and then appealing to familial loyalty to persuade his readers to follow his own instruction. Such appeals gain traction because of the close ties that already exist between education and the household. Moreover, Paul’s repeated return to this trope further suggests its effectiveness, as does this same imagery being taken up by subsequent generations to establish “lineage” with Paul and conscript his authority. For these readers education did more than inform, it constructed family-like bonds.

Session 84: Variant Voices in Roman Foundation Narrative

Title: *Roma/amor redux: Cultivating Rome in the Early Books of the *Metamorphoses**

Name: Celia Campbell

Ovid gives the foundation of Rome notoriously short shrift in the *Metamorphoses* (a mere five words, across 14.774-775). In some ways, his persistent refusal to engage overtly (and in prolonged fashion) with foundation myth is a narrative frustration that provides marked contrast to the relentless teleological drive of the *Aeneid*, where the fabled city of Rome looms large over the epic, an unavoidable presence of destined futurity; its most persistent ‘absent presence,’ to borrow a motivating concept assigned by Hardie to Ovidian poetics. Rather, in the *Metamorphoses*, the developed, urban city of Rome appears as an immanent narrative truth from the moment Ovid compares the Milky Way to the Palatine (1.175-176), the first in a series of ‘monumental’ allusion to the Roman cityscape (cf. Barchiesi and Boyle). This paper explores the references made to contemporary Rome in the first two books of the *Metamorphoses* to understand Rome’s Ovidian atemporal omnipresence here in contrast to the multiplicity of references elsewhere in the Ovidian amatory corpus to both a structurally and culturally palimpsestic Rome, where an aureate splendor of empire has interactively refaced a rustic artlessness. Contemporary Rome intrudes upon the world-beginnings of the *Metamorphoses* in two overtly notable ways: in Apollo’s reference to the Capitoline triumphs and the laurel that custodially honours the house of Augustus (1.560-565) and the amber that adorns Roman brides (2.335-336). The elegiac sensibilities that underpin both of these surrounding narratives (Daphne, Phaethon) and the aspects of *cultus* conjured in both make each of these textual junctures ripe for reconsidering in light of the progressively civilizing role the city plays across time in the *Ars amatoria*, where *cultus* is both a cultural and textual obsession. While Ovidian self- and cross-referencing is a well-known poetic trope, there has been little connective tissue drawn between the beginnings of the *Metamorphoses* and the *Ars amatoria*; locating the contemporary references to Rome as having textual roots in the *Ars amatoria* allows for a renegotiation of what ‘Roman’ space and time means for the beginning of Ovid’s epic. The laurel, as the first addition to the Ovidian landscape and a multivalent symbol of poetry and imperial power, provides an especially complex nexus of significance to unravel, as it most tellingly represents (in irreverent poetic shorthand) Rome in a state simultaneously originary and culturally developed. The Ovidian short-circuiting of Roman foundational myth through these temporal irruptions reroutes the reader to a different kind of Roman foundation—of the *Ars amatoria* as a text that has already inscribed the boundaries of the *urbs* by delineating *amor* as what *Roma* truly is and means.

Title: *Rome’s Feminine Foundations and the Agency of the Sabine Women*

Name: Caleb Dance

This paper submits that Ovid rewrites Livy’s narrative of the “Rape of the Sabine Women” (*AUC* 1.9-10 and 1.13) in *Ars Amatoria* 1 and *Fasti* 3 to grant greater—if still imperfect—agency to the abducted women (*raptae*). After revisiting the relevant passages of Livy Book 1 wherein the Sabine women (rather than the fighting male *Sabini*) feature, I propose that Ovid’s account, split across two works with two different narrators, humanizes those young women compelled to become wives to the first generation of the *populus Romanus* and mothers to the next.

Building upon those who detect strains of ambivalence in either or both of Ovid’s narratives (Wardman 1965, Eidenow 1993, Labate 2006, and Wise 2017), I note Ovid’s allusive engagement with Livy and his elaboration of scenes that the historian neglects. Hersilia’s statement at *Fasti* 3.211 (*quaerendum est uiduae fieri malitis an orbae*) closely resembles that of the collective Sabine women at *AUC* 1.13.3 (*melius peribimus quam sine alteris uestrum uiduae aut orbae uiuemus*). Despite these similarities, the women in Livy claim responsibility for the ensuing war (which Livy also suggests: cf. 1.13.1); those in the *Fasti* do not, even as they work to resolve it (Wise 2017: 154).

The centerpiece of the rape in *Ars Amatoria* 1 is not, as in Livy, a recounting of the roles played in the abduction by men of different social classes or a report of the “flatteries” that Romulus and the abductors offer (*AUC* 1.9.11-16) but a detailed description of how the women’s fear manifests during the abduction (1.119-126). The women are granted no interiority by the *praeceptor* (with the “catalog of fear” mediated through his own gaze—*nam timor unus erat, facies non una timoris*, 1.121), but they remain active and sympathetic in their distress. Rather than a straightforward celebration of early Rome, the episode reads as an explanation of why theaters remain dangerous for women (*formosis insidiosa*, 1.133-4).

Apostrophes to Romulus at the beginning and end of the *Ars Amatoria* passage (101, 131) and in the middle of the *Fasti* passage (3.197) link the narratives and function as repeated reminders of the Roman founder’s pivotal role in the dishonest abduction. Mars, who narrates the *Fasti* episode, claims to have inspired Romulus to use violence to secure intermarriage (3.197), but he details no plan, elides the rape, and resumes the tale only after the women have been abducted (*iamque fere raptae*, 3.203) and the Roman men are at war with their neighbors.

Mars states that Consus will narrate the omitted story on his own festive day (the *Consualia*, which is variably etymologized from *consilium*, *consul*, *census*, *contio*, and *condo*; see Noonan 1990), but when he quotes Hersilia speaking to the other abducted women, she outlines their dilemma and shares a plan (*consilium . . . dabo*, 3.212). The repetition of *consilium* in the 3.213 hints at an origin of the *Consualia* that derives from Hersilia’s plan rather than that of Romulus. Ovid thus has the concerned council of mothers subtly reclaim the name of the festival otherwise associated with their abduction.

The description of the actions of Hersilia and the abductees/mothers suggests that Mars himself poorly understands their plan. When he says that the women carry *pignora cara* (3.218) into the middle of the battlefield, the phrase could mean “beloved pledges” but also “valuable hostages.” Indeed, the mothers place their children in danger and compel them to speak (3.221-4). (The children play no comparable role in Livy’s account.) The women avoid becoming widowed or orphaned (*uiduae . . . an orbae*, 3.211) by risking becoming childless (also *orbae*). Yet in so doing, they establish an intergenerational Roman peace. I consider in my conclusion whether Ovid’s narrative offers an embedded critique of Augustan marriage legislation including the Lex Papia Poppaea, a law imposing financial penalties on *orbi*, or married men and women with no children.

Title: Hercules (and Cacus?) at the Lupercalia in *Fasti* 2.303–80

Name: Matthew Loar

This paper examines two myths invoked in Book 2 of Ovid’s *Fasti* to explain the nakedness of the Luperci during the Lupercalia: the story of Hercules’ cross-dressed servitude to the Lydian queen Omphale (2.303–58), and the account of Romulus and Remus’ driving off of cattle thieves (2.359–80). The paper argues that lurking behind both passages is Vergil’s description of Hercules’ battle with Cacus in Book 8 of the *Aeneid*, and that Ovid is rewriting the Vergilian model, as he does elsewhere in the *Fasti* (Murgatroyd 2005), in an effort to reimagine foundational moments in Roman history as less violent than they were traditionally conceived. In other words, the etiologies Ovid artfully adduces (Littlewood 1975) for the nakedness of the Luperci share an aversion to violence and a preference for prohibitions in lieu of murders.

The first part of the paper highlights Ovid’s strategy for alluding to Hercules and Cacus via his telling of the Hercules-Omphale myth. In particular, Ovid foregrounds generic play as one of the focal points of the episode, deploying the metapoetic language of *duritia* and *mollitia* to emphasize the tension produced by squeezing an identifiably epic Hercules into the dainty world of elegy (Hejduk 2011: 24–25; Robinson 2011: 225–30). Additionally, Ovid brackets the ludic tale of Hercules and Omphale with two other stories more familiar from canonical Roman foundation narratives, and more familiar from narratives of Hercules and Cacus: Evander and the Arcadians (2.271–302) and the contest between Romulus and Remus (2.361–80). Add to this an abundance of verbal and thematic echoes between the Ovidian passage and Book 8 of Vergil’s *Aeneid*, and Ovid creates ready conditions for interpreting his version of the Omphale myth as a kind of dressed-up retelling of the Vergilian Hercules-Cacus myth.

