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Ephemeris Vol. III

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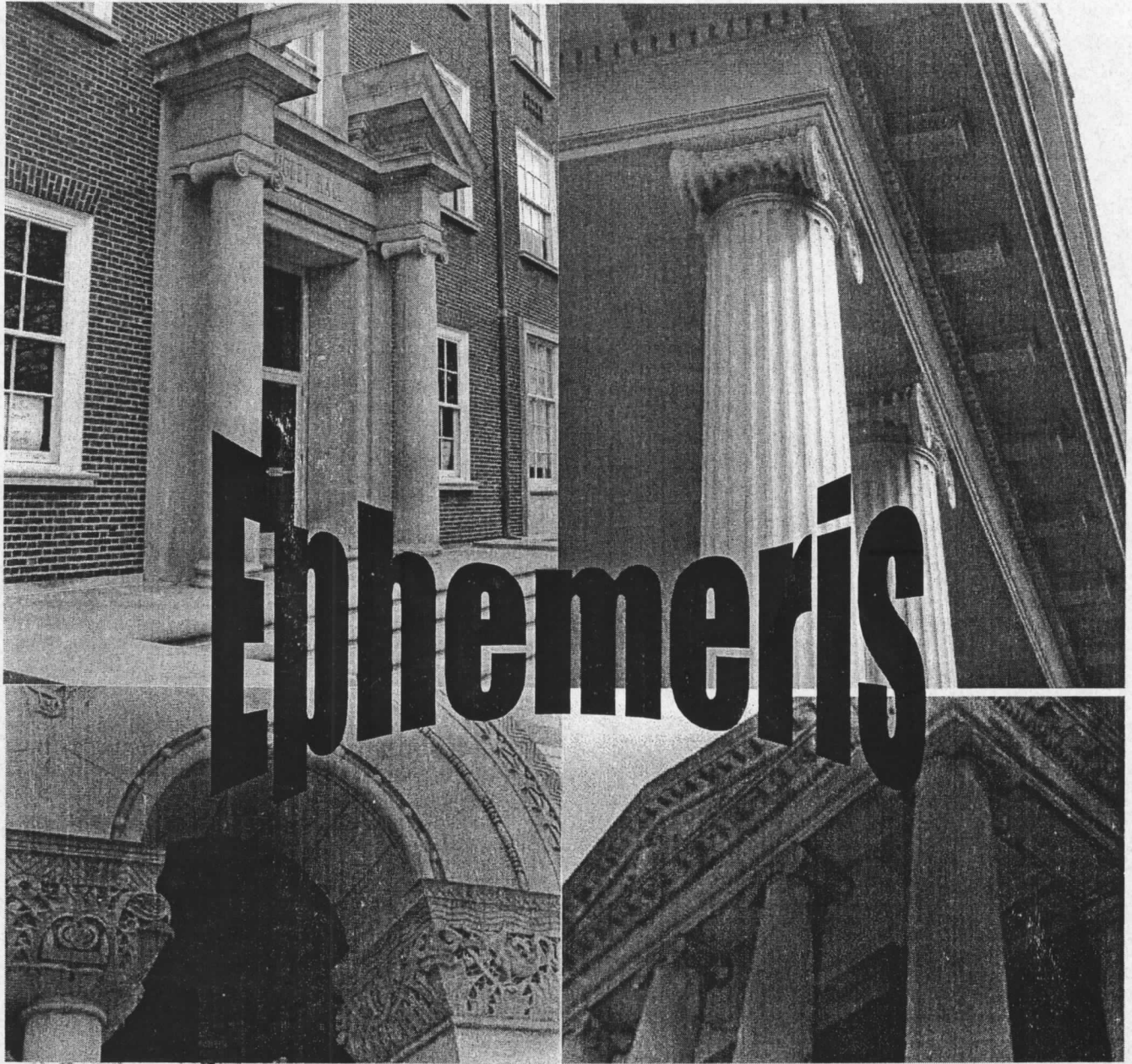
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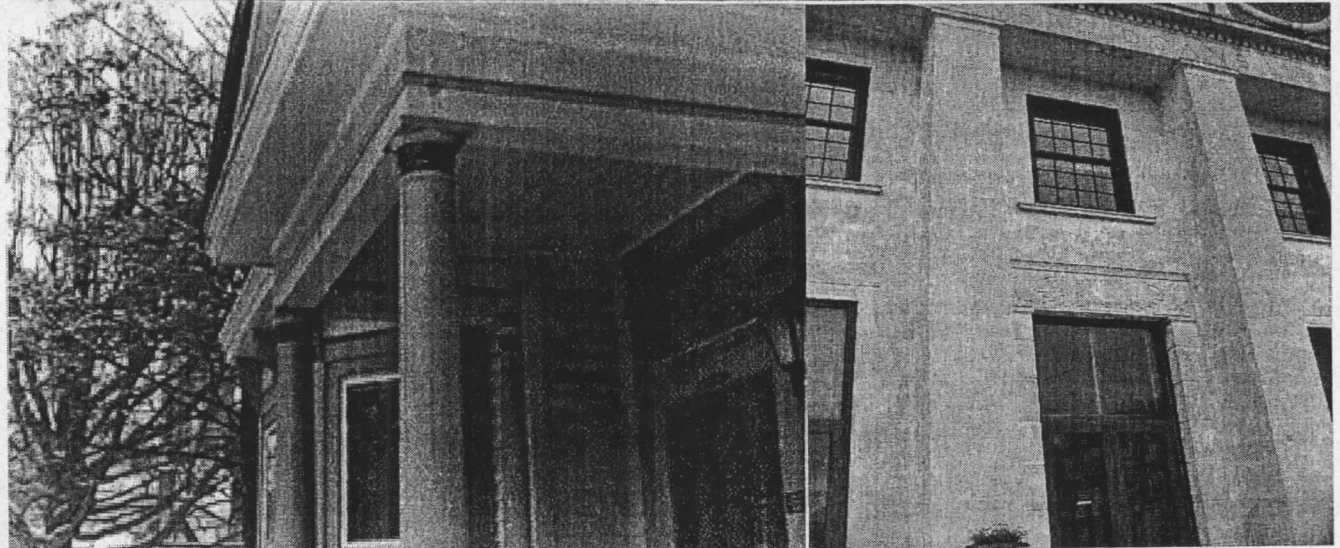
Ephemeris Vol. III

Authors

Melanie Vanderkolk, John Pyles, Betsy Prueter, Derek Mong, John Leebens, Larkin Kennedy, Charles Shonk, Lauren Haas, Jennifer Hart, Bob Wyllie, Matt Messmer, Michael Fronda PhD, and Garrett Jacobsen PhD



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Ephemeris, the Classical Journal of Denison University, is published twice a year and seeks to offer an opportunity for those interested in Classical studies to publish their scholarly work in an undergraduate forum. It promotes the coming together of history, literature, philosophy, religion, art, and architecture in a way that is both analytical and creative. As is an objective of the Classical Studies department, *Ephemeris* fosters an attitude about and an appreciation for criticism and interpretation of the Classical civilizations. It is our hope that students, faculty and staff are inspired to continue to cherish the fundamental principles established by the ancient societies.

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The editors wish to express gratitude and appreciation to the Classics Department at Denison University.

Cover Design by Betsy Prueter, Cari Ramsden and Melanie Vanderkolk

EPHEMERIS

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Letter from the President
Ludus—Spring 2003

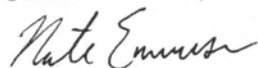
Greetings, *Ephemeris* readers, from Nate Emmerson, elected President of Ludus, Denison's classics club, and Eta Sigma Phi, the classics honorary for 2003. The 2002-2003 school year is Ludus/ΗΣΦ's first year as a student organization recognized and funded by DCGA. This funding opened up new worlds of possibilities for Ludus, and there has been much rejoicing.

In the beginning of November, Ludus funded a trip to the Cleveland Museum of Art, in which an exhibit entitled *Magna Graecia* was visiting at that time. The exhibit was comprised of Sicilian and southern Italian art, and was heartily enjoyed by all who attended. Hopefully, another similar trip will commence at some point in the spring semester, as well.

The spring's main event for Ludus was a lecture, "Artemisia, Warrior Princess," given by Dr. Barry Strauss, professor at Cornell University, heavyweight ancient historian, and scholar. Co-sponsored by Ludus, the Classics department, the History department, and Student Activities Council, it was very well attended: in the words of Dr. Strauss, only half joking, "We never would have gotten that many people for this sort of thing at Cornell." The lecture outlined Artemisia's role in the Persian army, especially at the battle of Salamis in 432 BC. Strauss also talked about the implications and peculiarities of having a woman not only fighting along side men in an ancient army, but actually commanding warships. Interesting and informative, the lecture was a huge success.

Although it is nearing the end of the year, Ludus always welcomes new members. If you would like to be put on the mailing list for Ludus, please send me an e-mail: emmers_n.

Until next time,



Nate Emmerson
2003 Ludus President

Loca Antiqua: Italia

By Melanie Vanderkolk

This May, eleven students from various disciplines will be taking part in *Loca Antiqua 2003: Italia*, a two-credit study abroad course. The trip will be 17 days long and will allow students to experience first hand historical sites and monuments that they have only read about and seen pictures of in books and in lectures. In essence, the ancient world will come alive and become a real experience for the first time.

Before students could begin packing, though, the Classics Department, the department in which the *Loca Antiqua* is run, has required students to take either the *Women in Antiquity* course, or the *Eternal City* course, both of which have been preparing students for the trip. Furthermore, students have been required to attend the joint meetings of the two courses to discuss joint readings regarding topics such as religion and history, and to ask/answer questions regarding the trip, as well required to finish a Final Project for either of the courses. This final project will aid each student with his/her Site Report, a presentation given at a site along the trip.

While most of the time will be spent in Rome, students and their professors, Drs. Jacobsen and Fronda of the Classics Department, will also make visits to Pompeii, Ravenna, and Florence. Once in the cities, trips will be made to the many fora, baths, churches, houses, temples, and triumphal monuments, all the while taking in the sights and sounds of the people. A final exam will take place on the Vatican Museum, San Pietro, and Citta di Vaticano.

One obvious concern for this year's trip has been the war in Iraq and its effects on the world. Though most have been confident throughout the semester that the trip would take place, the insecurity and instability of the world's political opinions has continued

to take a place in the back of everyone's minds. Dr. Fronda, who traveled to Italy over this year's Spring Break to research locations the students will visit, felt no more hostility towards the war than he did in his own neighborhood, comforting the minds of students and their families. What has also calmed worried parents has been the fact that the primary fighting in Iraq is finished.

Amidst the site-seeing and first hand learning, students are looking forward to taking in the fun that is sure to be offered when they have free afternoons. For many, though, true excitement is for getting the opportunity to study abroad and to add a stamp of unforgettable experience to their passports.

Beyond Olin: From Algorithms to Aeneas

By John Pyles

Life for a physics major is filled with numbers and Greek letters. In an area of study where laws govern experiments and fact rules over fiction, partaking in a Roman history class seemed out of the question. On the other hand, attending a liberal arts college means broadening one's horizons. The curiosity overtook my science-oriented mind and I decided to enlist. With the limited knowledge that Rome was not built in a day, I began my journey into the realm of classics.

Just as Pious Aeneas had done ages before, I set out from the friendly confines of home. Bringing with the trusty hearth gods from my former home (the messenger god TI-86, Maple god of math, and Quanta god of reality, I reached my destination in Fellows Hall. To my astonishment, the natives that inhabited this once glorious building had vast knowledge and a kindred spirit reminiscent of Ancient Rome. With new towering science buildings being constructed over their home, their faith in humanities was not lost. Unlike Aeneas, this journey was not to found the new Olin or to "scientize" campus, but to learn from an ancient society whose ideas remain in tact after 2000 years. Their fearless leader, Dr. Frondus Augustus Romulus, told of their ancient past. Great feats of construction and intellect prevailed. He told stories of constructing the Coliseum and read from the literary works of Virgil. He told of Aeneas and how noble soldiers spared the defeated. Yet the stories of this society still presented me with some controversial issues.

Their trusty spirit guide Aeneas presents many troubles to the scientific

mind. I often wondered how one man could survive in the Earth's core (i.e. the Great Greek Underworld described in Book VI). Surely the heat would melt him instantaneously. Another perplexing aspect remains his ability to carry his father over his shoulder while holding a bag of statues. Aeneas had many gods and the statues were of a metallic composition, the bag must have had a weight difficult for a human to carry. Also, with his father on his back, Aeneas must have found it difficult to move. Yet, he walked the four flights of stairs in Fellows Hall to found the new society. To test this theory, I place my physics books into my bag and attempt to make the journey. Although I am successful, the task leaves me weak and wary. This leaves doubts as to if Aeneas could have made the same journey. If he was able to complete this arduous task, he had to have been superhuman.

When the time came to return to Olin and report my experience, I felt that I gained new insights that made me a better student. Leaving this wonderful world was without a doubt a difficult decision. For a semester I got to see Greek letters being used in words and ideas rather than angles and wave functions. To me, the letters symbolized nothing more than an unknown in an equation, but to this society in Fellows Hall, it represents an entire language. By experiencing this realm in humanities, I brought back a greater appreciation for art and architecture and learned that columns on buildings can convey meanings I had never thought of before.

The Classical Architectural Tradition and its Influence on Denison University

By Betsy Prueter

Rome had fallen nearly 1400 years prior to Denison University's founding in 1831. But its influence is remarkably strong on our small college atop the hill. It might come as a surprise to many of us that there could be any connection between a flourishing ancient empire and our own "Denison bubble." But Classical influence is everywhere and the editors of *Ephemeris*, as part of our mission and goal, not only want to expose our readers to the civilizations that laid the foundations for our own western culture, but also introduce them to the elements of Denison that would not have been possible without the architectural and engineering genius of the ancients. The Classics are alive and evidence of their long lasting ability to shape our culture is clear from the structural design of Denison.