The second part of the paper turns to the Romulus-Remus myth, showing how Ovid's telling of the myth revises a number of elements from the canonical version, all of which recall elements from Vergil's telling of the Cacus myth. As with the Vergilian conflict between Hercules and Cacus, the Ovidian contest between Romulus and Remus hinges not on counting birds but on recovering cattle stolen by thieves (2.369–70). In the *Fasti* the meat the two brothers are cooking on the skewers for the sacrifice to Faunus consists of the "entrails," called *exta* (2.364, 373), and while it is not typically Roman custom to eat the *exta*, Vergil specifies that this is what the Arcadians consumed during their celebrations at the Ara Maxima (*Aen.* 8.183), in commemoration of Hercules' defeat of Cacus. Ovid's episode concludes with a prescribed practice for performing Faunus' rites that applies to two families, the Fabii and the Quinctilii, just as Vergil's episode concludes with instructions to the Potitii and Pinarii on the keeping of Hercules' rites (Fabre-Serris 2013: 94–99). Through the allusions connecting his contest of Romulus and Remus to Vergil's narrative of Hercules and Cacus, Ovid revises the epic and violent Vergilian foundation narrative into a contest between Romulus and Remus with a peaceful resolution.

Title: Performing Foundation: Carmentis and Mater Matuta
Name: Carole Newlands

James (2016) has noted a disturbing pattern in Rome's foundation narratives whereby political change occurs over women's dead and/or violated bodies--for instance, Ovid's Lucretia, Ilia, or Lara, mother of the Lares, all passive victims. Women's active role in foundational narratives, however, generally receives little attention. In his commentary on Book 1 of the *Fasti*, Green (2004) refers to Evander's foundation of Rome. Yet, as Chiu (2016) points out, it is Evander's mother Carmentis who has the commanding role in Ovid's account of their arrival at the future site of Rome: she counsels her weeping son to pull himself together; she first recognizes their destination; she first greets the indigenous gods and prophesies Rome's future greatness; and she becomes a goddess. Yet critics still tend to read the *Fasti* through a Virgilian lens. In *Aeneid* 8.337-41, Carmentis has a brief mention as a prophetic nymph who is Evander's mother; she is not represented as an active participant in Rome's foundation. My paper today will look at a foundational narrative where two female powers assume a positive role in the foundation of state cult, Carmentis and Mater Matuta (*Fast.* 6.473-568). While Carmentis first appears in Book 1 of the *Fasti*, her story converges with that of Mater Matuta in Book 6; Carmentis, whose name is associated with *carmen*, neatly bookends the extant *Fasti*. The story of the two goddesses importantly stands at the intersection of race, age, class and gender.

Mater Matuta, according to Ovid's account, was originally the Theban queen Ino who found refuge in Italy with her son. First however she is almost torn apart by Italian Maenads, who, in a clear recall of *Aeneid* 7 and Allecto's maddening of the Latin women, have been aroused by Juno to regard her as an enemy. But Ovid departs from the Virgilian script. Ino is rescued by Hercules and welcomed into Carmentis' humble house, where she is served cakes. Here the Callimachean model of the *Hecale* comes into play, where an old woman provides hospitality to a noble stranger who is not too proud to accept simple fare. But again Ovid changes the script. Carmentis grows in stature before Ino's eyes, and prophesies the deification of Ino and her son as Mater Matuta and Portunus--which happens immediately; Carmentis' performative speech makes them deities of cults that protect mothers and mariners respectively (6.549-50). MacAuley (2016) has argued that in the *Metamorphoses* extremely restricted feminine social roles are combined with the extravagant passions traditionally associated with women; yet, the mother in particular is recuperated in Ovid's epic from her position as the repressed subtext of the *Aeneid's* masculine self through the attention paid to her traumas and desires. In the *Fasti* the recuperative process goes further. The destructive Theban Ino of the *Metamorphoses* assumes as Mater Matuta a foundational, nurturing role in the Roman state; Carmentis too is a goddess associated with the protection of women as well as with prophecy and song. Furthermore, the foundation of the earliest temple to Mater Matuta was traditionally ascribed to Servius Tullius, son of a slave who as king was known for plebeian sympathies (Littlewood 2006). This tale in *Fasti* 6 of motherhood, sisterhood, race and class provides a positive counterpart to Rome's foundational tales of rape.

The hospitable female baker appears earlier in the *Fasti*, on the Ides of March (3.657-74). Anna of Bovillae helped the plebs during their first secession by bringing them freshly baked cakes; she was honoured with deification and a statue, and named putative founder of the plebeian cult of Anna Perenna, thus sharing the day with the memory of Julius Caesar's assassination (Newlands 2018). The "matermorphoses" of the *Fasti*, to borrow MacAuley's term, therefore have a broad scope, alerting the reader to intersectional, foundation narratives that implicitly question the

Virgilian and Augustan patrilinear scripts; the humble cake, surprisingly, becomes a symbol of anti-hierarchical community, fostered by women's creative hands.

Session 85: Theatre of Displacement: Ancient Tragedy and Modern Refugees, Immigrants, and Migrants (Organized by the Committee on Ancient and Modern Performance)

Title: Now We See You, Now We Don't: Displacement, Citizenship, and Gender in Greek Tragedy

Name: Hallie Marshall

Some Greek tragedies have female choruses that we immediately recognize as being geographically displaced or on the verge of displacement, such as the chorus of Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women*, Euripides' *Phoenician Women*, *Trojan Women* and *Hecuba*, and are pointed to as examples of how tragedy speaks to the realities of war and displacement. These plays represent a range of female experiences and are important for our understanding of how women suffer in war, both in antiquity and in the present. This paper will argue, however, that there are other displaced women on the ancient Athenian stage who are not recognized as such, but who represent an important facet of this narrative: slave women. While the choruses of *Trojan Women* and *Hecuba* trace the first two parts of a narrative in which the women of Troy are first transformed from free women to property, and then put on ships for transport, scholars generally do not recognize the choruses of plays such as Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* as representing the final step in the transition of female choruses from women displaced by war to women enslaved. Yet there are a number of choruses comprised of slave women, from *Electra's* *choephoroi* to the slaves who are to found abroad in Iphigenia among the Taurians and Helen.

There are two parts to this paper. In the first part of the paper I catalogue the female slave choruses, examining both how they are described within the plays themselves and how they are described by scholars. I will query what is being described by the term 'chorus of Greek slave women', tracing a narrative line from the chorus of *Trojan Women*, still identified with their homeland and ruling family, through the chorus of *Hecuba*, physically removed from their homeland but still identified as Trojan, to choruses who, whatever their origins, are identified by the homeland of their owner, even when that owner is herself displaced, as in *IT* and *Helen*. In the second part of the paper, I examine the stark contrast between the characterization of men and women in the choruses of Greek tragedy, starting from the observation that not a single extant tragedy represents a male chorus as enslaved or in the process of being enslaved. When male choruses are not representative of the local citizen population (as they are in *Agamemnon*, *Oedipus at Colonus*, *Herakles*, etc.), they are still citizens, with their absence at home explained by their role as sailors in times of war (*Ajax*, *Philoctetes*). I conclude by examining what these patterns tell us about both the conception and reality of slavery in fifth-century Athens, and also what it says about modern audiences when we focus on women in the midst of war, but fail to be concerned or moved by their final fate.

Title: Aeschylus' Erinyes as Suppliant Immigrants: Enchantment and Subjugation

Name: Allannah Karas

The ending of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* in the trial of Orestes and the pacification of the Erinyes, is often lauded as an immense achievement for democratic Athens against the system of blood vengeance embodied by the Erinyes (Tzanetou 2012, Roth 1993, Buxton 1982). Yet, when examined from the point of view of the Erinyes as suppliant immigrants, the last scenes of the *Eumenides* take on new significance. The Erinyes enter the play on the offensive, hunting down Orestes for killing his mother Clytemnestra. When Athena, however, sets up a murder trial for the occasion, she not only by-passes the Erinyes, but she strips them of one of their primary functions in safe-guarding inter-family relationships. At this, the Erinyes are not only enraged, but by the end of the *Eumenides*, they emerge as homeless, threatened (and threatening) suppliants in a foreign land. As a result, Athena's conciliatory attempt to dialogue with the Erinyes after the trial (Eu. 778-915) turns into a proposal for their "naturalization" in Athens. The Erinyes are offered new status as resident-aliens (*metics*) in exchange for the surrender of their current anger and their age-old powers. What, however, does this arrangement truly look like from the Erinyes' perspective? This question deserves greater consideration.

This paper reassesses the complexity and ethical implications of Athena's persuasion of the Erinyes as suppliant immigrants through a close analysis of the forceful and ambiguously magical qualities of Athena's speeches, particularly in her reference to the goddess Peitho (often translated "Persuasion"). Ultimately, I argue, Athena offers the Erinyes a duplicitous welcome into Athenian society. While recommending the Erinyes a new mode of life and great honors, Athena simultaneously veils the potentially oppressive nature of her proposition and, in a certain sense, forces the Erinyes to consent through the enchanting power of Peitho. In this way, the Erinyes' incorporation into Athenian society calls into question the justice and integrity of this society itself.

Erinyes can be understood as suppliants (and therefore also as potential immigrants) on the basis of the similarities which have been traced between the Erinyes and the Danaids in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* (Bachvarova 2009, Zakin 2009, Rechenauer 2001). Such similarities include the threat of pollution which they pose to the local people, the animal imagery with which they are associated, and fear which they inspire due to their alien status. Also, like many modern immigrants, by the end of the *Eumenides*, the Erinyes stay in the city placated with symbolic offerings, words of praise, and freedom regarding fertility, but at the same time stripped of their autonomy and the right to demand accountability within the social structures of their new home.

I also argue that it is primarily with cajoling promises, veiled threats, and a direct appeal to the magic of the goddess Peitho (Eu. 885) that Athena is able to win over these disgruntled, fearsome elder deities. Athena's appeal to Peitho, for example, is effectively a request for help with a seductive process (Rynearson 2013, Porter 2005, Rosenzweig 2004), but one which is more sinister—or at the very least, more erotically ambiguous—than is commonly acknowledged. And it is precisely to this enchantment that the Erinyes, in the end, submit (Eu. 900).

While the last scenes of the *Eumenides* are often interpreted as a triumph of justice and patriotic celebration of democracy, it is only through the machinations of Peitho and the deceit of Athena that the Erinyes are induced to relent from their anger. They then submit to a life hidden beneath the Areopagus, where all murder trials will henceforth be held without them. Their abode, while close to Athena's sanctuary, will forever be in its shadow; and, from here, these suppliant immigrants continue to bless the land with fertility into perpetuity: safe, secure, and subjugated.

Title: The Sword, the Box, and the Bow: Trauma, (Dis)placement, and "New Canadians"
Name: Lana Radloff

The sword, the box, and the bow are key visual emblems of impending action and symbols of revelation in Sophocles' *Ajax*, *Women of Trachis*, and *Philoctetes*. Each one brings about or has the potential to cause the destruction of not only the plays' main protagonists but also those around them. Ajax's concubine-wife, Tecmessa, articulates the uncertain fate she and her son, Eurysaces, will face because of Ajax's suicide, a reality she knows all too well as Ajax's hard-won prize from the Trojan War. Philoctetes, the main character of his eponymous play, is also, like Tecmessa, a casualty of the Trojan War. He has been twice displaced: first through his abandonment on Lemnos by his comrades-at-arms and then through his return to "civilization" as epitomized in his final apostrophe to his Lemnian cave. Although he longs to return home, he must also face reintegration into his community and renegotiate his identity in light of his abandonment by society. Sophocles explores the psychology of refugees, migrants, and immigrants perhaps most vividly in the *Women of Trachis*. Deianeira's poignant speeches highlight the plight of ancient Greek women, whose anxiety over impending nuptials is exchanged for the unpredictability of marriage as they await their husbands' return from war. Her unexpected compassion for the young captive women from Oechalia, including Iole, the object of her husband's desire, only heightens the immediacy of women's concerns and their powerlessness in a world in which they have little agency. Although Deianeira commits suicide in a final decisive act, she is voiceless and hidden from view. Her suicide takes place off stage and in atonement for the destruction of her heroic husband, Heracles.

The ancient Greek tragedian, Sophocles, was not only a playwright but also – like most Athenian citizens – a member of the military. Sophocles' plays were publicly performed in Athens during the latter half of the 5th c. BCE, when internecine warfare was common. His first hand experiences with combat are reflected in his complex representations of ancient Greek military life for male citizen-soldiers, their loved ones left behind, and non-combatants. As Bryan Doerries (2016) and Jonathan Shay (1995, 2003) have illustrated, these issues transcend time

and space; the trauma of combat and the (dis)placement of people affected by warfare are as prescient today as they were in antiquity. “The Sword, the Box, and the Bow: Ancient Greek Tragedy through a Modern Lens” was an end of semester public event organized by students in the Classics Department at Bishop’s University in Canada. Through staged readings of Sophocles’ *Ajax*, *Philoctetes*, and *Women of Trachis* and a discussion panel of academics (Psychology and Politics and International Studies) and non-academics (a former reservist in the Canadian military and a “New Canadian”), our aim was to raise awareness about the effect of trauma and warfare. Using this as a platform, students highlighted current issues related to warfare, as well as suicide, first responders, end-of-life care, euthanasia, and gendered experiences of trauma. Each performance was preceded by a short introduction by a student moderator that contextualized the passage within its play and explained the aims of the staged reading and its intersection with modernity. The event culminated in a discussion period between student participants, audience members, and panelists as a means to create a safe environment to initiate a conversation about the ways in which trauma affects communities in Canada and the world.

Title: How Sweet Are Tears: The Uses of Lamentation in The Trojan Women and Queens of Syria.

Name: Sarah J. Thompson

Casey Dué argues that in tragedy, generally speaking, “lament is the only medium through which women have a sanctioned public voice, the one weapon they have with which to defend themselves in desperate circumstances” (16). In *The Trojan Women*, however, lamentation cannot protect the women. While it may have other functions in other tragedies, Dué claims that “there is nothing to be gained by the use of lament in this play other than the pity of the hearers” (139). Who are the hearers: the male characters, the other women, the audience? I argue that while it may indeed arouse pity in any of these hearers, lamentation has other functions in this play for the lamenters themselves. In this paper, I examine movement and vocalization in *The Trojan Women* as tools for surviving trauma and moving through pain. What does it do to the body to sing or cry out in grief? How might it provide a link between the self and the community? What might it do in a theatre space, between performers, between performers and spectators, between spectators? How does this lamentation build a bridge between us — or does it?

In today’s world, *The Trojan Women* has been used as a tool of lamentation, providing a “sanctioned public voice” for refugees. In 2016, a group of Syrian refugee women toured the U.K. with the production *Queens of Syria*. This production wove together text from Euripides’ *Trojan Women*, translated into Arabic, with the personal stories of the performers. I will examine how this production utilized *The Trojan Women* both as a dramatic text and as a strategic tool to make U.K. spectators listen to refugee women. Promotional materials indicated that this production was an opportunity for U.K. spectators to bear witness to the experiences of the performers, to attend to the “Syrian crisis” or the “refugee crisis” in an embodied manner. Talthybius and his text were absent from the performance. I suggest that this absence opened up the possibility for spectators to occupy the role of Talthybius, the privileged outsider who witnesses the trauma of others. Talthybius thus provides a model for the spectator of what Patrick Duggan has called trauma-tragedy. Like Talthybius, spectators of *Queens of Syria* who did not share the experiences of the performers might find themselves moved. But does this feeling of being “moved” on the part of the spectator help the performers who have experienced trauma? What does lamentation do for those lamenting, and what does it do for those listening?

Session 86: Augustus and After

Title: Politicizing Citation: Livy’s Cossus Digression and Augustan Literary Culture

Name: Ayelet Haimson Lushkov

This paper explores some aspects of the politics of citation in Livy’s *Cossus Digression* (4.20.5-11) against the background of Augustan literary practice more broadly. Although Livy explicitly cites only one source, the historian Licinius Macer, the digression constructs a complex interplay among multiple sources: Macer, the tradition from which he diverges, and most important, the emperor Augustus himself. Despite being one of the most famous passages in Livy, previous work on the *Digression* (e.g. Sailor 2006, Miles 2005, Flower 2000, Burton 2000, Luce 1965), largely neglects the distinctive rhetoric of source-citation, whether as a matter of literary history or as a way

of situating Livy within his own cultural milieu. This paper begins to correct this scholarly neglect, focusing on the single instance of the Cossus Digression as an *exemplum* of a broader phenomenon in the *AUC*.