First and foremost, we would like to draw your attention to the very substance of all residence halls and academic buildings, concrete. Romans invented it. In designing their cities, ancient architects discovered a way to mix rubble and mortar that was composed of a kind of volcanic earth known as pozzolana. It bound around the rubble and set into a hard mass, like modern cement, and its properties were responsible for much of the success of Roman architects in building vaulted structures. In a pre-modern society, this was an outstanding technological advance. What the Romans were able to do with cement resulted in feats of architecture unlike any ever seen and still unimproved upon to this day.

Concrete lays the basis for most of the construction of our campus (pun intended). But more detailed aspects of particular buildings bring our ancient parallels even closer. Buildings such as Gilpatrick, Swasey, Doane Administration building, Higley, Doane Library, several

residence halls and Barney all exhibit Romanesque architectural features (see cover). Primarily, the classical evidence is represented through the use of columns and pediments. There are three "orders" of capitals, all of which are displayed at Denison. Careful examination of Gilpatrick Honors Center will reveal the use of Doric columns, recognizable by their stately and plain appearance. Symmetrical, as most Roman architecture was known to be, Doric columns were a sign of potency and power in Roman symbology. Associated with stability, they were meant to represent solidity and strength. The Doric capitals are very stoic in nature representing a characteristic conservative style.

An ancient author, Vitruvius, wrote an entire treatise on ancient architecture in the first century BC. An architect himself, his works have been influential on architects and their designs for centuries. It is from him that we receive insight concerning the application and usage of our three orders of columns. Evidently, the temples of figures such as Hercules, Minerva and Mars were adorned with Doric columns "since the virile strength of these gods makes daintiness entirely inappropriate to their houses" (Vitruvius, Bk 1, Ch 2). The Honors Center is not the only building that boasts of might and vigor. Residence halls, including Shaw, Huffman and East all front Doric capitals beneath their broken pediments. The pediment is the triangular feature atop the columns that would normally include additional elements such as relief sculpture or design. The influence is undoubtedly Classical. Doane Library, Barney-Davis and Higley Hall all exhibit Doric columns though the library and Barney's are more relief from the outside wall. Higley is designed much like the residence halls that

illustrate a broken pediment to allow for a center window.

Ionic capitals were the next to become prevalent in the Roman Empire. Beth Eden (home of Admissions and Financial aide) and Swasey Chapel both feature ionic capitals. The Ionic order is most easily recognized by the spiraled segments on either side of the column. According to Vitruvius, Ionic capitals were utilized on the temples of Juno, Diana and Bacchus because they displayed the proper amount of severity in combination with delicacy appropriate to these gods and goddesses. Furthermore, Ionic shafts were more slender in nature than the Doric and their capitals were viewed by the Romans as more feminine.

Finally, the Corinthian order dominated the Roman Empire. The last to appear chronologically, the style is often described as a combination of both Doric and Ionic to form a much more prosperous and elaborate look to complement the social climate at the height of Rome's power and influence. Vitruvius comments that these capitals could be seen on the temples of Venus, Flora, Proserpine and the Nymphs because of the graceful nature of the divinities and its "rather slender outlines, its flowers, leaves and ornamental volutes will lend propriety where it is due." Doane Administration building, though not *exactly* a model of the Corinthian order, is very similar to the style and purpose of the original Corinthian models. In fact, the very nature of Corinthian capitals is one of mutability and adaptation. There were many versions of a Corinthian capital during the empire and beyond. Note that the ornate aspects of the Corinthian capitals contrasts sharply with the seriousness of the Doric capitals and the moderation of the Ionic. Denison's classical influence goes far beyond simple capitals and pediments. An

in-depth study would involve investigation of layout designs, blueprints for the quads and examination of other architectural features such as vaults, porticos and domes. But that is for another time. As for now, take a moment to absorb the abundance of antiquity on a campus thriving over a millennium later.

*Glorifying the Captive at Caesar's Expense:
Horace's Odes I.37 and Ovid's Amores I.2*

By Derek Mong

Then came the day of the great conflict, on which Caesar and Anthony led out their fleets and fought, the one for the safety of the world, the other for its ruin.... When the conflict began, on the one side was everything— commander, rowers, and soldiers; on the other side, soldiers alone. Cleopatra took the initiative in the flight; Anthony chose to be the companion of the fleeing queen rather than of his fighting soldiers.... The following year Caesar followed Cleopatra and Anthony to Alexandria and there put the finishing touch to the civil wars. Anthony promptly ended his life, thus by his death redeeming himself from the many charges of lack of manliness. As for Cleopatra, eluding the vigilance of her guards she caused an asp to be smuggled in to her, and ended her life by its venomous sting. (Naphtali and Reinhold 328)

Despite his unadulterated support for Octavian, historical inaccuracies, and propagandist style, Vellius Paterculus does capture the storybook zeal surrounding the battle of Actium (31 BCE). Octavian probably didn't pursue his enemies in person, and Cleopatra's asps might well be apocryphal. Some authors claim she "tried to kill herself first by a dagger, then by hunger strike," and could have, in the end, simply been murdered by Roman guards (Nisbet and Hubbard 409-10). Nevertheless, Actium marks a historical turning point: Octavian fights his way to the throne and the title "Caesar Augustus," the snakes find their way into Western lore, and poets mark the occasion in song. A veritable hit list of

Golden age *vates* mention either Cleopatra, Actium, or its aftermath; most exalt the victory. In the eleventh poem from his third book, Propertius honors the battle's four-year anniversary with a nod to soldiers and sailors alike. He speaks in patriotic tones, noting Cleopatra's death, slandering her life, before asking the reader to remember Caesar. Similarly, Vergil commemorates Actium on Aeneas' shield in the eighth book of *The Aeneid* (about lines 675-715). These examples, however, do little to question Actium or its outcome. As is the case in America today, dissenting parties were not judged kindly. Thus many lowered their voices, but some did not go silent. Two subversive perspectives exist, from one likely, and one unlikely source. They are Ovid's *Amores* I.2 and Horace's *Odes* I.37, respectively. Both poems undercut Caesar's might, and each time a captured victim does the undercutting. Horace uses Cleopatra and her stoic death to imply a *limena* to Caesar's power. When she dies nobly (*nec muliebriter*) his parade loses its main attraction. Ovid too, having witnessed the *pompae* of the day, writes himself as Cupid's latest victim (*tua sum nova praeda, Cupido*, line 19) paraded through the streets. A final couplet, some creative genealogy, and the military diction inform us that the poem's as much about conquest as it is about Amor. Thus Ovid also questions Rome's recent power shift. That his technique is both similar to and utterly different from Horace's reflects the poets' similar skills and different approaches.

We begin with Horace, whose *Odes* likely preceded the *Amores*, published in three books around 23 BCE (Ferry ix). Poem I.37 sits one slot from the end of book one, and thus suffers from being less positionally significant than some scholars

would like. There is, naturally, critical disagreement as to Horace's intentions with I.37. Should one read it plainly as Roman propaganda or subversively as un-Augustan? Lyne writes that, "Some of us do not regard this as Horace at his best. In fact the lines demonstrate some of the faults which direct celebratory narrative leads one into" (42). That *Odes* I.37 would be dismissed as "celebratory" or narrowly triumphant ignores the shift Horace makes three stanzas from the end. From that point on, the emotional weight resides in *vultu sereno*, Cleopatra's stoic (and thus masculine) demeanor, as opposed to the *bibendum*. It is this drinking that Lyne reads, and though it's certainly a celebration, Horace does not write of celebration alone. On the contrary, he uses the initial *convivia* and *bibendum* to contrast Cleopatra's final drink: *atrum corpore combiberet venenum* (lines. 27-28). He treats the latter with a solemnity that rivals the former's festivity. Horace begins:

Nunc est bibendum, nunc
pede libero pulsanda tellus,
nunc Saliaribus ornare
pulvinar deorum tempus erat
dapibus, sodales.
Antehac nefas depromere
Caecubum rellis avitis, dum
Capitolio
regina dementis ruinas,
funus et imperio parabat
(lines 1-8)

At first the poem seems a continuation of I.36. Both include drinking, dancing, and friends. The collections of people even share a common noun, *sodalis*: mates, fellows, comrades (line 5 in I.36, line 4 in I.37). Horace also implies anticipation, as if a long wait has finally ended. Thus the reason that *Caecubum* wine, "regarded by some connoisseurs as the best wine of all," has left its *cellis avitis* (Nisbet and Hubbard 412). The storage is not coincidental. Cleopatra's defeat is a special occasion.

Time to drink and roll out the *pulvinar*. However, with a poet who's often labelled *ebrius* himself, who connects *vina liques* with *carpe diem* (I.11.6-8), it's likely the drinking's both literal and metaphoric. For instance, if one examines the list of modifiers Horace applies to Cleopatra we find her just as drunk as the *sodales*, drunk with power. They are *dementis* (7), *inpotens* (10), *furorem* (12), and *lymphatam Mareotico* (14) (Commager 91) as well as *fortunaque dulci ebria* (11-12). The final adjective and ablative seal the comparison, showing the cause of Cleopatra's anger: inebriation, though not of good wine "from Fundi in a reassuring countryside in Latium" but instead her own "vile Mareotic" (Nisbet and Hubbard 412). Only Horace would make such a distinction. If charted in three parts, I.37 would now look like this: 1) happy drunken revelers celebrating the defeat of 2) angry drunken enemies, followed by... what? This, I would contend, is where Lyne misreads I.37. This is where "We move from Cleopatra's drunken illusions to her steady-eyed draught of reality, from a public Roman triumph to an individual Egyptian one" (Commager 91). The third step is stoic defiance, suicide, and a stand against Caesar.

The shift occurs on line 21, the caesura and sentences separating the angry Cleopatra from the stoic Cleopatra. The line itself contains two drastically dissimilar descriptions applied to one person. Horace uses *fatale monstrum*, followed by *quae generosius*. The former combines "'fateful portent,' 'deadly monster,' and *femme fatale*" (Oliensis 138). The latter sounds almost aristocratic or Roman: "well-born" or "of good stock". What has changed? Simply this, that she's decided to kill herself, which, judging from its popularity among the accused and condemned, was regarded as noble. By highlighting the *fortis* of this act (though it may be a singularly

masculine and Roman *fortis*), Horace undercuts Caesar's power to control others. Even in defeat Cleopatra maintains an autonomy and *ferocior* nature that Caesar cannot steal. This last gesture and defiance only appears greater in the face of 1) the *sodales* drunkenness and 2) Cleopatra's initial drunken power. Again Horace uses diction to draw the three under a mutual lens. He writes "fortis et asperas/ tractare serpentes, ut atrum/ corpore conbiberet venenum," (26-28). Not only does the alcaic meter draw out the long syllables of *serpentes*, emphasizing the snake-like sibilants, but the word *conbiberet* echoes the *bibendum* of line one. It is, of course an unusual word to use for an asp's poison (she's not really drinking it), but that's precisely the point, an intentional look-back to the prior stages of drinking. Now Cleopatra's drunk on her own defiance, her final contempt for Caesar. This is precisely how Horace wants her judged. Thus the final *superbo... triumpho* doesn't merely invoke the victory parade she avoids, but the triumph she herself attains. As Commager writes, "She celebrates a triumph as surely as do the Romans, and her drink to yesterday is no less splendid than their toast to tomorrow" (91).

Ovid's *Amores* I.2 both chronologically and thematically begins where Horace leaves off. We are told by Ovid himself that he began the *Amores* when he'd cut his beard once or twice, and continued composition "from about the age of eighteen to perhaps his late twenties" (Barsby 14). This follows the *Odes*, published in the year of Ovid's twentieth birthday. Considering Ovid's extensive *Amores* revisions, it's safe to say I.2, as we know it today, followed and was influenced by *Odes* I.37. Similarly, Ovid's captured lover (i.e. "himself" or *nova praeda*), marches the streets in subjugation, the exact fate Cleopatra avoided. If Caesar really did promise her and her armies "pardon and

their lives before they could bring themselves to sue for these," as Paterculus writes, then they'd occupy the same position that Ovid as lover does in I.2 (Naphtali and Reinhold 328). By not surrendering they undermine Caesar, and yet in a parade of surrendered lovers Ovid also undermines Caesar. How?

We look to the poem for an answer, beginning where it ends:

Ergo cum possim sacri pars
esse triumphi,
Parce tuas in me perdere
victor opes.
aspice cognati felicia
Caesaris arma:
qua vicit, victos protegit ille
manu. (48-52)

Already diction alludes to Cleopatra and Caesar's treatment of prisoners. The *sacri pars... triumphi* recalls the *triumpho* of I.37, while the *victos protegit ille manu* refers to a trick of the Emperor's supposed good favor: "protect" the defeated enemy and you've an ally/puppet for life. This was the role Cleopatra denied Octavian and Ovid embraced for Cupid. As he says in line ten: "cedamus: leve fit, quod bene fertur, onus" (let us surrender, a weight which is endured well becomes light). However, I wouldn't be writing this paper if Cleopatra's nobility and Ovid's surrender were mutually exclusive. In the second to last line of the poem Ovid instructs Cupid to *aspice cognati felicia Caesaris arma*, or behold the fair armies of kinsman Caesar. This instruction asks Cupid to follow the example of the new Emperor, and in essence equates Cupid to Caesar. A little genealogy makes this more apparent.

According to Vergil, Trojan Aeneas sprang from his father Anchises and mother Venus. Thus his blood is half deity and his race something greater. Caesar is supposed to trace his blood back to the Julian *gens*, from Iulus, the son of Aeneas. Cupid's

mother is Venus. That Ovid has heard the *Aeneid* is readily apparent from the *Amores*. The first line is, of course, reminiscent of Vergil's invocation to the muse: "Arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam" (I.1.1). Further connections to Vergil may exist. Hofstaedter argues that the last couplet of I.1 that begins, "*cingere litorea flaventia tempora myrto*" alludes to Vergil's *Georgics* I.28, "*accipat cingens materna tempora myrto*" (55). This seems particularly important considering the context of the Vergil line:

The line from the *Georgics* occurs near the end of the poem where the poet addresses Caesar Augustus (v.25) and says that the earth shall receive Caesar and bind his head with his maternal myrtle.... The maternal myrtle refers to the myrtle which was sacred to Venus who was the ancestress of the Julian *gens*. (55-56)

This similarity makes it clear that Ovid's 1) conscious of Vergil while writing the *Amores*, 2) linking, through blood, Cupid's actions in I.2 to Caesar's actions throughout the empire, and 3) perhaps not as staunch a patriot and aristocrat as Vergil. Ovid will always mock before he will march, unless of course, that march involves mocking (i.e. I.2). As Hofstaedter writes, "These reminiscences of Vergil at the two emphatic positions on the poem [*Amores* I.1], the beginning and end, might be the poet's declaration that he is not going to write the "official" type of poetry of a Vergil" (footnote, 55).

This becomes increasingly plausible as we attribute Cupid's actions in I.2 to Caesar. These actions take up a large section of the poem (lines 23-48) and are "indeed disproportionate to the total length of the poem, as if for Ovid it constitutes the

main interest" (Barsby 47). He begins the section with familial references to Cupid and perhaps a nod to *Odes* I.37:

necte coman myrto, maternas
iunge columbas; qui deceat,
currum vitricus ipse dabit
inque dato curru, populo
clamante triumphum, stabis
et adiunctas arte movebis
aves. (23-26)

Not only does Ovid remind his captor that his stepfather must provide the victory chariot (line 24), but he then depicts that chariot as harnessed with *columbae* or doves. Though this may suit Cupid, it's hardly the parade of an Emperor, if not the opposite. Horace depicts Cleopatra, the chased one, as a dove in I.37: "*accipiter velut mollis columbras*" (17-18). To have the doves lead may be a conscious inversion by Ovid. The more biting jabs, however, are yet to come:

Mens Bona ducetur manibus
post terga retorti et Pudor et
castris quidquid Amoris
obest.

omnia te metuent, ad te sua
bracchia tendens volgus 'io'
magna voce 'trumphe' canet.
Blanditiae comites tibi erunt
Errorque Furorque, adsidue
partes turba secuta tuas. his tu
militibus superas hominesque
deosque; haec tibi si demas
commoda, nudus eris. (31-38)

Now Ovid's insults take the form of allegory, as Cupid (i.e. Caesar) binds the positive characters traits in chains, while the negatives ones accompany the parade. Both *Mens Bona* and *Pudor* (Good Sense and Modesty/Chastity) are tied up and lead away with the other *capti iuvenes captaque puellae* (line 27). Furthermore, anyone who opposes the *castris...* *Amoris* finds themselves equally subjugated. Ovid's in

line 32, and throughout the rest of the poem, tightens the connection to Caesar. *Castra* are, of course, military camps, and although Latin love elegists utilize the *miles Amoris* as a common analogy (see *Amores* I.9), its use here resonates beyond the cliché. Examine lines 37-38. Here Ovid uses the *miles Amoris* to highlight where a monarch's real power rests: his or her army. If Cupid and Caesar can surpass both *homines* and *deos*, then they're inversely weak when they've lost that *commoda*. In fact they're *nudus*, and for once in Ovid that doesn't sound like a good thing. The implication's damn subversive. Caesar's power doesn't derive from the Julian *gens*, but merely from those who've been convinced to die in his name. As Ovid notes they're not in the greatest company. Both *Error* and *Furor* join Cupid/Caesar as *Blanditiae comites*. They stand as "coaxing companions" or "pandering comrades", depending on the translation; they are Caesar's Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, and they arrive with questionable motives. They are friends brought by fear, for as Ovid keenly points out, *omnia te metuent*: everyone fears Caesar and thus sings "Io triumphe" not out of love, but out of necessity.

What finally separates *Amores* I.2 from *Odes* I.37, making the former a far more subversive work than Horace, lies deeper below the text's surface than genealogy and philology can take us. It regards the nature of Octavian's *pompa* and the posturing Ovid does as a lover, poet, and love poet. It's obvious that the post-Actium celebrations were state sponsored events, political propaganda on the home front. "Octavian claimed, and the world believed him, that he wished to see Cleopatra paraded at his triumph. Such a petty spectacle would gratify his partisans" (Nisbet and Hubbard 409). Those "petty spectacles" were essentially constructed things, orchestrated by the state to elicit support. The similarity

between this construction and the construction of a poem does not escape Ovid. As we've seen throughout the *Amores*, Ovid remains consistently conscious of his status as a poet, as an elegist, and the malleable power that entails. *Amores* I.15 testifies to this claim. Thus we do not stretch the text's limits when we credit Ovid with consciously arranging the procession of I.2, and effectively placing himself in an imperial position. In the end it is Ovid who provides the chariots, the doves, and the crowds of I.2, and he does so through writing. Granted he also plays a part in the drama, but that's precisely the short of detachment we expect from Ovid. He will be both lover and poet, and yet neither in earnest at the same time. His posturing and frivolity lead him down many paths, and in I.2 the path's lined with gold. When it's all over, Ovid is Caesar.

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The Pompeian "Triangular" Forum and Theater Complex

By John Leebens

Abutting the original foundation walls of the Oscan town of Pompeii to the southeast was an open space now called the "Triangular" Forum that was dominated from the beginning by a large 6th century Doric temple. The temple would have buildings built around it ranging from a *gymnasia*, to a Temple, to the conglomerate Egyptian god Isis. While varying widely, this section of Pompeii is called the Theater Complex and was meant to serve the social and educational needs of all the denizens. The successive periods of Oscan, Greek, Etruscan and finally Roman influence changed and molded this section of town over seven to eight centuries until the fateful day of August 24, 79 A.D.

The Triangular Forum and surrounding space evolved over time. The Forum was not the central business area but served the leisure and sport of the city. It consisted of the area that would have been considered either the *arx* or *acropolis*, which jutted out above the surrounding area. Initially, all that stood in the area was a 6th century Doric Greek temple made of regional limestone and brown tufa, with a *podium* that was accessible from all four sides.¹ It was the oldest building in Pompeii in 79 A.D. but had not been refurbished in many years. It is interesting that it had not been converted to a temple for a Roman deity because of its age and grandeur or destroyed outright, but by the time of the eruption, it was in a state of disrepair.

Doric porticoes on the east eventually regularized the open space around the temple and northern sides during the massive building period of the second century B.C., which left a beautiful view far out into the Bay of Naples. Also during this period a monumental Ionic *propylaeum* was built at the pinnacle of the forum to draw

attention, act as a main entrance to the forum itself, and the surround complex.² Also running parallel to the eastern row of portico was a low wall that could have acted as a divider for an undersized stadium.³ The porticoes had not been repaired since the earthquake of 63, leaving a dilapidated look to excavators. While not very impressive, the buildings that worked in corresponding space directly to the east made the Triangular Forum a special social area for people of all statuses.

Off of the Triangular Forum was an eastern staircase east that led into the back of the large or grand theater. This large theater was impressive from its beginning in the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. during the massive Samnite building period that typified this area of town, but experts are unsure of the original size of the *cavea* because of the extensions that the Holconii family dedicated in 3/2 B.C., which made the seating somewhere around 5,000 and made the theater have a Roman air.⁴ Marcus Holconius Rufus was the leading citizen of Pompeii during Augustus' reign and was the main donor for the marble faced *tribunalia* and *crypta* built for the dregs of society so that they could view the plays but be kept separate from the rest of the citizens. He received a seat in the front row because of this.⁵

After seeing a play a citizen could venture to the small theater or *odeum* next door to hear a reading or concert. This was a much smaller theater, but it was covered, begun very early in the city's history and pre-dating any of its type in Rome or the surrounding area. Campania was more cultured at an earlier date than Rome

² Westfall

³ Zanker p.48

⁴ Zanker pp.44,45,107

⁵ Zanker p. 113

¹ Carrington p.124

because of the heavy Greek influence during the 6th through 4th centuries B.C.¹

To the south of the large theater was a large open area with seventy-four Doric columns. This was a sizable *paleastra* made during the 2nd century building of the Samnites. Initially thought to be a walking area during intermissions at the theaters, it seems to be separated by the fact that it is off-center from the theaters and was built at a later date with a different building style. It is now guessed that this area was a Greek style *gymnasia* where young men and boys would go to learn the physical part of their education, which I tend to believe. Zanker states that this was a focal point of the town for the "better" youth because "given these cities' lack of political power... the gymnasium became the cornerstone of these societies' Greek history."² In the Roman period this area had sleeping quarters put in surrounding the columns. These could have served many purposes, but it is suggested that it could have served as a gladiatorial area under the Romans. Gladiator equipment was found in one room, but I am skeptical of this interpretation because of the idea of training would make this just a storeroom.³ Additionally, there was a *palaestra* for gladiatorial training near the amphitheater on the east side of town.

After exercise, the citizen could visit the smaller Samnite *paleastra* north of the large theater passive back into Triangular Forum and then through an open area. This could have been a *gymnasia* for younger boys or as a club hang out area. In comparison, it is very small to the other *palaestra*. I do not understand how any exercise could be had in this small area for more than a small handful at a time, even if short sprints were done in the mini *cursus* in the Forum. This makes me think it would be

more of a social area, possibly for the theater or Forum overspill.⁴

The citizen could have his afternoon bath across the Via dell'Abbondanza at the oldest baths in Pompeii, the Stabian Baths, starting over a hundred years before you could have a public bath in Rome. The Stabian Baths are technically outside the theater complex, but are only a literal jump across the raised walking stones of the Via because it did not have any drains.⁵ The bath was one of the few buildings that was completely repaired after the earthquake of 63, when it was refurbished in more of a Roman style replacing the Greek with a *hypocaust* system and resurfacing the interior with mosaics, marble and tufa.

Cena was then had at a banquet hall in either the Temple of Zeus Meilichios (or Asclepius) or Isis along with the daily rituals. Both were originally from before the refounding of the colony by Sulla, but Isis took over for some other deity during the late Republic soon after Octavian took Egypt. Because of their small physical size they were available to cult members only. The important point about these temples is that they became very popular during Augustus' reign. The Temple of Isis was completely restored after the earthquake and was in the best condition of any of the temples in town found so far. The Temple of Asclepius actually took over as the place of worship for the Capitoline triad while the *Capitolia* was being repaired, which after seventeen years was not finished.⁶

One interesting fact is that the Temple of Isis was dedicated in the name of a six-year-old son of a former slave named N. Popidius Ampliatus, who, because of his magnanimous giving, got his son placed in the senate of Pompeii. This way he already obtained for his son what he could never

¹ Carrington pp. 46,48

² Zanker p. 46

³ Perkins and Claridge p.88,89

⁴ Zanker p.49

⁵ Zanker pp. 68,128

⁶ Perkins and Claridge p.83,84; Zanker p.52

obtain because of his former slave status. The temple was in excellent condition because the cult was popular with the rich. This shows that foreign religions were becoming more important in the Roman Empire during its formative years, almost to the negligence of other temples and cults like *Augusta Fortuna*. It is obvious that Rome did not have authoritarian power over religion, and that the people actually invited foreign religion in with welcome arms.¹

As the Romans consolidated power, especially under Augustus, Pompeii succumbed to Roman influence. The aristocracy started to demand creature comforts in greater supply, and, as political life expanded, ostentatious building helped meet these desires for social areas and buildings. After the Samnite Wars of the third century B.C. when Pompeii and the rest of Campania came under Roman treaty, a building spree occurred. All of the buildings in the theater complex were built between 250 and 80 B.C., except for the ancient Doric temple and the small covered theater that was built in the 70s B.C.

Greek and Oscan influence shaped the buildings in Pompeii during this period. However, the Roman characteristics of buildings became prevalent as the power of Rome grew, demonstrated by the Temple of Isis, the large theater, and the Stabian baths just across the street. The buildings were kept up by individual patronage on a grand scale not seen before. M. Horcotius Rufus became a figure in Pompeii almost like that of Augustus in Rome, earning offices and awards including *patronus coloniae*, through his wealth and donations to buildings. At the time the larger theater near the Triangular Forum was in a sad state because no one had repaired it in years.²

The Triangular Forum and the buildings that were associated with it were

from different time periods and in varied states of repair yet put forth a coherent picture of what social life in Pompeii was like. By ignoring the old Doric temple in the Forum itself, but completely overhauling the Temple of Isis, we see foreign religion imported by the Romans move out older influences in an evolutionary process that occurs in every city. While it was originally outside the city, the Triangular Forum was quickly incorporated and over time built up to be the social center of the city while the main Forum was surrounded by basilicas and markets for business.

Pompeii had been bounced around between the Etruscan, Oscan, and Greek cultures before Rome took hold. Rome's influence and the political system that it promoted made it similar to developments in other cities. However, Pompeii still retained some degree of autonomy culturally. The fact that the royal cult building went into disarray while the Stabian baths were upgraded and the *gymnasia* were fully repaired show how Pompeians and especially the important patrons had more to do with the building projects than anything else. Whoever had the money decided what was built or refinished.

Another aspect was that there were baths and theaters in Pompeii long before there was anything like that Rome. Pompeii had the Stabian baths over a hundred years before Agrippa built his baths in Rome in 19 B.C. The large stone theater was not matched in Rome until Pompey the Great built his complex, but this was also over a hundred years after Pompeii. The Greek culture had infused these buildings as necessary in the Campania area and predated Roman buildings like the *basilicae* of Cosa. A copy of the smaller covered theater also shows up later built by Agrippa in Athens several generations after it appeared in Pompeii.³ This shows the trend that in some

¹ Zanker p. 53

² Zanker p. 109

³ Tomlinson p. 181

cases the colonies and provinces could be ahead of Rome for monumental architecture and culture.