The Cossus Digression revolves around a correction to the historical record, famously brought about by Octavian's discovery of a linen corselet in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. This corselet, which specified that Cossus dedicated the *spolia opima* as consul rather than tribune, solved a long-standing inconsistency, but also meant that Livy was now required to adjudicate the authority of the *princeps* against that of the received historical tradition. In other words, Livy is required to discriminate between sources as a direct political act: the emperor becomes a source for Livy's history, just as Livy's sources acquire the power to resist the authority of the emperor. The main tension in the digression, therefore, resides in Livy's counterpoise between the emperor and the archive (Miles 2005: cf. Rich 2011), and in his pointed, topical and tendentious construction of that archive. This construction involves the selection of a specific source, that is Licinius Macer (*FRHist* 1.320-1, cf. Frier 1975); the focus on a distinctive medium, that is the linen books, which parallel Cossus' linen corselet; and the consequent curation of Macer's presence in the *AUC* as a historian of magistracies dependent on the linen books, a view of Macer which is at best selective, as the fragments of Macer external to Livy demonstrate.

This tension, I argue, maps onto a programmatic tension between archival research and autopsy, a problem that recurs in Livy whenever he confront contemporary evidence from powerful figures as source material (e.g., the Scipionic Trials (38. 56. 8 *alia tota serenda fabula est Gracchi orationi conueniens*) or Hannibal's Lacinian inscription (Livy 28.46.16, cf. P. 3.33.14-18, Livy 21.38.1-5). I therefore conclude the paper by situating these dynamics against the background of Augustan literary culture on the one hand, and of historiography's generic self-awareness on the other. Freudenburg 2014 has recently shown that the Augustan poets take on Augustus as both interlocutor and imitative model: poet and emperor both use the *recusatio* to perform and construct important dimension of their respective identities. The Cossus Digression, too, can be seen along similar lines, especially as the sole extant instance in the *AUC* where we can imagine (together with Syme 1959, Luce 1965, *contra* Badian 1963) Livy interacting directly with the emperor: the marshalling of sources as rhetorical strategy allows both emperor and historian to assert themselves on the historical record, establishing a shared project of renovation (Kraus 1994). In so doing, however, Livy's source-citation reveals him as offering a historiographical articulation of what Hinds 1998 already recognized as constitutive to the literary histories created by allusion and intertext (which is one of the main functions of any citation): that it was tendentious and manufactured to suit by the alluding author.

Title: Augustus on Holiday: Sinister Saturnalia in Suetonius' *Divus Augustus* 98

Name: Ryan M. Pasco

In his *Life of Augustus*, Suetonius precedes his account of Augustus' death with a bizarre description of the emperor on vacation at Campania (Suet. *Aug.* 98). In this paper, I closely consider his account of this pleasure-filled retreat to Campania and show that Suetonius gives the permissive conduct of Augustus a distinct Saturnalian coloring, yet at the same time darkens the levity of the occasion with words that allude to violence and compulsion. In so doing, he explores the relationship between imperial rule and personal freedom.

Readers of the *Life of Augustus* frequently pay close attention to Augustus' death and the greater significance of his final utterances and actions. Yet for all the attention that the day of his death receives, the account of the *secessus* immediately prior, during which the *princeps* contracts his fatal illness, is often overlooked, as is the strikingly permissive atmosphere of the retreat. Hanslik (1954) argues that Augustus' care-free pleasure is a sign of his transition into godhood, but offers no close reading of the scene (143). Wardle (2007) briefly notes the religious tone of the *secessus*, focusing in particular on Augustus' encounter with a ship of Alexandrians (320), though like Hanslik does not detect the Saturnalian resonances nor violent imagery in the passage. Outside these and passing mentions, the retreat as a whole remains largely unexplored.

As I move through the text, I first argue that Suetonius straightaway casts the retreat as Saturnalian through images of gift-giving, role-reversal, and mock kingship: he distributes coins, togas, pallia, and *varia munuscula* to his retinue and stipulates a *lex proposita* for his companions that Romans and Greeks swap clothing and language (98.2-3), which both evokes the Saturnalian inversion of society's hierarchies and the Saturnalian 'king', who imposes commands on fellow celebrants. I then suggest that, although these Saturnalian resonances notionally bring the

emperor closer to his subjects, the passage in fact reaffirms the emperor's power. By casting the everyday emperor as the temporary Saturnalian king, Suetonius emphasizes that Augustus' power is immune to the role reversal of the festival; likewise, Suetonius underscores the gravity of imperial power through the language of compulsion: as Augustus distributes coins, he compels his retinue to spend them as he wishes (*exegit cautionem*).

I next turn towards Augustus' feast on Capri, a jest-filled banquet that seems, like the Saturnalian feast, to relax social constraints. Yet the hilarity that Augustus incites actually emphasizes his power over fellow diners, as the violent imagery of the feast makes apparent. The *princeps* throws *missilia* of food at his guests, who fight over them using vocabulary (*deripere*) that Suetonius elsewhere uses the verb for sacking (*Caes.* 54.1, *Ner.* 43.1) and plundering (*Ner.* 11.2). The image, I suggest, evokes the dinner-side brawling that occurs in a number of satiric *cenae*, in particular the roughly contemporaneous Juvenal *Satire* 5; the resonance draws our attention to the sheer distance that separates Augustus and his guests despite the notional Saturnalian tenor of the feast. Moreover, I note that the entire permissive atmosphere owes itself entirely to imperial compulsion as, during the feast, Augustus does not permit license to joke, but in fact demands it -- *praebuit permissa, immo exacta iocandi licentia* (98.3) -- a striking formulation that emphasizes the *princeps'* power over freedom itself. In conclusion, I suggest the formulation taps into contemporary discourse on freedom under empire, in particular Pliny's praise of Trajan (*iubes esse liberos; erimus*) at *Panegyricus* 66.4 and Tacitus' account of Nero as Saturnalian king at *Annals* 13.15. As my reading shows, Suetonius rewards the sort of close reading he rarely receives and that, far from being interested merely in documenting curiosities of the past, the biographer, like his contemporaries, seeks to understand the dynamics of power, be it between guest and host or emperor and subject.

Title: Augustus and the Nakharars of Armenia

Name: Lee E. Patterson

One notable problem with ancient sources is their tendency to focus on the top stratum of society. This has often led modern scholars down a similar road, whereby explanations of historical causation derive from the motivations of kings and emperors and the like. While this state of affairs takes us some way toward understanding the past, very often the picture is incomplete without consideration of broader swaths of the populace. Such limitations have often impaired efforts to understand Roman relations with peripheral peoples, especially in the Near East. This venue of scholarship has drawn increasing attention in recent years, with, for example, region-focused studies shedding light on internal cultural, political, and social structures, of which a vivid example is Andrew Smith's recent study on Palmyra (Smith 2013). Vital to understanding Roman interactions in the East, with regional entities as well as with the vast eastern superpower ruled first by the Parthian Arsacids and later the Persian Sasanians, is the role played by Armenia, whose importance to Roman interests had gone back to the first century BCE. The policy of the emperor Augustus called for Armenia to be a vassal state. As such, its king was expected to help manage Roman affairs in the eastern frontier.

It is these Armenian kings who tend to draw most of the attention of our sources, but occasionally we get glimpses of the internal political dynamic, notably the *nakharars* (e.g., Pliny *NH* 6.10.27). The term *nakharar* refers to the noble houses of Armenia that collectively wielded significant political leverage in their relations with the king, who relied heavily on them to maintain control of the country and for the mustering of forces. In exchange for their political and military support, the king bestowed on them honors and prestige, even though the relationship was not always harmonious (Gregoratti 2013: 134-35). When instability arose, it was often the result of rival families supporting different royal claimants to the throne. Very often, the lines of demarcation were determined by whether a family was pro- or anti-Roman.

This dynamic had a profound effect on the Armenian policies of Augustus, more so than authors like Tacitus seemed to appreciate, especially in two notable periods, which will be the focus of this paper. It is well known that Artaxias II (r. 30-20 BCE) cultivated a strongly anti-Roman policy and that the end of his reign is associated with Augustus' famous effort to recover lost Roman standards from the Arsacids: the army he sent to enthrone Artaxias' successor provided sufficient inducement to the Arsacid king Phraates IV to return them (*Aug. RG* 29; *Suet. Aug.* 21.3; *Vell. Pat.* 2.91.1). But the end of Artaxias' reign came at the hands of anti-Arsacid *nakharars*, despite his attempt to promote good relations with the nobility, as attested in the tenth-century Armenian author T'ovma Artsruni (1.8 [55]), who says that Artaxias built a temple to "Heracles" and "Dionysus" (even giving the Greek names in

Armenian: զՀրապարկեայ և զՂիննիսեայ, Herakleay . . . Dioniseay). The former is the great Zoroastrian hero god Vahagn. Such cult centers served political as well as religious purposes and tended to be located on the estates of *nakharars* (Russell 1987: 189, 325-26). As for the chaotic events of the 6 BCE to c. 10 CE period (Aug. *RG* 27, Tac. *Ann.* 2.4.2), during which Augustus' goal of a stable, pro-Roman Armenia proved elusive, we see a series of ephemeral kings (and one queen) while the role of the *nakharars* in contributing to this instability has received an insufficient accounting in modern scholarship (e.g., Sherwin-White 1984).