The Triangular Forum and the immediate surrounding area are a perspective of social life in the early *pax Romana*. These buildings show how patronage, culture, and demand worked together to produce unique buildings that filled the societal standards for living in a period of individual building projects.

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The End of Oracles

By Larkin Kennedy

Christianity did not begin in a vacuum. For hundreds of years, Christians and pagans lived side by side, sometimes peaceably and sometimes not, and there was no abrupt paradigm shift from paganism to Christianity. Christianity did not fill an already vacated pedestal. Much of Christian theology is based on fundamentally pagan philosophy; the first Apologists, or defenders of the developing Church, used Neo-Platonism to validate their beliefs. In order to make the new religion make sense to and be accepted by the people, the Christians absorbed many classical rituals, and many pagan traditions could find a mirror in Christian customs. There was a very powerful incentive to keep a sense of continuity in place so that the new religion would continue to accumulate converts, and to ensure that there were no large philosophical problems separating pagan and Christian ideals so far that the jump from the one to the other would have been inconceivable. In that case, the question arises of what happened to the oracles. After all, oracles had existed as a major political and especially social force for hundreds of years. Delphi dictated state procedure to much of the Mediterranean for almost three hundred years, and before becoming a major influence on state decisions, the hundreds of small oracles throughout Greece and parts of Italy that were used for petty advice give evidence to the influence of oracles on the popular mind. Yet, the "Christian oracle" never became a widespread convention. Early Christian fathers viciously attacked the oracles, calling into doubt their validity along with their morality. Some scholars, however, do see a continuity of sorts between oracles and the holy man of late antiquity. They argue the Holy Man provided the same sorts of guidance people

used to go to the oracles to obtain, and that, like the oracle, the Holy Man would get their authority directly from God. Other scholars might argue the function of oracles more closely resemble that of Christian and Jewish holy books. In this paper, I argue that as states began to monopolize oracles, taking them away from their belief center among the people, a sort of vacuum opened up in which the local people looked to any possible source for their spiritual guidance. Into this space the saint and the holy man of antiquity quietly stepped, offering a spiritual patron for the majority of people and over time making the oracle more and more obsolete.

Tertullian, a Third Century Father of the Church, complained that the world was still crowded with oracles¹, but oracles were prolific and admired well before his time. Greece teemed with them before even Alexander conquered its city-states. Oracles weren't confined to Greece, either; the oracle of Ammon Ra met with Alexander the Great and told him "I give thee to hold all countries and all religions under thy feet."² Methods of divination might vary from one to the next, but the function they performed was the same even at an early age. Most oracles were tied to a place as well as to a god, and often the term itself refers to where the god would come to the priestess, inspiring and sometimes unifying with her at the moment of consultation. The oracle at Delphi is one such. Apollo's sanctuary there housed a fissure from which gas, the instrument of the god's entrance into the priestess, would come. Often this gas or another drug would be used to enable the god to enter a priestess. Her answer, often unintelligible, to the question would be received and interpreted by waiting priests.

¹ As quoted in Forman *The Story of Prophecy*

² Ibid.

It was thought the priestess had to be pure to receive the god into herself, and that if the body was not ready or unwilling, there could be disastrous consequences. In one instance, a priestess was administered too much of the drug by accident and died soon after¹.

Some oracles, however, were wanderers, somehow possessing knowledge of the divine independent of revelation by any god. Many of the Sibyls were such traveling oracles though they did not experience great popularity until the Fourth Century BCE. Today they are best known for the compilations of prophecies they left behind, all attributed to the same name. Varro claims there were ten Sibyls: the Babylonian, the Libyan, the Delphic, the Cimmerian, the Erythraean, the Samian, the Cumaean, the Hellespontine, the Phrygian, and the Tiburtine².

The questions asked oracles were often trivial seeming, "like the hypothetical questions in school: if one ought to marry, or to start on a voyage, or to make a loan."³ One visitor asked of an oracle whether the petitioner has lost his blankets, or if someone outside had stolen them. The original purpose of the spiritual guide was for these humble uses. It wasn't until after the Peloponnesian Wars that oracles began to exert an influence into the political as well as public lives. The Delphic oracle in particular began to show a much-increased prominence into state affairs. Kings consulted her on military campaigns, and on more than one occasion she advised on where best to place a new settlement⁴. Croesus was an early example of one such king; he sent men to two oracles, asking each whether he should go to war with the

Persians, and with whom he should ally himself if he did so. Both oracles responded, "if he were to campaign against the Persians, he would destroy a mighty empire" and suggested the strongest of the Greeks as allies, advice which he took.

The mistake shouldn't be made in assuming these prophecies always came true, however. False prophets, too, had the potential to make many people very angry. Lucian devoted a fairly long and angry piece to one such of AD 150-170: Alexander of Abonoteichus.⁵ Under the pretense of being a priest of Asclepius, and while ignoring the usual healing duties and regular way in which miracles were achieved in the regular cult of Asclepius, Alexander started his own branch in which a snake with a linen human head was purported to be the embodiment of the god, and he himself had oracular powers and would give advice on any subject, for a price. Lucian was very involved in trying to expose him as a liar, but Alexander had a wide base of support among the common people. Lucian barely escaped with his life instead. Despite the fact his prophecies were often wrong and he would sometimes correct them long after they had been given, his cult was still widely popular and survived for about a century after his death. Although some might expose a false prophet, then, the majority of people would rather accord to him whatever he wants. The oracle's authority would then stem more from superstition, presentation, and the ability or desire to meet with people and advise them on everyday events. It might also stem from a feeling of power these prophets had; they were enough "other" that they were able to understand divine will and even sometimes welcome it inside themselves. They, through their strangeness, were closer to the gods than normal people and therefore should be treated with respect.

¹ Plutarch *De Pythiae Oraculis* 51.

² Lactantius *Divine Institutes* I. 6. 8-12

³ Plut. *The E at Delphi* 5.; Plut. *De Pyth. Orac.* 28.; Plut. *De Defectu Oraculorum* 7.

⁴ Herodotus *The Histories* I. 53.1.; Scholiast on Clement of Alexandria *Protrepticus* II. 11.

⁵ Lucian *Alexander the False Prophet*

Often, too, a foretelling would be so vague that it could be accounted correct no matter what the actual outcome was. Just as predicted, when Croesus went to war, a mighty empire did fall; unfortunately for him, it was his own empire that was destroyed when he lost. Even though many oracles were unsatisfactory or even wrong, their prominence still did not fade. The wealth and fame of the Delphic oracle alone attests to whether its prophecies were still considered valid, and its advice valuable, despite claims to the contrary. Correct predictions of the future, then, could not have been the basis for their authority; the common people still believed they were real and still visited the shrines. Thus, even though they enjoyed a new prominence in politics after the Peloponnesian Wars, it couldn't detract from their original place in everyday life. Oracles provided help with common, personal concerns, fulfilling the role of a sort of divine king. They were wise men or women to whom normal people would go with their everyday problems, for healing, and also to whom they would look for spiritual guidance. They were, in fact, the earliest of the patrons and the "Holy Men."

As the oracles were strong spiritual leaders, there was a drive by members of the Christian community to have oracles acknowledge the divinity of Christ. As a strong part of existing Greco-Roman culture, the Christian minority would have seen oracular tradition's agreement as a strong piece of validation for the Christian religion in general. Prophecies would have been included as part of the classical *paideia* and so read by many Jews and Christians. Apologists have hinted some prophecies, particularly among those attributed to Sibyl, might be forgeries by Jews or Christians in her name. In fact, a Byzantine scholar assembled the prophecies in their present form from various sources by about the

Sixth Century AD. Strongly Christian, in his prologue he stresses the importance of studying these Greek writings dealing with God as opposed to pagan writings, and he seems oblivious to the fact many original authors appear not to have been Christian at all¹. The Sibylline prophecies contain many references to Jewish scripture, thus anchoring the oracle firmly in a tradition Christians were willing to accept. Lactantius would also argue that some of the Sibyl's prophecies foretold Christ's coming and baptism. The Third oracle has a bibliography that traces the prophetess back as the daughter of Noah. Not only does this give the oracle a firm scriptural basis acceptable to the Christians, but it also helps illustrate the truth of Christian doctrine². Christian writers even borrowed parts of the Sibylline prophecies in order to write their own apocalyptic works, and the foundation of Byzantium, the "Christian Rome" was ordered by an oracle, as well. Traces of the Sibyl can even be found in Renaissance art: the Delphic sibyl can be found in Michelangelo's painting in the Sistine chapel. Ruricius, in one of his letters to a fellow Bishop of his time, jokes and flatters him by calling him a "seer."³ Oracles then seem to have been admired if not revered. They were part of the classical *paideia* and as such were often co-opted by the Christians in order to give their own religion the support it needed.

Conversely, there was as much if not more activity to discredit the oracles. Julian the Apologist strongly attacked them; Fathers of the Church, such as Arnobius, pointed to the false prophecies as proof the gods that inspired them were false as well⁴.

¹ H. W. Parke *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity*

² Lact. *DI*

³ Ruricius of Limoges *Letters of Ruricius of Limoges* 1.16

⁴ Arnobius 4.11; Philostorgius *Heathen Oracles*

Arnobius's vicious attack against both pagans and oracles does indicate, however, that at the point he wrote his treatise against pagans around AD 300, oracles were still a major presence and in need of quelling. Both vagueness and false prophecies had been present in foretellings before, however, so as the oracle's authority didn't necessarily stem from consistent and accurate prophecies its influence should not have been declining merely because some Church dignitaries had called attention to the fact. The persistence of oracles stemmed instead from their ability to give advice and spiritual help.

It would have made sense if the common people had felt the lack of their spiritual advisors when states began making more and more use of them, just as it would follow that similar individuals from other religions might step into the place of the oracles. The Roman citizen needed these powerful institutions to which private individuals could turn to for help. During a time when religious cults were generally growing in influence, the oracle at Delphi lost both influence and wealth, having been manipulated by politics for too long for it to have the same authority with and presence among the common people that it used to¹. Christians didn't immediately contribute oracles, or holy men, to this position. They either used already existing oracles, such as Sibyl, to validate their own doctrine, or they tried to repress the existence of these prophets. Helped along by hostile Christians, the institution of the classical oracle did eventually die out, and it must have been replaced by something.

The Christians did have a strong background in prophecy, leading further into the question of why they didn't embrace the already existing oracular tradition. In the Old Testament of the Christian Bible, there

is evidence of visits to diviners², not to mention the fact whole sections are devoted to the prophecies pertaining to the coming of the messiah. In the New Testament there is also a large portion of prophetic writing, this one foretelling the end of the world. Revelations seems to have been written during the reign of Nero, a time when Delphi was still rich despite the emperor's looting of hundreds of its bronze statues. On the other hand, pagan divinations were hotly disputed, unless they in some way helped the Christian cause, like the Sibylline prophecies did. Didyma's oracle probably didn't help the popularity of oracles either in the eyes of Church when it agreed with Diocletian's decision to persecute the Christians.

A fully Christian and parallel tradition doesn't start until at least the Second Century AD. Since that time the belief has persisted among Christians that the dead, especially martyrs, can continue to exercise an influence from beyond the grave on the lives of the living. Since they were dead they were present in the spiritual realm, but they were thought to still have an interest in the world and so could also act as channels of communication between the spiritual and worldly realms. This newly founding idea is known today as the cult of the saints or of the relics.³ The only way in which oracles differed was in that oracles could tell you what the god had inspired them to say, whereas the dead saint couldn't talk back. The relics did provide miracles of healing and exorcisms, however, and the places where they were interred were often turned into places of worship. Individuals wishing for healing or some other form of comfort from the saint would have to make a pilgrimage to the church or shrine that housed it, making it the place, in essence,

¹ R. M. Grant *Gods and the One God*

² 1 Samuel 7

³ J. Crook *The architectural setting of the cult of the saints in the early Christian west c. 300-1200*

that was considered holy. The focal point of the oracular cults was the sanctuary that housed the oracle; the focus for the cult of the saints was the place the saint's remains could be found. There were other similarities: a sacrifice was performed at each holy place, including an animal sacrifice for the oracle and a sacrifice of the Eucharist for the saint; and there were obvious fakes present that nevertheless had little to no real effect on either cult's popularity.

Bishops also began to take over the role of patron previously held by the oracles in the western empire, while the aesthetic, or Holy Man of the desert, supplanted their role in the east. In the west, Bishops were personal sources of religious and moral guidance, intercessors in issues of property, and would vouch for and be responsible for a lower priest or slave in their local area. The extent to which Bishops' patronage of the really poor or peasants isn't entirely certain, though there is not much mention made of the preaching of a bishop to a congregation.¹ The idea the Bishop usurped the role of the oracle might then be a bit of a stretch.

The Holy Man, on the other hand, dealt in particular with the rural folk. They in particular embraced all aspects the oracles once had. They performed healings, gave moral as well as practical advice, functioned as intermediaries between poor farmers and the wider Roman world or even another poor farmer, sometimes they provided social commentary, and often a pilgrimage was needed in order to visit one. Daniel the Stylite was one of the exceptions in that he settled down near Constantinople. Therefore, not only did he perform many healing miracles and exorcisms, he also was in the middle of some very central religious concerns. What is more, he had the backing of the people and so was able to help change

these problems.² These holy men even give the last nod to prophets: When St. Theodore of Sykeon was about to be born, his mother visited a man who could predict the future in order to hear the portents of his birth.³ The source of the holy man's authority is even almost identical to that of the oracle. Especially in the older instances of holy men, they tended to be taken over by God and lose their own identity. They were close to God, and such could be seen even in the way they didn't care for their own body. Even, however, the most self-denying of Egypt's recluses had well-furnished consulting rooms for the pilgrims. The "Holy Man" was a rural patron and man of power, much like the origins of the oracle. They were not typically involved in any politics other than perhaps the most localized of them.

During the Roman Empire, prophecies were tied directly to the ruling body and oracles were unavailable to the common person. They used oracles not as much to foretell the future as describe and validate a current situation. The Sibylline prophecies in particular were collected into a library that was consulted from time to time by order of the Senate. However, they could be used in both official and unofficial contexts to either support or undermine an existing ruling body. By this time most oracles were already firmly entrenched in politics, so this abandonment of private individuals meant the oracles were unable to return to their original purpose. They had lost their position among the people, and with it, their stability. When Julian, the last pagan emperor, died, and succession from then on passed through only Christian hands, the political scene became exclusively Christian as well, closing out the oracles and leaving them without even that

¹ Ruricius *Letters* 2.7, 2.9, 2.14, 2.18, 2.52

² *Life and Works of Our Holy Father St. Daniel the Stylite* 20, 75

³ *Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon* 4

much purpose.

Also, as the Roman senate became pushed more and more to the side, kings and emperors started to become deified. Especially after the Empire became Christian and the Emperor had embraced the Eusebian vision, suddenly the Emperor himself filled the role of the oracles. He became the go between for gods and the people; he even was unified with the god, becoming its mimesis. At this point the Christian religion began to take over the personal, everyday lives of the people of the empire. Emperors no longer needed their actions validated by an oracle, they could do so themselves. Under the Eusebian vision, if an emperor was successful, it meant they were fulfilling God's will. If they were deposed, they had not been acting according to the will of God. This argument proved only itself, and left no room for the inputs of oracles.

Over time, states drew oracles into a more political venue and they were forced to quit appealing to the private person and the local level. They went from being a localized authority with a firm belief structure holding them up, to a widespread institution that, although much richer, also depended on the shakier ability of its patron nation, or even simply emperor, to remain supreme. As the oracles were drawn away from the local level, they did actually leave a vacuum into which the holy men, the cult of the saints, and, to a much lesser degree, the bishops moved. Brown would argue, "the holy man merely trumped the oracle, by being both objective and trenchant in an idiom that was more consonant with the habits and expectations of a new, more intensely personal, style of society."¹ However, I would disagree. Roman society did not change; it still wanted an "other": someone to be different enough from the

norm that they could have enough power to be a resource to turn to in times of moral questions. The holy man was just better at not being caught up in the political machinery than was the hierarchical oracle establishment. Likewise, although conversion from one religion to another might be quick for the upper classes, it was a slow, cyclic system in rural areas where, as one authority was slowly drawn out, another seeped in to take its place. When the oracles depended only on the upper classes to support them, they could only survive as until the next succession when another new emperor imposed his religious views on the adaptable elite.

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Chapter III: Freedmen

By Charles Shonk

For Martial, freedmen occupy an uneasy position in the Roman social order. On the one hand, as former slaves, they ought to wear their newfound freedom with some degree of humility and deference; on the other hand, as beneficiaries of manumission, they can hardly be expected not to take advantage of their improved social status. They are members of the most upwardly mobile class in Roman society, and, as such, they are threatening to (relatively) established, conservative equestrians like Martial. Some freedmen, such as Parthenius, personal attendant of Domitian, are immune to criticism by virtue of their proximity to the emperor, and, indeed, it is because Martial goes out of his way to flatter such men, whom he should, it seems, revile on principle, that he has sometimes been labeled a hypocrite. Take, for example, this prayer to Apollo on behalf of Parthenius and his son, Burrus:

*Haec tibi pro nato plena dat
laetus acerra, / Phoebe,
Palatinus munera
Parthenius, / ut, qui prima
novo signat quinquennia
lustris, / impleat innumeras
Burrus Olympiades. / fac rata
vota patris: sic te tua diligit
arbor / gaudeat et certa
virginitate soror, / perpetuo
sic flore mices, sic denique
non sint / tam longae Bromio
quam tibi, Phoebe, comae.ⁱ
(4.45)¹*

Admittedly, the tone of this epigram is factitious and unconvincingly affectionate, but to accuse Martial of hypocrisy on the basis of such insincerity would be to misunderstand the fundamental reason behind his prejudice against freedmen. The fundamental reason that Martial despises so

many freedmen is not because they are freedmen, but because they pretend they are something better than freedmen and, in so doing, violate the existing social order. Now, Parthenius does neither of these things. He does not pretend to be something better than he is, nor does he violate the existing social order, for, in the Empire, all social rules and distinctions are defined by the emperor's decree, and Parthenius is, as it were, an extension of that fiat. Therefore, Martial is not guilty of any inconsistency in praising Parthenius, even if he is guilty of pretense and insincerity. Here again, however, one might defend Martial by *admitting* that he is being insincere: *of course* he is. Even Parthenius knows that. It is the transparency of such pretense that makes it harmless – a polite fiction between two civilized people.

Thus, Martial's classism is not, in my view, a rigid classism, like that of Juvenal, for whom a person's social rank, determined at birth, is something like a person's eye color – an immutable natural characteristic. Martial's view of the social order is *somewhat* more fluid because he recognizes that distinctions within the social hierarchy are not features of the natural world: they might be overruled or, indeed, assigned and determined (as in Parthenius's case) by Rome's leading citizen, the emperor. Conveniently enough, Martial is rarely forced to choose between this belief in the emperor's sovereignty – his adherence to the imperial status quo, as it were – and his classist tendencies, because Domitian himself seems to have been something of a classist. He thought, like Martial, that freedmen ought not to usurp the rights and privileges of their betters. Actually, he thought that freedmen ought not to usurp the rights and privileges of their betters precisely to the extent that his power was

¹ Cf. 5.6, 11.1, 12.11.

thereby enlarged or secured. But insofar as his power was tied to the hierarchical structure of Roman society, he exercised it for the conservation of that hierarchy, which was pleasing to Martial. True, the class distinctions Martial held dear were born out of the Republic, which naturally encouraged them by virtue of its hierarchical system of elected offices, and, to that extent, the Republic would probably have been more amenable to Martial's classism than the Empire, which effectively flattened out that hierarchy by investing one person with its various offices.

This tension – between Martial's somewhat old-fashioned classism and his adherence to the imperial status quo – is borne out by a scholarly debate over his epigrammatic treatment of the *Lex Roscia theatralis*, a censorial law that was reinstated, after a period of dormancy, under Domitian's reign. The *Lex Roscia*, as it is called, prescribed that the first fourteen rows in the theater be reserved for the use of equestrians only. Naturally, this law pleased Martial very much. In fact, he wrote a whole cycle¹ of epigrams on the subject, each of which pokes fun at the various non-equestrian freedmen who try, by diverse ploys, to pass themselves off as bona fide knights in order to get into one of the reserved seats. Using these epigrams as interpretational fodder, Thomas Malnati attempts to argue, contra John Sullivan, that Martial, as opposed to Juvenal, does not object to (the) social mobility (of freedmen) in itself; rather, he is simply concerned with exposing pretense and enforcing the law, i.e. maintaining the imperial status quo: 'Martial is not concerned in the slightest about one's birth... As far as Martial is concerned, no one without the equestrian census is permitted [by law] to sit in the first fourteen

rows. ...his main concern is to expose pretense.'² Arguing against this view, Sullivan maintains, on the basis of a much broader selection of epigrams, that Martial's social outlook was more akin to Juvenal's, i.e. that he did indeed have quite definite concerns about the status of one's birth: 'Strongly conscious of rank and status, Martial fears anything that threatens the social order as he conceives it and his own position in it.'³

Now, Malnati may be correct to point out that Martial is concerned, in general, to 'expose pretense' and, in particular, to see that the *Lex Roscia* is enforced, but, presumably, these are not claims that Sullivan would care to dispute. We are left, then, with Malnati's only controversial assertion, namely that Martial is perfectly comfortable with social mobility, or, as Malnati puts it, 'not concerned in the slightest with one's birth.' Surely, however, this claim is grossly oversimplified and unnecessarily absolute. Indeed, if Martial does not care at all about the social status of one's parents, then what are we to make of Malnati's assertion that Martial's 'main concern' is to 'expose pretense?' Expose pretense about *what*? Malnati cannot reply 'pretense about social rank', for it makes no sense that Martial should 'expose' or criticize a freedman for pretending to be an equestrian if, as Malnati suggests, Martial is completely ambivalent about whether anyone is a freedman or an equestrian in the first place! At this point, Malnati might reply, 'Ah! That's just it. I do *not* say that Martial exposes a freedman for pretending *to be an equestrian*, but rather that he exposes a freedman, or anyone else, for having pretensions *at all* – for pretending to be what he is not.' This claim, however, is simply false: Martial *does* expose

¹ The *Lex Roscia* cycle is comprised entirely of epigrams from Book V: 8, 14, 23, 25, 27, 35, 38, and 41.

² Malnati, T.P. 'Juvenal and Martial on Social Mobility'. *Classical Journal*. Vol. 83, p. 133.

³ *Martial: the Unexpected Classic*. p. 162.

freedmen for pretending to be equestrians, *not* for pretending to be 'whatever'. Indeed, it would be quite odd if he *exposed* them for pretending to be giraffes, for example, even if they were, in fact, pretending to be giraffes. The point is this: it only makes sense to say that Martial 'exposed pretense' if we mean that he exposed pretense *about certain things*, and he would not have bothered to *expose* pretense about, say, social rank if indeed he did not care about social rank in the first place.

Laying aside, for the moment, such *a priori* considerations, let us look at some of the *Lex Roscia* poems and see whether there is, after all, anything worthwhile in Malnati's interpretation of them. In the first of these, the object of Martial's satire is a certain Phasis, whose attempts to pass himself off as a knight at the local theater do not fool the theater's attendant, Leitus:

*Edictum domini deique
nostri, / quo subsellia
certiora fiunt / et puros eques
ordines receipt, / dum laudat
modo Phasis in teatro, /
Phasis purpureis rubber
lacernis, / et iactat tumido
superbus ore: / 'tandem
commodius licet sedere, /
nunc est reddita dignitas
equestris; / turba non
premimur, nec inquinamur' –
/ haec et talia dum refert
supinus, / illas purpureas et
arrogantes / iussit surgere
Leitus lacernas.ⁱⁱ (5.8)*

Martial's references to Phasis's 'purple cloak' (*purpureis ...lacernis*) and 'purple, arrogant mantle' (*purpureas...arrogantes...lacernas*) are cues to the reader that Phasis has donned the traditional color of a knight in order to 'blend in,' (presumably) in the hopes that Leitus will not notice him. Now, Malnati maintains that Martial is simply concerned

to mock Phasis's pretense: 'Because he *pretends* to be an equestrian, he becomes the butt of Martial's humor.'¹ In keeping with what was said above, we might well reply, with different emphasis, 'Yes, of course: because he pretends *to be an equestrian*, he becomes the butt of Martial's humor'. But even apart from such theoretical considerations, Malnati's interpretation is unconvincing, for Martial is obviously concerned to satirize not only Phasis's equestrian pretensions, but also his stupidity. What person with an average intelligence quotient, after all, would disguise himself (in the manner outlined above) for the purpose of blending into a crowd of equestrians, and then intentionally make himself conspicuous by loudly expressing support, in the most stereotypical terms, for the *Lex Roscia*? Phasis's performance is convincing to no one; it only serves to catch the attention of Leitus, the attendant, who apparently knows this idiot on sight. Clearly, Martial's intention is to portray Phasis, representative of would-be equestrians, not only as a fake, but also as a moron. Clearly, Martial is not merely exposing Phasis's pretense, but also laughing down his nose at him. Clearly, Martial is the social elitist that Malnati does not want him to be.

The next non-equestrian to attract Martial's derision in the *Lex Roscia* cycle is Nanneius, who evidently is not much smarter than Phasis. He is expelled from various seats in the equestrian section no less than three times until, finally, he moves to the end of a crowded equestrian bench and 'half-supported...tries to sit with one leg for the knights and stand with the other for Leitus':

*Sedere primo solitus in gradu
semper / tunc cum liceret
occupare Nanneius / bis
excitatus terque transtulit
castra, / et inter ipsas paene*

¹ 'Juvenal and Martial on Social Mobility', p. 135.

*tertius sellas / post Gaiumque
Luciumque consedit. / illinc
cucullo prospicit caput tectus
/ oculoque ludos spectat
indecentis uno. / et hinc miser
deiectus in viam transit, /
subselloque semifultus
extremo / et male receptus
altero genu iactat / equiti
sedere Leitoque se stare.ⁱⁱⁱ*
(5.14)

The first two lines of the poem identify Nanneius as one of the ‘squatters’¹ who had become accustomed to sitting in the first fourteen rows (*primo...in gradu*) of the theater before the *Lex Roscia* was reinstated. As the epigram continues, the reader can hardly doubt that Martial is trying to make a fool out of Nanneius; the poor man takes up first one position, then another, in an infantile attempt to evade detection. He even tries to hide by cramming himself between two equestrians and peering out from beneath his hood with one eye (*illinc...uno*) – as if that does not make him all the more conspicuous. There is no hint of sympathy in Martial’s tone, though there may be a bit of condescending pity (*miser deiectus*). Martial obviously enjoys watching – from the comfort of his seat *in gradu primo* – this non-equestrian make an ass of himself.