By focusing on these events, this paper proposes to shed new light on Augustus' Armenian struggles as examples of the broader challenges of Roman policy, whose maintenance of Armenia as a vassal state met with varying levels of success. The internal political dynamic, as driven by the *nakharars*, provides much of the explanation.

Title: *princeps proferendi imperi incuriosus*: Tiberius and the *pax augusta*

Name: Rebecca Edwards

Tacitus' assessment at *Ann.* 4.32.2 that Tiberius was uninterested in extending the empire, combined with instructions supposedly left by Augustus for Tiberius to that end (*Ann.* 1.11.4), prejudice our opinion of Tiberian foreign policy, especially in contrast with the early career of Octavian/Augustus. Augustus' expansion of the empire was no doubt great, but was mostly driven by the need to consolidate previously held Roman territories. The addition of Egypt was due to the fortuitous alliance of Antony and Cleopatra and their subsequent downfall. And much of the territory won north of Italy was secured by Tiberius himself. It then remains to ask, why did Tiberius, a skilled general and agent of Augustan expansion, become the poster child for retrenchment?

The most problematic aspect of Tiberian imperial policy concerns his abandonment of Germany and the recall of Germanicus. According to the traditional view, Augustus had every intention of subduing all of Germany up to the Elbe. But after the revolts in Illyricum in 6-9 A.D. and the *clades Variana*, Augustus became more conservative in his approach to the region. While some have attributed this to the influence of Tiberius after his adoption in 4 A.D., it more likely stems from Roman ignorance of the region, its geography, and nature of the tribes who traveled through it. It had taken Rome over two hundred years to gain control of the Iberian Peninsula, and that area was bordered by Roman Gaul and the sea. It is no wonder that Germania, which bordered territories never conquered by the Romans, would be so difficult to master. As Brunt states in his assessment of Agrippa's map in the Porticus Vipsania: "Agrippa himself evidently had no notion of the size of the land-mass east of the Rhine" (1963: 175). Moreover, while Domitius Ahenobarbus planted an altar along the Elbe, there is no evidence of permanent military settlements beyond the Weser (Timpe 2008: 210).

Instead of having a decidedly imperialist plan, Augustus reacted to situations in ways which saved face for the Roman state. Rich asserts, "An adequate account of Augustus' external policies should allow for their evolution over time" (2003: 344-345). Thus, even if Tiberius may have been instructed not to expand the empire, he was efficient in dealing with problems that arose, most notably in Africa with Tacfarinas, and in Gaul under Florus and Sacrovir. Not only did Tiberius not lose any territory which had been held at the death of Augustus, but he annexed the kingdoms of Cappadocia and Commagene (and possibly Cilicia (Goodyear (1981: 321)) in 17 A.D., turning them into Roman provinces (Tac. *Ann.* 2.42, 2.56).

Moreover, Augustus preferred when possible to resolve conflicts by diplomacy rather than open warfare, most notably, in his dealings with Parthia. Tiberius' policy in Germany followed this model, playing various tribes against each other. Through such means, Tiberius not only brought about the downfall of Maroboduus, but also of his pawn against Maroboduus, Catualda. Tacitus tells us (*Ann.* 2.88) that these tactics also helped to eliminate Arminius, who, aiming at the throne, was killed by the treachery of his countrymen – *dolo propinquorum cecidit*. Thus through shrewd diplomacy and manipulation, Tiberius had destroyed the two greatest enemies of Rome in Germany, Maroboduus and Arminius.

If Augustus exhibited flexibility in his attitude towards crises within the empire and preferred to use showy diplomacy rather than risk his troops, Tiberius merely continued this policy. Strabo, writing in the context of Augustus' pacification of the empire, states as much (6.4.2). Velleius seconds this opinion. Moreover, as Rich observes, "Velleius [2.126.3] includes among the blessings of Tiberius' reign the universal diffusion of *pax*

augusta (the only occurrence of the phrase in a literary source)” (2003: 333 n. 25). Given the role Tiberius played in ensuring and continuing Augustus’ foreign policy, perhaps the term *pax tiberiana* is more apt.

Session 87: Ancient Ethics

Title: Political Friendship in *Nicomachean Ethics* IX.6

Name: Paul W. Ludwig

Can *philia* stretch to include an entire polity? Commentators have wondered whether political friendship involves emotion. For example, *EN* IX.6 seems more cognitive than affective, equating “the civic sense” of friendship with likemindedness (*homonoia*; 1167b3). The latter is a “feature of friendship,” and another, related feature, goodwill, is “definitely not friendship” (1166b30). Might civic friendship, too, lack something essential to friendship? After a preliminary argument, my paper concentrates on IX.6, contending that even this ostensibly least emotional description of political friendship is in fact emotional, for Aristotle. The passage illuminates a difference between Aristotelian and modern ethics and gains in interest from recent polarization and hostility in many liberal democracies.

Allen 2004 removes affection from political friendship, tracing the latter to Book IV’s unnamed social virtue that is only “like friendship” but “*aneu pathos . . . kai tou stergein*” (1126b20-24). Christ 2012 separates likemindedness from the kind of affection that leads to altruism, limiting the latter, among Athenians, mainly to close friends and family. For Pakaluk 1994 and Pakaluk 2016, altruism fails to capture the favoritism of friendship, which is not disinterested benevolence but identification with the friend so far as to be biased in favor of him, a feeling that could occur in any shared scheme of cooperation, including politics. Konstan 2018 detects in IX.6 an awkward, perhaps politically-motivated compromise between a belief that vulgar people cannot be likeminded (“just as they also cannot be friends”; 1167b9-11) and a wish to accommodate a newer, democratic ideology that extended friendship to include all Athenians. Yet Aristotle’s position may not be so awkward: Cooper 1999 points out that even modern citizens in large commercial societies (comparatively untroubled about virtue) are typically quite a bit more concerned about fellow citizens than they are about foreigners, in part because such citizens feel involved with, almost responsible for, each other’s behavior. Could such concern exemplify, or result from, Pakaluk’s favoritism?

To build on Cooper and Pakaluk, I begin with the utility-basis of political friendship (*EE* VII.1242b22-27). Utility-based friends genuinely like their friends but explicitly fail to like them “in themselves” (*kath’ hautous*; *EN* VIII.1156a11; Cooper 1980). That is, by liking each other *qua* useful, they fail to like each other for who they truly are. Nevertheless, such utility-based friends are explicitly said to be affectionate (*stergousi*; 1156a11-16). This implies that the social virtue of friendliness, which lacks *to stergein*, must differ from utility-based friendship, and thus differ from IX.6’s species of it: political friendship. The remainder of the paper analyzes the treatment of likemindedness in IX.6. Does Aristotle think likemindedness causes citizens to identify with fellow citizens and thus to favor them? How would utility provide a basis for this likemindedness and favoritism?

Of the three features of friendship (*ta philika*), only likemindedness is equated with a type of friendship. It differs from the more cognitive sameness-of-opinion or sameness-of-judgment, neither of which is *philikon* (1167a22-26). Cities are said to enjoy concord when citizens agree on large matters of practical importance (a27-30). Examples include agreement about the regime (“that the offices should be elective”) and agreement on foreign policy (“that an alliance should be made with Sparta”). Enough agreement to *act* in concert is required (*prattōsi*; a28-29)—as opposed to dividing into factions (a34). Such agreements, particularly that offices be elective, are shared schemes of cooperation, I argue. Such cooperation makes citizens useful to one another, in implicit contrast to oligarchic and democratic factions’ refusal to cooperate. I speculate that citizens with this moderate position on elections (as opposed to lottery, the more democratic way of allocating offices) might identify with each other and genuinely wish the “best people to be in office” (1167b1-2)—a possible way of overcoming the invidious contrast Konstan noted and one way of generating, in citizens, the concern noticed by Cooper.

Title: Aristotle on Deliberation and Necessitarianism

Name: Takashi Oki

The problem of compatibility or incompatibility between the possibility of meaningful deliberation and necessitarianism (the view that everything happens of necessity) has long been a topic of discussion, and it is well known that Aristotle is concerned with the problem in *De Interpretatione* 9. He thinks that if everything happens of necessity (18b30-31), then ‘there would be no need to deliberate or to take trouble, thinking that if we do this, this will happen, but if we do not, it will not’ (18b31-33). In this paper, I argue that Aristotle is a deliberation incompatibilist, and consider why he thinks that it is reasonable to endorse this position.