Later on, Martial singles out a certain Bassus for ridicule. It seems that, before the *Lex Roscia* was reinstated, Bassus always wore plain green to the theater, but ever since then, oddly enough, he has been sporting a purple cloak:

*Herbarum fueras indutus,
Basse, colores, / iura
theatralis dum siluere loci. /
quae postquam placidi
censoris cura renasci / iussit*

*et Oceanum certior audit
eques, / non nisi vel cocco
madida vel murices tinctoria /
veste nites et te sic dare
verba putas. /
quadringentorum nullae sunt,
Basse, lacernae, / aut meus
ante omnis Cordus haberet
equum.^{iv} (5.23)*

‘There are no cloaks worth four hundred thousand², Bassus’ (Line 7). This punch line is indicative of the epigram’s purpose, which is quite obviously elitist. Martial does not *just* want to ‘expose pretense;’ he wants to expose pretensions of social rank – to embarrass an already insecure Bassus by bringing his not-so-clever ruse out into the open. Martial is deliberately rubbing it in, as if to say, ‘Oh *come on*, Bassus! No cloak is worth *that* much’ – implying, of course, that the cloak is the sum total of Bassus’s financial assets.

Now, if Malnati’s point is simply that Martial is not concerned to criticize a freedman just for being a freedman, then of course he is right. But this merely reinforces what we, following Sullivan, have already said about Martial’s general outlook on society: everyone, even a freedman, has his place in the social order. This is the positive side of Martial’s negative satire, and, indeed, it is illustrated by yet another of the ‘*Lex Roscia* poems: *ingenium studiumque tibi Moresque genusque / sunt equities, fateor: cetera plebis habes. *** bis septena tibi non sint subsellia tanti, / ut sedeas viso pallidus Oceano*’^v (5.27). ‘May the fourteen rows not be of such great value to you that you sit pale at the sight of Oceanus’ (Lines 3-4). Martial is telling his anonymous addressee (whose name may or may not be supplied in the missing section of the epigram) not to care so much about the equestrian theater seats – to be content,

¹ Shackleton-Bailey, D.R., ed. and trans. *Epigrams*. Vol. I. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1993. p. 14.

² I.e., four hundred thousand sesterces – the amount of wealth requisite for the rank of equestrian.

more or less, with his place in the system. Granted, this anonymous man has the 'talent, application, manners, and breeding' (*ingenium...genusque*) of a knight, but without 'the rest' (*cetera*) – without the requisite property – he is not a knight. And so, says Martial, he should not desire to be one, at least not to the point of growing 'pale' about it.

The *Lex Roscia* poems offer a cohesive and illuminating account of Martial's social attitude toward freedmen, but they do not tell the whole story. Indeed, the total number of *Lex Roscia* poems adds up to less than half the number of epigrams written about, or rather against, just one freedman – an ostentatious libertine and self-made equestrian by the name of Zoilus. He is one of the few people whom Martial seems to insult for no other reason than the pure joy of it. Take, for example, this two-liner from Book II: '*Zoile, quod solium subluto podice perdis, / spurcius ut fiat, Zoile, merge caput*' (2.42). The English has a certain immediacy: 'Zoilus, you foul the bath by washing your anus. To make it dirtier, Zoilus, sink your head in it.' Such verbal abuse is not an isolated case, and the reader may safely assume that Zoilus represents the sum of everything Martial detests in a freedman.¹ Perhaps the thing he hates most about Zoilus is his ostentatious display of wealth.

The most extended treatment of this subject occurs in Book III, where Martial spends thirty-three lines^{vi} describing the outrageous – and slightly disgusting – opulence of one of Zoilus's dinner parties. Elbowing his guests out of the way (*hinc et inde*), Zoilus spreads himself out on the couch (*iacet in lecto*), while various slaves

attend to his every desire: '*stat exoletus suugeritque ructanti / pinnas rubentes cuspidesque lentisci, / et aestuanti tenue ventilat frigus / supine prasino concubina flabello, / fugatque muscas myrtea puer virga. / percurrit agili corpus arte tractatrix...*' (3.82, Lines 8-13). Perhaps most shocking of all, to a modern reader at least, is the occupation of Zoilus's eunuch: '*digiti crepantis signa novit eunuchus / et delicatae sciscitator urinae / domini bibentis ebrium regit penem*' (3.82, Lines 15-17). These excesses might be excusable if Zoilus were as generous with his guests as he is with himself, but, as Martial testifies, the guests' fare is meager indeed: '*Ligurumque nobis saxa cum ministrentur / vel cocta fumis musta Massilitanis...*' (3.82, Lines 22-23). Finally, Zoilus slips into a drunken slumber, and his guests are constrained, on strict orders, to drink in silence, 'pledging each other with nods': '*nos accubamus et silentium rhonchis / praestare iussi nutibus propinamus. / hos malchionis patimur improbi fastus, / nec vindicari, Rufe, possumus: fellat*' (3.82, Lines 30-33).

These last two lines get to the heart of Martial's frustration with freedmen such as Zoilus: 'We endure the disrespect of an impudent jerk, and we cannot avenge ourselves! Rufus, he sucks dick²' (3.82, Lines 32-33). It is noteworthy that Martial chooses to call Zoilus '*malchio improbus*.' *Malchio* comes from the Greek for 'nasty fellow,' while *improbus* has a range of meanings and connotations, all of which seem to apply, in one way or another, to Martial's representation of Zoilus: 'inferior,' 'bad,' 'morally bad,' 'perverse,' 'wilful,' 'bold,' 'persistent,' 'mischievous.' Thus, Zoilus is loathsome to Martial on many levels. There is the obvious fact that he is boorish, offensive, and selfish – a 'nasty fellow' – and there is the fact that is a

¹ By the way, the fact that there are certain things – things quite apart from what is allowed or prohibited by law – that Martial expects from (or detests in) any freedman, is sufficient to disprove Malnati's thesis that Martial does not care about social rank in itself.

² Martial accuses Zoilus of fellatio an inordinate number of times: 6.91, 11.30, 11.85.

freedman, a former slave, and therefore *improbus*, in the sense of 'inferior.' As if these characteristics were not bad enough, they are exacerbated immeasurably, in Martial's mind, by at least two other circumstances: first, the fact that Zoilus is *improbus* in yet another sense, i.e. 'bold' or 'persistent,' and second, the fact that he is a very wealthy knight¹, and therefore protected from 'retaliation' (*vindicari*). Indeed, it is this last item that seems to infuriate Martial the most. He cannot simply laugh at Zoilus, as he laughs at the non-equestrian freedmen in the theater, for Zoilus is one of his own class. And he cannot simply ignore him. His only recourse, then, is to abuse him in print, if only for the purpose of letting off steam. The gross hyperbole and fantastic caricatures of 3.82 are, perhaps, the fruits of such 'anger management.'

Just as we saw that the officiousness of Charidemus² was all the more irksome to Martial by virtue of Charidimus's status as a freedman, so we see now that the outrageous vices of Zoilus are even more intolerable to Martial by virtue of the fact that Zoilus, now an equestrian, was once a slave. Indeed, Martial goes out of his way on at least three occasions³ to heap shame upon Zoilus for his servile past. He even accuses him of being a runaway, the implication being, presumably, that no master in his right mind would manumit Zoilus except, perhaps, to get rid of him: '*a pedibus didicere manus peccare protervae. / non mirror furem, qui fugitives eras*'^{vii} (11.54, Lines 5-6). Zoilus is certainly the most infamous of freedmen to draw the sting of Martial's satire, but he is not the only one. Cerdo, the cobbler of Bononia, figures prominently in at least

three epigrams⁴, one of which is especially illustrative of Martial's classist tendencies: '*sutor Cerdo dedit tibi, culta Bononia, munus, / fullo dedit Mutinae: nunc ubi copo dabit?*'^{viii} (3.59). The tone of this short epigram is one of disdain and incredulity. Martial cannot believe that freedmen of such menial occupations – a cobbler and a fuller – are financially equipped to put on *public shows* (*munus*) in their respective cities, and so he asks, rhetorically, 'Where now will the *shopkeeper* give one?'

It is clear from such examples that, contrary to Malnati's assertions, Martial's fundamental social outlook is a classist one and that he is especially sensitive to the social mobility of (ostentatious) freedmen. It is probably unfair, however, to concentrate so much on the deficiencies of Malnati's interpretation without also pointing out the flaws in Sullivan's. Indeed, although Malnati's interpretation stands in need of qualification, it contains some kernels of good sense that are, perhaps, missing from Sullivan's account. Specifically, Sullivan is sometimes too quick to say that Martial's classism is grounded in a certain conception of the natural, rather than the social, world: 'The natural subservience of slave to master, even of wife to husband, female to male, is for Martial a social, indeed natural, given'⁵ (*sic*). I submit that, on this issue, Sullivan ascribes to Martial a position that more comfortably fits Juvenal. In effect, Juvenal constantly complains that the *actual* social order does not match up with the *natural*, or *ideal*, social order. One often finds Juvenal complaining, for example, that those with the real brains, breeding, and talent must deal with social subordination to hypocrites and morons. On the other hand, Martial's genial acceptance of certain 'high-profile'

¹ More wealthy, in fact, than Martial, if the evidence of other epigrams is reliable (2.16, 4.77).

² Martial's boyhood tutor.

³ Cf. 3.29, 11.37, and 11.54.

⁴ Namely 3.16, 1.59, and 3.99.

⁵ Sullivan, John. *Martial: The Unexpected Classic*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991. p. 166.

freedmen, such as Parthenius, is ample evidence that he did not consider class

Appendix: English translations¹ of passages quoted in Latin

- i. 'These gifts, Phoebus, Palatine Parthenius gives you happily from a full censer for his son's sake, that Burrus, who marks his first five years with a new luster, may complete numberless Olympiads. Make the father's prayer come true; so may your tree love you, and your sister rejoice in assured virginity. So may you shine in perpetual bloom, so in fine may Bromius' locks not be so long as yours, Phoebus.' (*Epigrams*, Vol. I, p. 315)
- ii. 'As Phasis in the theater the other day (Phasis ruddy in resplendent cloak) was praising the edict of our Lord and God, whereby the benches are more strictly assigned and the knights have regained their rows undefiled, and proudly puffing made this vaunt: "At last we can sit more comfortably, knightly dignity is now restored, we are no longer pressed and soiled by the crowd" – while, lolling back, he delivered himself in these and similar terms, Leitus ordered that resplendent and, [*sic*] arrogant cloak to get up.' (*Epigrams*, Vol. I, p. 361)
- iii. 'Nanneius, who always used to sit in the first row in the days when squatting was allowed, was

distinctions 'natural' in an absolute sense.

roused and moved camp twice and thrice. Finally, he sat down behind Gaius and Lucius, right between the seats, almost making a third. From that position he peered out with a hood over his head and watched the show with one eye in no seemly style. Dislodged from there too, the wretch moves to the gangway and, half-supported by the end of a bench, where he is ill received, he pretends to the knights with one knee that he is sitting and to Leitus with the other that he is standing.' (*Epigrams*, Vol. I, p. 367)

- iv. 'Your clothes were the color grass, Bassus, so long as the seating rules in the theater lay dormant. But since the care of our kindly censor ordered their revival and a less dubious corps of knights obeys Oceanus, you shine in garments steeped in scarlet or dyed in purple, nothing else, and thus you think to cheat him. No cloak, Bassus, is worth four hundred thousand, otherwise my friend Cordus would be first to have his horse. (*Epigrams*, Vol. I, p. 377)
- v. 'Brains, application, characters, family – these you have as befits a knight, I grant. Your other attributes are of the common people. *** Don't let the fourteen rows mean so much to you that you turn pale in your seat when you see Oceanus.' (*Epigrams*, Vol. I, p. 381)

¹ All translations are by Shackleton-Bailey, D.R., ed. and trans. *Epigrams*. Vol. I-III. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1993.

- vi. 'Whoever can stand dinner with Zoilus, let him dine among Summemmius' wives and drink sober from Leda's broken jar. That would be easier and cleaner, I'll be bound. Clother in green he lies filling up the couch and thrusts his guests on either hand with his elbows, propped up on purples and silk cushions. A youth stands by, supplying red feathers and slips of mastic as he belches, while a concubine, lying on her back, makes a gentle breeze with a green fan to relieve his heat, and a boy keeps off the flies with a sprig of myrtle, A masseuse runs over his frame nimbly and skillfully, scattering an expert hand over all his limbs. The eunuch knows the signal of his snapping finger and probes the coy urine, guiding a tipsy penis as his master drinks. But himself, bending back toward the crowd at his feet, in the midst of lapdogs who are gnawing goose livers, divides the boar's sweetbreads among his wrestling-coaches and bestows turtle rumps on his fancy-boy. While *we* are served with the produce of Liguria's rocks or must cooked in Massiliot smoke, he pledges his naturals in Opimian nectar with crystal and murrine cups. Himself dusky with Cosmus' phials, he does not blush to distribute a needy drab's hair oil among us out of a gold shell. Then he snores, sunk by
- many a half pint. We lie by, with orders not to interrupt the snorts, and pledge each other with nods. This insolence of an outrageous cad we suffer and cannot retaliate, Rufus: he sucks, males.' (*Epigrams*, Vol. I, p. 263)
- vii. '...Your impudent hands learned wickedness from your feet. I don't wonder you're a thief, seeing that you used to be a runaway. (*Epigrams*, Vol. III, p. 49)
- viii. 'Cerdo the cobbler gave a show for you, elegant Bononia, a fuller gave one for Mutina; where now will the innkeeper give one?' (*Epigrams*, Vol. I, p. 245)

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The Revival of Myth: Allusions and Symbols in The Wasteland

By Lauren Haas

T.S. Eliot is quoted to have once said that modern poets must find "a way of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and a significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history." In *The Waste Land*, Eliot exemplifies this idea that amidst a chaotic contemporary society, a poet's prose attempt order.

By writing *The Waste Land*, Eliot gave public voice to his concerns about a derelict, disjointed social morality wanting of rebirth. By reviving myth in literature, Eliot offered his society its own revival by journeying back to the impetus of myth for remedies to societal ills. Joyce Leavell, one of Eliot's poetic brethren has said, "The assumption of the mythical method is that our culture and language once had a pervasive meaningfulness which has been lost in our increasingly rational and discontinuous society, but that by recovering the lost myth from within our culture, poets can restore mythic unity to literature." Through his use of myth in *The Waste Land*, this is precisely what Eliot achieves. Myth both offers a glimpse into the human condition, with all its moral implications, and suggests remedies for moral dereliction. It offers Logos amidst Kosmos: order and unity amidst chaos. *The Waste Land* is Eliot's depiction of a shattered society, a Europe searching desperately for a spiritual direction that would restore order after the devastation of war. Eliot wrote about times that were vacant and wasteful. This same perception is evident within *The Waste Land*.

The book proffers a mythic experience of kings and heroes. The setting and characters of *The Waste Land* exist within the mind of the poem's speaker Tiresius, the hermaphroditic sage of

classical mythology. Eliot's poem presents his commentary concerning the condition of post-World War I European society. He saw the chaos and turmoil of his society as it futilely sought meaning and order. Eliot employs the myth of *The Fisher King* to symbolize his morally barren society.

In tandem with a variety of other mythical allusions, *The Fisher King* is a fertility myth on which *The Waste Land* is based. The myth is about a kingdom left barren when a curse is placed upon its king by way of a castration wound. The Fisher King sits fishing without yield in his Waste Land and guards the Holy Grail. To restore the kingdom's land to fruition and the king to fertility again, a noble hero must fulfill a challenge by recovering the grail, and, therefore, proving his heroism, so the Fisher King can be healed and the land rejuvenated. *The Waste Land* offers a meditation on death and a reflection on that which was lost. The world was slowly withering away like the cursed kingdom of the Fisher King. The Fisher King has lost everything and sits contemplating his once rich kingdom. Throughout his depression and loss, there is still some hope that what was lost can be regained. The Fisher King can be redeemed and healed if only some great hero will save him. There is no sign of hope in the Waste Land, there is merely the grief and decay of society and its values.

Yet, *The Waste Land* incorporates a panoply of mythical allusions and symbols in addition to its parallel to the myth of *The Fisher King*. Another prominent allusion is to Greek mythology and the figure of Tiresius, in whose mind the poem takes place. Through Tiresius, the blind hermaphroditic prophet, all men and all women in the poem come together as one: "I Tiresias, though blind, throbbing between

two lives/Old man with wrinkled female breasts, can see" the future (lines 218-9). Tiresius is a unifying, fluid and amorphous mythic element in *The Waste Land*.

In addition to Greek mythical allusions, several Biblical allusions are made in *The Waste Land*. Although Westerners may not think of Biblical stories as myth, they are indeed a form of myth - they just happen to be the foundation of current reigning Western beliefs, as well. Myths are created for the purpose of belief in some reasonable explanation of life and its different aspects. Thus, in some cultural and historical context, each myth has had its place and its set of believers.

In Section III, *The Fire Sermon*, Eliot alludes to a passage of Psalms: "By the waters of Leman I sat down and wept" (line 182). According to the footnotes, this passage from Psalms refers to the time when the Hebrews were weeping after having been exiled from their homeland. This is simply one example of his many uses of Biblical symbolism.

This section is entitled *Fire Sermon* in reference to another mythical tradition: Buddhism. Interestingly, this important sermon Buddha gave corresponds to the Christian Sermon on the Mount. Thus, within *The Waste Land* the ubiquitous cross-cultural parallels of myth emerge. Buddha declared in his sermon that everything is on fire due to passion and hatred. Eliot writes in this section, "Burning burning burning burning/O Lord Thou pluckest me out/O Lord Thou pluckest/Burning (lines 308-11). Here, as in Buddha's sermon, everything is on fire. The speaker supplicates god to pluck him from his fiery terror just as he had Joshua in the book of Zechariah, another Biblical allusion. This reference is appropriate for a commentary on the moral ills of European society perhaps fueled in part by burning hatred and misguided passion.

Throughout the innumerable dawns and dusks of humanity, throughout all the fire and peace, a common trend or a common nature has sustained: human nature. From the ancient Greco-Roman and Eastern myths, to the pagan rituals of the Celts, to the modern-day Western traditions, a common thread has tied together all of humanity. Through individual quest and exploration people learn the character, texture, and color of such a thread. For, therein lies meaning and understanding. It is the thread of the impenetrable and indelible human condition of every individual, in whatever form it takes. Amidst the darkest oppression and the brightest felicity, there dwells the human condition, the human mind, with its ability to think, dream and imagine into existence a scope of thoughts as deep as the heavens. Behind each face, each mask as the case might be, is the mind of the tragic hero, the star-crossed lover, the healing mother or the madman about to die, untouchable by any but the individual who wears that mask.

Mythology illuminates the common denominator among humans. Myths are anthropocentric and invite interpretation. They exemplify the human condition. This is why they are so engaging. They are woven with that thread of humanity in which every individual finds a fiber of consistency. Rooted in Logos, in language and order, myth is born of humanity and through its common denominator offers unity for humanity as for individual societies. In each character, in each classic novel or myth, some certain human qualities emerge. Somehow, they all speak of that human condition from within. The outward shapes of stories and myths, the people and places and things, do not seem to matter as much in comparison. The underlying collectivity of human nature again surfaces as a common thread.

We cannot get rid of that human condition within us that keeps us thinking and feeling and questioning. It is what makes us alike and it is what makes us different. From that common base stems innumerable, valuable variations of culture and different types of individuals. Mythology is a study of existence. Myths provide sundry interpretive value for the ways in which humanity assembles a sense of purpose for its existence. Myth offers a glimpse into the spiritual collectivity of people throughout time all over the world. In doing so, a myth speaks to the meaning people since genesis have stamped upon life. Thus, one myth examining being and existence offers a common interpretation of the ways in which people perceive their existence. In reviving myth in literature, Eliot and his contemporaries understood all this richness contained in mythic tradition. Whether it is an ancient Greco-Roman tradition, an old Eastern tradition or a current Western tradition, myth takes its place in literature, culture and life as a guiding and unifying element to which all of humanity relates. Even as societies grow, evolve and change drastically, the most fundamental human condition remains steadfast as exemplified by its manifestations in myth.

All textual citations are from *The Norton*

Anthology of English Literature,

Seventh Edition, vol. 2.

Recalcitrance and Reformation: Virgil, Purcell, and Tate's Dido and Aeneas

By Jennifer Hart

Purcell's only opera, *Dido and Aeneas*, is believed to have been premiered at Josias Priest's boarding school for girls in Chelsea, England, in 1689. The libretto was adapted by Nahum Tate from the story of Dido and Aeneas out of the fourth book of Virgil's *Aeneid*.¹ In Virgil's original tale, Dido, the widowed daughter of King Bellus has fled to North Africa after the murder of her husband Sychaeus by her brother, Pygmalion. Upon arriving in North Africa with other loyal members of her court, Dido founded the ancient city of Carthage. Aeneas, one of the Trojan leaders during the Trojan War, flees after the fall of Troy with his son, his father, and others. As a result of a storm (only one incident in a long line of troubles and adventures on his quest to discover the land on which he will ultimately found Rome) Aeneas and his men land in North Africa and are welcomed by Dido, Queen of Carthage.²

As a result of the prearrangement of the relationship of Dido and Aeneas by Venus, Aeneas' mother, and being struck by Cupid's arrow, Aeneas falls in love with Dido and defies his destiny as founder of Rome to remain in Carthage. Juno and Venus encourage this love affair until King Iarbas, who had been rejected by Dido, appeals to Jove to interfere in the affair. Jove commands Aeneas to leave Carthage and fulfill his destiny, which Aeneas obeys. He leaves Carthage despite Dido's entreaties. Furious and distraught over her

abandonment and lost love, Dido arranges her suicide by falling on Aeneas' sword.

There is uncertainty regarding the premiere of Henry Purcell's opera, *Dido and Aeneas*. It is believed to have been written and, perhaps, performed at court as early as 1681,³ due to the nature and style of the music, which is much more indicative of earlier Purcell works.⁴ However, the earliest known performance was in 1689 at Josias Priest's boarding school for girls in Chelsea. Although much of the material seems rather inappropriate for schoolgirls, the opera was embedded with "morals" regarding the role of women in imperialist enterprises and the "negative" influence of men and passion on the actions of women, the performance of which would have helped in the inculcation of "proper feminine virtues".⁵

Although adapted from Virgil's original text, the opera libretto contains alterations, which cohere with the ideas of Restoration theater in London that functioned during Purcell and Tate's lifetime. Basic changes in the story outline effected by Tate include the reduction of the number of characters, the replacement of mythological figures with witches, and "the non-violent death of Dido."⁶ In an effort to shorten the effective length of the play, manifested through the long-range goals and fates of the characters, Tate substitutes witches for the mythological Juno and

¹ Written between 29 and 19 B.C.

² "Dido and Aeneas". *The Treble Chorus of New England*.
<<http://www.treblechorus.com/content/main/chorusOpera2001.htm>>.

³ Deborah Payne Fisk and Jessica Munns. "Clamorous with War and Teeming with Empire: Purcell and Tate's *Dido and Aeneas*." *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Spring 2002, vol. 26, no. 2, p. 24.

⁴ "Dido & Aeneas, 2002". *The Oxford Girls Choir*. <<http://www.oxfordgirlschoir.co.uk/events/dido2002.html>>.

⁵ Deborah Payne Fisk and Jessica Munns. p. 25.

⁶ Ellen T. Harris. *Henry Purcell's Dido and Aeneas*. Clarendon Press (Oxford): 1987, p. 14.

Venus. This change is coupled with a change in motive of this set of characters. As contrasted with Juno and Venus who were concerned with the happiness and success of Dido and Aeneas respectively, the witches of Tate's libretto are motivated by jealousy and envy and seek only to destroy Dido, a goal which they achieve. There is no long-term goal that exceeds the temporal boundaries of the opera. Tate's addition of witches is also reflective of seventeenth century drama. Witches were popular additions throughout drama of this period, and their inclusion is perhaps most famously illustrated in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. Tate's alteration of the circumstances surrounding Dido's death is also reflective of seventeenth-century English society. "Illicit sexual encounter[s]"¹ in drama of the period usually resulted in the subsequent death of the woman in question, though rarely through suicide. In other plays of the period, "the fall from chastity is described as sufficiently fatal in itself."² This opera and its altered version of Virgil's story is seen by many as a morality, the goal of which was to show "the gentlewomen of Chelsea the results of sinful behavior."³

Aeneas' character in the opera, as well as the relationship between Dido and Aeneas is also altered from Virgil's original text. Contrary to Virgil's image of Aeneas as a great, strong, and powerful warrior and hero, Tate's Aeneas plays the fool, being the victim of a sham, as the Spirit messenger was merely an illusion created by the witches as a part of their plan for Dido's destruction, and being forced to submit to the will of a woman in the final scene in which Dido orders him to leave. The relationship between the couple is also very different. In Tate's libretto, the couple is not

coerced and the foundation of their relationship is their creation only and the result of their personal feelings toward each other. They are partially responsible for their state. In Tate's libretto, Dido and Aeneas also effectively change roles in the last Act of the opera. Aeneas, the strong warrior who is bound by destiny, defies his destiny and promises to stay with Dido, thus showing his weakness. Dido, on the contrary, behaves in a much more courtly manner, ordering Aeneas to leave and only later acknowledging her feelings for him and her inner turmoil and pain as a result of his departure. In contrast, in Virgil's story Dido and Aeneas are "essentially the puppets of the gods."⁴ Dido submits only as a result of mythological and godly intervention, and the departure of Aeneas and the reminder of his destiny are delivered by Mercury, messenger of Jupiter. Aeneas never defies his destiny and thus never breaks any promise of marriage. In Virgil's story, Dido is the overly emotional one, who tries to sway the stalwart Aeneas, but fails and "takes her own life, throwing herself onto a funeral pyre."⁵

Tate's libretto cuts out much of the detail, history, and explanation of Virgil's original story. The most obvious explanation for such exclusion is that students and citizens of seventeenth-century England would have been well aware and probably would have intimately known both the story of Dido and Aeneas from the fourth book of the *Aeneid* and the background and history pertinent to that story. Tate's exclusions also reflect the necessities of an operatic libretto. As Ellen Harris explains:

Because it takes substantially longer to sing a text than to speak it, libretto cannot be as expansive as a play, neither in

¹ Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, p. 23.

² Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, p. 24.

³ Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, p. 32.

⁴ Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, p. 15.

⁵ Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, p. 16.

overall length, nor, generally speaking, in the number of lines given to a single character at any one time. This is even more true for *Dido*, which was apparently intended to be a short production... Tate used this restriction to tighten his original drama; in the printed libretto the entire text of *Dido and Aeneas* covers only five and a half pages.¹

Tate, due to restrictions on time, was forced to leave out details and characters which were not essential to the understanding of the story such as King Iarbas, Aeneas' friend, and Aeneas' son. Speeches are also cut significantly in length or dispersed by inserting choruses or arias. Tate's libretto also has rhyme, which is characteristic of seventeenth-century English writers, as influenced by Dryden. Writers of this time "clearly felt that sung text should be rhymed, perhaps because rhyme was considered inherently musical."² Tate's text is consistently well suited for musical setting and provides flexibility for the composer in variation and in reflecting "the sense of the words they contain."³ This genius is, perhaps, most greatly exhibited in Dido's lament in the final scene of the opera, for which Tate wrote, "When I am laid in earth, may my wrongs create / no trouble in thy breast! / Remember me—but ah! forget my fate."⁴

This opera, considered by many as Purcell's masterpiece, is much more accessible to the average audience than most opera. The libretto, written in English, depicts a familiar mythological story with

many themes with which the modern audience and cast can identify. The typically overdramatic plot, throughout which one must suspend reality (or disbelief), still provides themes such as love and betrayal, which are readily identifiable with audiences from all walks of life. Although the attitudes and actions of the characters might seem overdramatic in real life, the beautiful music and carefully constructed libretto and scenes allow audience members to identify with individual characters and become involved in the story. Furthermore, the English libretto makes this opera more accessible to the average citizen than Italian or French opera by breaking down language barriers; however, it simultaneously maintains the form and style of Italian and French opera. The combination of aria and recitative in the relation of the story—arias serving to comment on action, while recitative moves action along—is typical of both French and Italian opera, while the frequent inclusion of dances (many of the originals of which have been lost and are, subsequently, replaced with alternates or not included) is a characteristic of French opera, with the heavy presence of ballet in many French operatic compositions or those modeled on the French style.