First, I show that it is more reasonable to think that Aristotle here gives a *reductio*, and to supply some implicit premises to the necessitarian argument (18a34-18b16) from which he can validly conclude that everything happens of necessity, rather than interpreting it as a fallacious inference made by his opponent (*pace* Bobzien 2011; Nielsen 2011). In my view, Aristotle thinks that deliberation is inefficacious if the future is necessary (in the sense of being fixed or irrevocable) in the way the past and present are.

Second, I argue that the necessitarian conclusion that ‘everything is and happens of necessity’ (18b30-31), which is considered to be incompatible with deliberation, should be distinguished from the view that everything that happens happens of necessity, independently of antecedent conditions, as well as from the view that everything that happens is necessitated by antecedent conditions (*pace* Nielsen 2011). Further, I also show that Aristotle’s argument on the inefficaciousness of deliberation is not a sort of ‘Lazy Argument’ (*pace* Sorabji 1980).

Third, I argue that, in Aristotle’s view, the principle that ‘if we do this, this will happen, but if we do not, it will not’ (18b31-33) would hold even if everything happens of necessity. It is important to note that the necessitarian conclusion is compatible with this principle, and that Aristotle does not say that the principle would not hold if everything happens of necessity, even though he thinks that deliberation on the basis of the principle would not be needed in such a case (18b31-33). By pointing out that Aristotle accepts that one could still ‘causally affect some future events’ even if everything happens of necessity, I show that Fine’s (1984) contention that ‘since one can causally affect some future events, one can deliberate about them’ misses the point.

Title: Brutus' Philosophical Position in On Virtue

Name: Peter Ishmael Osorio

The study of Antiochus of Ascalon by historians of philosophy has, in recent years (cf. Sedley 2012), progressed to the point that critics are beginning to take a closer look at the philosophy of Varro, a known supporter of Antiochus (cf. Blank 2012 and the panel, “Varro the Philosopher” organized by Grant Nelsestuen and Sidney Horky at the 2019 SCS Meeting). This paper seeks to advance our understanding of another Roman Antiochean, M. Junius Brutus, by re-examining our evidence for his treatise, *On Virtue*, a work that, we are told, incited Cicero to write several of his dialogues (*viz.* *Brutus*, *On Ends*, and *Tusculan Disputations*). Since the critical work of Hendrickson 1939 to reconstruct its contents, scholarship on *On Virtue* has stalled—although it has been put to good use in studies of Cicero (esp. Dugan 2005) and Brutus’ Antiocheanism has received occasional attention (esp. Sedley 1997). Now that Kathryn Tempest (2017) has provided a vivid, new biography of Brutus, it seems opportune to look afresh at the testimonia for *On Virtue* in light of the research on Antiochus over the last several decades.

I focus on Seneca *ad Helv.* 9, from which we see that Brutus held (a) an Antiochean distinction between happy and happiest lives and (b) the view that exile, an external evil in Peripatetic taxonomies of value, does not prevent a wise person from having the happiest life. First, I place (b) in the context of earlier Peripatetic ethical accounts, to outline two Peripatetic views of non-moral (sc. bodily and external) goods and their relation to the ethical end that could help motivate (b): either they are parts of the end or mere instruments of virtue. Since (a) and Brutus’ broader Antiocheanism provides a constraint on what reasons may motivate his holding (b), I then turn to our two best sources for Antiochus’ account of the end: Cic. *Ac.* 1.19-22 and *Fin.* 5. I argue the Antiochean accounts, insofar as they both treat external and bodily goods differently, together allow us to reject either Peripatetic view as the motivation for (b). At the same time, the two Antiochean accounts differ with respect to the place of externals in the

end, in such a way, I argue, that the view of the end in *Ac.* 1.19-22 cannot be used to motivate (b), while that in *Fin.* 5 can. Piso's speech in *Fin.* 5, therefore, plausibly reproduces Brutus' view of the end and of the conditions for the happiest life.

The results of this study are double. First, I draw attention to what other scholars frequently elide when discussing Antiochus' ethics (e.g. Dillon 1977: 73; Annas 1993: 420–23; Irwin 2012: 155–59): our sources meaningfully diverge on the status of external goods relative to bodily ones. I take this to mean that Antiochus was open to interpretation among his followers, and that we can glean what interpretation Brutus followed. Second, we now have reason to think that Cicero deliberately crafts Piso's speech to capture *Brutus'* view (cf. *Fin.* 5.8) in the face of plural interpretations. This tells us something meaningful, I think, about Cicero's philosophical method in *On Ends*: Cicero's sceptical attacks, though directed against three dogmatic schools, are nevertheless targeted to affect a particular, idealized reader.

Title: Quintilian's Last Word: *Voluntas* and the Goodness of the *Vir Bonus Dicendi Peritus*
Name: Mary Rosalie Stoner

In the *Institutio Oratoria*, Quintilian's success in forming the "good man skilled in speaking" (*vir bonus dicendi peritus*, 12.1.1) depends on his ability to bridge the gap between the idealistic education he outlines and the moral commitment of his readers. In the provocative 1993 essay "The 'Q' Question," Richard Lanham hints that Quintilian's insistence on the perfect orator's goodness is naïve and question-begging, unable in itself to ensure the goodness of the orator through education (155). This paper argues on the contrary that Quintilian does have at least a partial notion of how to stimulate and sustain moral commitment in the student, and that this notion is focused around the use of *voluntas* and its cognates in Book Twelve. Both George Kennedy (1969, 129-130) and Michael Winterbottom (1998, footnote 10) have alluded to the importance of will in Quintilian but have not developed the idea at length. Surveying the most salient uses of *voluntas* in Book Twelve, I portray it as a fundamental moral principle that orients the orator towards goodness and helps propel him towards his goal of perfection. In so doing, I suggest a way of linking theory and practice in the *Institutio* and reveal the dynamism of Quintilian's overlooked masterwork.

In 12.11.11 Quintilian names *voluntas* as the main quality on which being a good man (and thus being a good orator) depends (*Nam id quod prius quodque maius est, ut boni viri simus, voluntate maxime constat*). Further on he explains that nature's orientation of human beings toward goodness makes learning virtue easy for those who are willing (*volentibus*, 12.11.12). In this passage *voluntas* appears as a fixed disposition that determines a person's goodness. Quintilian corroborates the stability of *voluntas* in his discussion of the orator's prerogative to lie to the judge in order to make sure justice is truly accomplished. As long as the orator's *voluntas* is upright, he can legitimately "bend" his speech in order to achieve the good end he intends (*Quapropter ut res feret flectetur oratio, manente honesta voluntate*, 12.1.45). As the determiner of moral goodness, *voluntas* is an important factor in education as well. In the discussion of childhood education in Book One, Quintilian counsels a carefully balanced alternation of work and recreation in order to maximize the child's spontaneity and productivity "because enthusiasm for learning rests on will, which cannot be forced" (*quod studium discendi voluntate, quae cogi non potest, constat*, 1.3.8). Again *voluntas* appears as something fixed, with an emphasis on the need for the teacher to handle it carefully in order to ensure that the student will love learning and embark on the curricular journey with enthusiasm. Upright *voluntas* is the precondition for oratorical progress at any age, as Quintilian shows in 12.1.31 (*neque enim rectae voluntati serum est tempus ullum*). The prospective orator's firm commitment to oratorical-moral excellence undergirds the vigorous efforts that Quintilian's demanding curriculum requires of him.

As the final word of Book Twelve and of the entire *Institutio*, *voluntas* signals the role Quintilian wants his text to play in inspiring the student to embark on the educational endeavor. Quintilian's parting words declare that his work will produce "good will," if nothing else, in his zealous young readers (*si non magnam utilitatem adferet, at certe, quod magis petimus, bonam voluntatem*, 12.11.31). Quintilian's confidence that he can stir up *bona voluntas*—*voluntas* being the main part of goodness—is a claim of success for his enterprise of educating a genuinely good speaker. The ways in which he tries to produce good will (by encouraging students' love for their teacher and providing moral exhortation to spur readers to a new way of life) impart agency to the *Institutio* and its author—a far cry from the quixotic old schoolmaster that his critics have sometimes portrayed.

Title: Galen on Non-Rational Motivation and the Freedom from Emotions: A Reading of Affections of the Soul

Name: David H. Kaufman

Among Galen's most deeply held philosophical tenets is his commitment to a particularly robust form of tripartite Platonic psychology. In particular, he argues across a number of works that the non-rational parts of the soul, appetite and spirit, play an ineliminable and valuable role in adult human motivation, over and beyond reason. At the same time, he is also quite emphatic that we ought to free ourselves as far as possible from the emotions. While Galen's suggestion that we should cultivate 'freedom from emotion' (*apatheia*) might seem to sit uneasily with his view that the non-rational parts of the soul have a fundamental role to play in virtuous motivation, I believe that Galen's position makes excellent sense and helps to elucidate the way in which a Platonist might support the ideal of *apatheia*, without abandoning tripartite psychology. Moreover, as I show, appreciating the role that Galen assigns non-rational motivation in virtuous action helps to elucidate important aspects both of his ethical ideal of rational-control and his theory of the emotions. My talk will focus especially on Galen's ethical work *Affections of the Soul*, which is our most complete source both for his ideal of 'freedom from emotion' and for the positive role of non-rational motivation in virtuous action.

My talk begins by discussing the evidence for Galen's commitment to the ideal of *apatheia*. While this aspect of his psychological theory is most fully developed in *Affections of the Soul*, I argue that Galen also endorses the ideal of *apatheia* in several of his other ethical works, including notably *On the Doctrines of Plato and Hippocrates* and *On Freedom from Distress*. Although recent scholarship on Galen's moral psychology has tended to take his ideal of *apatheia* to be in tension with his tripartite psychological account, which gives appetite and spirit important roles in human motivation (Gill 2010, Hankinson 1993, and Singer 2013), in the second section I argue that his particular notion of *apatheia* makes quite good sense on the basis of his psychological theory. In particular, according to Galen, the key factor in determining whether an action is performed in an emotional or unemotional way is, I suggest, not whether non-rational motivation happens to be *involved* in it, but instead whether the action is performed *on the basis of* cool, unemotional reason or, instead, on the basis of the non-rational parts of the soul. Thus, if someone orders and eats a kale salad on the basis of their considered view that kale is especially healthy, then whether or not they *also* experience an appetitive desire, they order it *unemotionally* in Galen's sense of the term. Next, in the third and final section, I turn more directly to the crucial role that non-rational motivation plays both in ordinary activity and in virtuous action, according to Galen. As I show, despite his rejection of the emotions, he takes having sufficiently robust and well-ordered non-rational parts of the soul to play an important role in virtuous action. The talk concludes by briefly considering Galen's ideal of rational control and his view of its limitations.

Session 88: Archaic Poetics of Identity

Title: Intertextual Impersonation in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo

Name: Thomas James Nelson

In this paper, I highlight an unnoticed aspect of Homeric impersonation in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. I argue that the author of the poem establishes his Homeric pedigree through specific allusions to an established canon of Homeric epic, particularly the *Odyssey*. Rather than just offering evidence for the early development of Homer's biography, the hymn also attests to the early reception of his poems.

My discussion focuses on the famous appeal to the Delian maidens at *HhAp*.166-176, in which the hymnic poet asks the maidens to remember him as the blind man from Chios, pre-eminent in song. In the past, this passage has been much discussed as a locus for early Greek conceptions of literary history and poetic biography (e.g. Burkert 1979, 53-58; West 1999, 368-372; Graziosi 2002, 62-66; Spelman 2018). It is a highly self-referential passage, which focuses on the pleasures of poetry (*ἡδιστος*, *HhAp*.169; *τέρπεσθε*, *HhAp*.170) and constructs the Delian maidens as Muse-like figures (Nagy 2009, 284-285; 2011, 306-307). Within such a self-conscious setting, however, I argue that the passage also recalls key aspects of Homer's own poems.

First, I explore how both the poet and the anonymous stranger (with whom the maidens are imagined to converse) are presented in a highly Odyssean guise.

The stranger is *ταλαπείριος*, a word intimately tied to the Homeric Odysseus, an archetypal sufferer (*πολλὰ...πάθεν*, *Od.*1.4). The epithet never features in the *Iliad*, but its five Odyssean instances can all be related to the poem's protagonist as a long-suffering stranger and suppliant (*Od.*6.193, 7.24, 14.511, 17.84, 19.379). The adjective's use here thus has a distinctively Odyssean tinge; the maidens encounter an Odysseus *redux*.

In a similar manner, the hymnic poet also impersonates the Homeric Odysseus, ranging among the various cities of men (*στρεφόμεσθα πόλεις εὖ ναιετώσας*, *HhAp.*175 ~ *πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα*, *Od.*1.3; *πόλιός τ' ἐν ναιετώσας*, 8.574). If, moreover, we accept Thucydides' variant reading in verse 168 (*ἐνθάδ' ἀνείρηται ταλαπείριος ἄλλος ἐπελθόν*, *Thuc.*3.104.5; Sbardella 2012, 89-99), the poet will have presented himself too as a *ταλαπείριος* wanderer, just like his Odyssean hero. The 'Homeric' author of the hymn adopts the characteristics of his own epic character. I suggest that this parallelism builds off the Homeric tradition, in which Odysseus is already presented as a quasi-bardic figure and mirror for Homer himself (cf. Beck 2005; Kelly 2008, 178).

After exploring these Odyssean resonances, I expand my analysis by considering other, broader Homeric echoes in these verses, including words which point to a more martial and Iliadic tradition (such as *ἀριστεύουσιν*, *HhAp.*173): the poet is an Odyssean wanderer with an Iliadic armoury of song. Of course, at this early date, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were not the only songs attributed to the Chian bard (e.g. Wilamowitz 1884, 351-354; Burgess 2001, 8, 129-131), but these echoes suggest that already in the late sixth century, the pair (or at least the *Odyssey*) were especially prominent in the conception of the poet and his oeuvre.

To close, I ask what these allusions suggest about the state of the Homeric poems in the sixth century BCE (how 'fixed' a text do they presuppose?), and compare this case of allusive impersonation to later Virgilian pseudepigraphy, where similar strategies can be found (Peirano 2012). In sum, while looking forward to the speaker's future renown, this passage also looks backwards to an already established Homeric corpus – a conclusion that enriches our understanding of archaic Greek epic, Homeric reception and the functioning of allusion in the archaic age.

Title: Poetic Foundations on Delos: The Homeric Hymns to Apollo and Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*

Name: Amelia Margaret Bensch-Schaus

The longest of Callimachus' six hymns, the *Hymn to Delos* stands out as unusual, in large part because of its addressee. Instead of a god or goddess, Delos as both island and nymph receives the honor of the poet's song, and throughout the poem Callimachus exploits the slippage between place and personification in clever and often comic ways (Giuseppetti). Despite this major innovation, commentators such as Stephens and Ukleja consider this hymn to have the most straightforward antecedent among the *Homeric Hymns*, namely that to Apollo—or, more specifically, its Delian section. This paper argues that Callimachus' poem also incorporates the Pythian section of that same poem, treating it as the earliest reception of its first half. In this way, the latter half of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* becomes an intermediate link in the chain of reception, earlier than Pindar's treatment of the myth, which Depew and others have identified as the second most important intertext for Callimachus' work. Drawing out the allusions to the Pythian hymn is thus essential for appreciating the layers of reception that Callimachus constructs in his *Hymn to Delos*.

Early in his poem, Callimachus signals the importance of the Pythian material by focusing on Asteria, the nymph Delos was before Apollo, whose very name recalls the famous simile describing Apollo as a star in the second half of the *Homeric Hymn* (440-2). Later, Callimachus describes Hera's dual watchdogs, Ares stationed over the mainland and Iris over the islands, which neatly reflects the shift from island to mainland travels between the two parts of the *Homeric Hymn*. Once this Pythian presence is established, Callimachus integrates the Pythian poem by both strengthening and, occasionally, reversing how this second half interprets and develops its Delian themes. In either case, Callimachus includes subjects and approaches that are far more pronounced in the second half of

the *Homeric Hymn* than in its first half. For instance, while the Delian section strongly anticipates Apollo's pride and anger, these emotions are only realized in the Pythian section of the poem. Callimachus makes these traits even more prominent in Apollo's first speech *in utero*, which haughtily threatens Thebes with future violence. This same scene demonstrates the importance of prophecy to Callimachus' presentation of the god, since he performs it even before birth. In the *Homeric Hymn*, the Delian half mentions this aspect of the god's domain, but it is the Pythian half that brings this aspect to the fore as Apollo searches for the site of his most famous oracle. The Pythian section grows the seeds of Apollo's violence and prophecy planted in the earlier half of the poem, and Callimachus further cultivates these characteristics.

Less often, Callimachus reverses rather than intensifies themes that become more prominent in the second half of the *Homeric Hymn*. While Delos is granted some personification and agency in the first section, the Pythian half denies agency to Telphousa and personification to Delphi. Callimachus, on the other hand, delights in envisioning the corporality of the landscape as it flees Leto. Similarly in the *Homeric Hymn*, Delos employs slight manipulation to obtain greater honors, while Telphousa outright deceives Apollo to glorify herself (Miller). In the *Hymn to Delos*, however, both Peneius and Delos selflessly offer themselves up to the pregnant Leto at great personal risk. As Callimachus embodies his landscapes, he also makes them more altruistic. In these instances, Callimachus "corrects" the reception of the Delian material within the latter half of the poem. He is engaging with the Pythian section critically, alternately endorsing and challenging its interpretations of the earlier poem. Bing has shown the titular subject of the *Hymn to Delos* to be a metaphor for Callimachus' own poetry, and this paper demonstrates how indebted that poetry is to engagement with the Homeric corpus across multiple levels of reception.

Title: Sea Storms, Memory and Aristocratic Identity in Alc. Fr. 6 V
Name: Ippokratis Kantzios

The sea storm fragments of Alcaeus were perceived already from antiquity as carriers of metaphorical meaning (Heracl. *Alleg. Hom.* 5), and modern scholarship has followed suit, although with occasional dissent, e.g., Slater (1976: 161-70). Recently, Uhlig (2018: 63-92), too, has expressed skepticism about the political nature of Alcaeus' sea storms, suggesting that one should privilege "those features that can be discerned at the surface of the text and [should adopt] an interpretative disposition that situates symbolic meaning along, rather than against, the grain of the text." For Uhlig, Alcaeus' sea storms are just that: sea storms. Undoubtedly, the poet's islander listeners would have enjoyed songs about their adventures on the water, especially in the comfort of their banquet hall. But it is their familiarity with the sea that gives force to the metaphorical argument, as they would be able to grasp the lack of realism in the modes of behavior displayed in some of Alcaeus' sea storm poems. I will illustrate this point by discussing fr. 6 V.

In this poem, the sea-tossed crew, while fighting for dear life, receives no practical advice but instead exhortations shaped by the poet's aristocratic idiolect that place the *hetairoi* in a diachronic setting. And yet, Uhlig (2018: 88) finds nothing strange here: "There is nothing unusual in calling on young men to uphold the honor of those who have preceded them." True, but not when one is drowning. By attempting to transform each of the companions into a δόκιμος ἄνηρ ("trustworthy man", 12), Alcaeus encourages them to earn the approbation of the community, which, however, can be attained only if one acts worthily by the standards of the past. Ferrari and Pontani's (1996: 1-4) credible reconstruction of lines 17-8 (ἔοντε[ς ἔσθλοι] κάπ πατέρων μάθος / τῶν σφ[ῶν]) underlines this generational connection by indicating the transmission of aristocratic ἀρετή through μάθος. The *hetairoi* must learn from the example of their fathers, just as the latter learned in turn from their own fathers, cf. *Il.* 6.209, 444-6, 476-80. But education in military valor cannot bear fruit unless it is remembered. In fact, in Homer, ἀλκή is understood as a content of memory (Collins 1998: 78-125), and thus the degree of its recollection determines the warrior's stance in battle. It is unfortunate that in fr. 6 we no longer possess the genitive that accompanied μνάσθητε in line 11, but the immediate transition to a present situation that demands that the *hetairoi* act as δόκιμοι ἄνερες suggests that the missing deed was also a form of δοκιμασία which they passed successfully. By using "remember" (μνάσθητε) in the second plural imperative, Alcaeus momentarily distinguishes himself from his listeners and assumes an authoritative voice that invokes an important moment of the past and embodies the crucial tenets of the group. In fr. 6, μνημοσύνη informs the audience's sense of proper civic ethics throughout. For even beyond the first fourteen lines, at which point the text deteriorates significantly, the isolated words strongly suggest that Alcaeus urges his men to apply the lessons they have learned from their ἔσθλοι fathers by responding decisively to the challenges at hand (μοναρχίαν δ . [/ μ]ηδὲ δεκωμ[, 26-7). The cardinal points of self-identification here are identical to those in the explicitly political poems,

stemming, as a rule, from aristocratic memory. μνημοσύνη preserves the past by reenacting it through song, reinforces cohesion within the group, and inspires the *hetairoi* to become δόκιμοι ἄνερες in imitation of the ἔσθλοι τόκῆες. This Iliadic type of recollection, interlinked with αἰδώς (see μὴ καταισχύνωμεν, 13) and approbation by the community, is the basis of aristocratic ἀρετή that propels the struggle against the tyrants. But, while elsewhere Alcaeus adopts direct political language, in fr. 6, he uses an extended nautical metaphor, confident, I believe, that his audience of experienced sailors will understand that his sea storms have to do more with things on land than at sea.

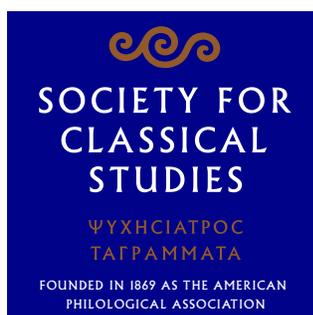
Title: Pindar's *Nemean 5* and the Problem of Aeginetan Descent from the Aiakidai

Name: Peter Moench

Pindar's Aeginetan odes constitute a striking subset of his epinicia, both for their sheer quantity (approximately a quarter of the corpus) and for their consistent focus on a single set of heroes, the Aiakidai. At the same time, as Stenger (2014) has recently stressed, Pindar's insistence on linking the Aiakidai with Aegina stands in stark contrast to the minimal time actually spent on the island by the heroes. In *Nemean 5*, the only Aiakid narrative set on Aegina comes to an abrupt end with a break-off alluding to the exile of Peleus and Telamon for the murder of their brother, Phokos (14-16). As Zunker (1988) argues, this exile myth reconciles Aegina's post-Homeric claim to be the homeland of Aiakos and his sons with the older mythic tradition that located Peleus and Achilles in Thessaly and Telamon and Ajax on Salamis (for the Aeginetan appropriation of Aiakos and his descendants, cf. Prinz [1979]). However, Stenger (2014) argues that this representation of the Aiakidai as "Aeginetans" abroad comes at the price of cutting off the possibility of the contemporary population claiming their local heroes as ancestors – otherwise the standard maneuver in the Greek world and particularly attractive to Pindar who tends to stress the hereditary nature of *aretē* (Rose [1974], Suárez de la Torre [2006]). While Stenger's interpretation follows Zunker (1988) and Burnett (2005), most scholars have continued to assume that Aeginetans did claim descent from the Aiakidai (e.g. Pavlou [2015], [2012], Polinskaya [2013], Athanassaki [2011], Pfeijffer [1999], Nagy [1990]).

My aim in this paper is twofold. First, since Stenger (2014) does not address the majority view in favor of Aeginetan Aiakid ancestry – nor have those who hold this view responded to its critics – I will briefly review the arguments on either side and contend that the skeptics have the stronger case. Second, I will suggest that *Nemean 5* is a crucial ode for both confirming this conclusion and for illustrating how Pindar responds to the challenge of this peculiar Aeginetan situation.

The evidence of *Nemean 5* at first seems contradictory. On the one hand, the ode highlights the exile of the Aiakidai from Aegina, thereby rupturing the continuity between Aeginetan past and present. On the other, in the transition in the final triad from the myth of Peleus's winning of Thetis back to the victories of the contemporary Aeginetan family, Pindar turns to his favored idea of hereditary excellence: Πότμος δὲ κρίνει συγγενῆς ἔργων πέρι | πάντων ("hereditary/inborn fate is decisive in all endeavors," 40-41). That this principle is meant to somehow link the human victors of this section to the Aiakid heroes is suggested by Pindar's subsequent statement that the *laudandus*'s maternal uncle, Euthymenes, "exalts the kindred host of that man [i.e. Peleus]" (ἀγάλλει κείνου ὁμόσπορον ἔθνος, 43). These three lines are the closest Pindar comes to representing contemporary Aeginetans as descendants of the Aiakidai and unsurprisingly that is how they have typically been read (e.g. Rose [1974], Pfeijffer [1999]). However, I will argue that they reflect instead Pindar's careful construction in the ode of a metaphorical Aeginetan family connected not by the descent of present-day inhabitants from the heroes but by the representation of Aegina herself as the common "mother-polis" to both groups. Here I build on the reading of Nash (1990) of the metaphorical significance of ματρόπολιν (8) in the proem. However, where Nash argues that Pindar thereby distinguishes the metaphorical kinship of his *laudandus*, Pytheas, with the heroes from his literal heredity (referred to in the gnome of lines 40-41), I argue that the poet subordinates the ode's various family relationships to the overarching family of the polis. In as much as all Aeginetans, past and present, are children of Aegina – regardless of how long they remained on the island – all can be viewed as one, closely knit family. Hence, *Nemean 5* presents a unique solution to the lack of Aiakid descent on Aegina.



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