Only an hour long and requiring a fairly small cast (although size depends on your resources and requirements and can be altered to fit such), Purcell's only opera is performed in boarding and preparatory schools and universities around the world. Limited resources are frequently limiting concerns in terms of opera production, especially in small schools with small Departments of Music. Written originally for a girl's boarding school, *Dido and Aeneas* demands less than most traditional operas. However, although the required level of mastery is less than that of some opera, *Dido and Aeneas* still requires well-

¹ Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, p. 34.

² Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, p. 35

³ Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, p. 39.

⁴ Nahum Tate. *Dido and Aeneas*, Act III.

trained singers who can perform, at times, very challenging passages, the access to which is limited by the size of the Department of Music and the school. Participation in *Dido and Aeneas* provides classically trained voice students with invaluable experience and exposure to realistic professional performance. Opportunities to sing opera roles with orchestra can greatly aid in the development of singers and their education in performance and history.

Dido and Aeneas is also very flexible in terms of staging. Depending on financial resources and performance spaces, the opera can be staged to varying degrees, from the very simplistic with little or no acting, costumes, and scenery and with a minimal cast; to the grandiose and ornate with huge sets, elaborate costumes, and large casts; and everything in between, which, perhaps, also speaks to its frequent use by schools and universities of all types. *Dido and Aeneas* was never publicly performed during Purcell's lifetime outside of its initial performance at Josias Priest's boarding school. However, today it is widely performed, which is a tribute to the accessibility of the opera to modern audiences as well as to the true genius of both Purcell and Tate in their creation of a work that truly transcends time.

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Manus Manum Lavat: The Handwashing of Middle and Late Republican Politics

By Bob Wyllie

To be in the senate in the middle and late Roman republic was to be forever concerned with the accumulation of political honors. These honors took the form of offices and were ranked in order of increasing influence culminating in the consulship, of which there were just two each year. The frenzied drive toward these offices was fueled by the fact that success not only spoke well on behalf of the office holder, but also on behalf of his family and his descendents, and with such importance placed on attaining these offices, one may understand the great measures politicians routinely undertook in order to put themselves ahead. If the motives behind actions by those seeking public office are to be well understood, one must first understand what was considered necessary for the attainment of said office. In other words, it is crucial to learn what factors were essential to political success, since these factors will motivate political action. Specifically, I will argue that a politician of the middle and late republic could, for the most part, only succeed if he was well connected politically. Implicit in the above argument is also the claim that *this* aspect of Roman politics remained constant, the fact that success was (for the most part) predicated upon the management and exploitation of the web of relationships.

The first evidence I will bring to bear is the phenomenon of the *novus homo*. The "new man" in Roman politics had a distinct disadvantage, both in the second and first centuries BC. Plutarch says that Cato was opposed in his bid for the consulship because "the patricians deeply resented what they saw as the terrible insult being offered to nobility of birth by the fact that men of humble origins were attaining the highest

status and power,"¹ and Quintus Cicero talks about his brother's status as a *novus homo* as something to be "overcome."² But what does this term tell us about Roman politics? What could it mean that family distinction is a reoccurring theme and an all but necessary ingredient to political success, as Plutarch, Cicero, and others seem to indicate?

First and most obviously, it means that politics, *especially high politics* were dominated by "old men." I mean by this simply that the members of the oldest and most politically distinguished families must have monopolized the senate, especially access to high offices, for there to be a stigma against men who were not from such families. That ancient historians like Sallust and Plutarch felt the fact that a man had not come from a distinguished family was pertinent to his character and significant to his actions suggests that new men in high office were outside the norm. In other words, the typical consul would not have been a new man or else there would be no reason pointing out the fact. Plutarch and others set the fact forth as central to one's identity, as it was to Cato's.³ Indeed, Plutarch says Lucius Quinctus' fame, an ex-consul "depended less on his consulship than on the fact that his brother was Titus Flamininus, the conqueror of Philip."⁴ Clearly familial connections were of the utmost importance in the times of *both* Cato and Cicero, and even later we hear the Julian clan claiming lineage from Venus, doing

¹ Plutarch, *Life of Cato*, p 23.

² Quintus Cicero speaks about the *novus homo* as detrimental at length in his *Handbook on Canvassing* (see p 33). In addition, Sallust says Cicero got elected "despite" being a new man for reasons connected with the Catalinian Conspiracy in *The War with Cataline* (p 58).

³ Plutarch, *Life of Cato*, p 8.

⁴ Plutarch, *Life of Cato*, p 24

nothing more than claiming distinction through the fame of their purported ancestry.

However, the *novus homo* also tells us that the absence of powerful blood relations could not have been an insurmountable obstacle. A crack existed in the political wall through which exceptionally talented men could squeeze despite the absence of the benefits of distinguished relations, an opening that was just wide enough that Cato and Cicero were both able slip through. But what talents must Cato and Cicero, and other new men as well, have possessed to get through and make use of this opening? One must inquire then what factors allowed these men to succeed despite their lack of distinguished ancestry.

We may begin by noticing that two of the most notable new men, Cato from the middle republic and Cicero from the late, were both very successful and accomplished lawyers. Of what significance is this fact? The first characteristic about Roman lawyers pertinent to our discussion is that they seem to have been successful to the degree of their eloquence. Rhetorical prowess often translated into success at the bar. The next thing of which we should take note is that, as two of the most accomplished lawyers of their respective times, Cato and Cicero would be defending the most powerful and prominent men, and if these defenses were conducted successfully they were bound to earn the appreciation and friendship of the powerful men on whose behalf they spoke. This gave Cato, and later Cicero also, an in with the powerful political figures, and thus the important social circles, of their day. And as they won case after case, they earned the endorsements which would later help to get them elected to the highest offices. My suggestion that connections made by politicians are of the utmost importance should not be taken as a deprecation of the merits of these politicians *qua* politicians,

but rather to emphasize one ability absolutely essential to political success, namely the ability to make allies. The ability of the individual politician to establish and maintain powerful alliances was central to success, and the absence of such an ability led to obscurity in Cato's day, perhaps to proscription in Cicero's. Plutarch tells us "it did not take Cato long to acquire a number of admirers and friends on his own merits as a result of the cases he pleaded in court, and his prestige and influence also grew thanks to Valerius," and later that "Cato attached himself to Fabius Maximus, a man whose reputation and power in the city were second to none, but Cato was more interested in having his character and lifestyle before him as outstanding examples."¹ The word *attached* makes it hard to believe that Cato wanted to hang around a political bigwig like Fabius for the sake of his virtuous example alone. It seems probably that such an association was very valuable and certainly self-serving to Cato, especially since he was a new man.

Lest it be argued that Cato was the exception rather than the rule, one may go to Polybius to see other ways that successful political players successfully maneuvered and managed their relationships to their personal benefit and political betterment. Polybius introduces us to Flaminius, a consul who is winning a war in Greece against Philip.² The end of Flaminius' term approaches, and ideally he wants to be able to continue his war as proconsul, win a decisive victory (and collect spoils, of course) and celebrate a triumph. But at worst, he wants to be the one to conclude the peace if he is forced to relinquish his command. For that end he sent his friends

¹ Plutarch, *Life of Cato*, p 10-11. According to Plutarch, Valerius Flaccus was a powerful man who held high offices, eventually serving with Cato as Censor (p 11).

² Polybius, *Affairs in Greece*.

as envoys to see whether the senate planned on replacing him. If that was the case, the envoys were to sue for peace and encourage the senate to agree to the peace terms of Philip. If the senate, however, were to decide to return Flaminius to his command in Greece, the envoys were to argue that Philip's terms were not sufficient and therefore Flaminius would hopefully win a decisive battle and celebrate a triumph of greater glory than if the peace were made immediately. This is an excellent example of a politician manipulating his contacts, perhaps calling in favors, in order to better his own position (quite successfully in this case).

Looking back to Cato, there are other, even more suggestive hints Plutarch drops that Cato was out to make alliances in order to further his career, and that this was how he overstepped his humble origins. For example, Plutarch tells how Cato disapproved of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica and that "he did not hesitate to quarrel with Scipio the Great, still a young man then, who was a political opponent of Fabius and was generally thought to be resented by him."¹ This incident in itself supports the belief that Cato was playing politics in opposing Nasica, helping out Fabius, his powerful political ally and supporter and keeping a young opponent in check. But more importantly, Plutarch later tells us that Cato's son married Nasica's sister, presumably with Cato's blessing and perhaps his encouragement, and the resulting union is described as an "alliance" to an important family.² Such evidence weighs heavily in favor of an emphasis on interpreting middle republic politics as a network of connections between politicians,

and those who were successful within this framework were those who could exploit and manipulate the most connections, of the most powerful people, to their greatest benefit.

The nature of the conditions under which political success could be achieved having been established for the middle republic of the second century BC, the question now becomes whether the importance of being well connected changed during the late republic with the introduction of political turmoil. Do the political changes that take place constantly within the failing republic include a paradigm shift in the requirements for political success, perhaps from prominence placed upon links with certain social elites to a weight on individual merit?

I would argue that the case is the opposite. If anything, where one was located in terms of his associations with other men of power played an increasingly important role as the republic fell. A poor choice of allies led hundreds to their deaths through proscriptions when it turned out that their allies' opponents came out more powerful. Additionally, social ties show up importantly in almost every source contemporary with the times. Quintus Cicero tells his brother, up for election to the consulship, "take care that both the number and rank of your friends are unmistakable... it is a point in your favor that you should be thought worthy of this position and rank by the very men to whose position and rank you are wishing to attain."³ Further, Quintus says "men conspicuous for their office or name, who, even if they do not give any actual assistance in canvassing, yet add some dignity to the candidate."⁴ Throughout the short *Handbook on Canvassing*, Quintus tells Cicero to make everyone his friend and start calling in

¹ Plutarch, *Life of Cato*, p 11. P. Stadter suggests in an endnote that Plutarch is mistaken about the identity of the Scipio, and it really being P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (p 439).

² Plutarch, *Life of Cato*, p 28.

³ Quintus Cicero, *Handbook on Canvassing*, p 34.

⁴ Quintus Cicero, *Handbook on Canvassing*, p 37.

favours. The book is written as a political theory for building new alliances and fostering those which already exist. It is a theory of relationships, and specifically, *how they can be used to the benefit of a politician*.¹

Marcus Tullius Cicero writes to Quintus that his consulship had created allies in the province Quintus is governing.² In other words, Quintus would have an easier time getting along with certain people because of the relationship those people had to *Quintus' brother*, and Quintus could collect on the political debts owed to his brother in the form of cooperation, support, and friendship. Cicero's description to his brother of the events of Rome constitute a list of the ways Cato, Crassus, Pompey and their supporters interact, a description of who is allied with whom, consequently, who opposes whom.³ To Cicero, in order to understand the political happenings an understanding of political relationships is essential. It is almost as if politics *in Rome* were a microcosm of the functioning of the broader politics in which Rome was enmeshed. For example, Italy, during the time of the Second Punic War, was a place where Italian cities threw their lots in with one of two powers, Rome or Hannibal. Those cities which connected themselves to Rome and stayed loyal were rewarded, those which defected and sided with the loser, were severely punished, the civic equivalent of late republican proscription. We can see clearly the same mentality bespeaking the importance of relationships in the tumultuous times of the late republic when Caelius Rufus writes to Cicero: "I think you are alive to this rule, that men ought in a

case of home differences, so long as the contest is carried on constitutionally without an appeal to arms, to follow the party most in the right: when it comes to war and the camp, the stronger party."⁴

Thus, the only thing that changed from the middle to late republic was that the politicians of the late republic could no longer remain neutral. Sides now *had* to be chosen just as an ally during the invasion of Hannibal was forced to choose sides, and the wrong choice resulted in severe punishment for failing to send Rome support. Increasingly the hands of senators were forced and lines were ever being drawn in the political dust. If politicians ever had chosen sides based on what was right instead of what would further their career most, the late republic no longer afforded them that option. But despite these changes I must stick to my assertion that it is the relationships, and the ability to develop them, that made a politician successful in the late republic just as it was true of the middle republic. The most compelling example of this being the triumvirates that grew out of the political mishmash. These arose out of a mutual dependence of their members, a tacit agreement of each to help better the career of the others. For a time all gained influence, power, and wealth *solely* because of this triumvirate, this relationship between some of the most distinguished men of their time. The fact that in each case one person came out on top was simply the result of military luck and skill, but the fact that both Caesars were in a position to use their military to achieve ultimate power they owed to their aptitude at building alliances and keeping friends.

We might end, then, with a look at the example of Atticus, who certainly focused on establishing connections but did not, however, hold office. Atticus must have seen that, by this point in the republic,

¹ If this strikes modern readers particularly close to home, it is, perhaps, for good reason. Political theory is still often reducible to making the most friends possible through the most realistic promises.

² Cicero, *Letter to Quintus*(2), p 151.

³ Cicero, *Letter to Quintus*(1), p 82.

⁴ Caelius Rufus, *Letter to Cicero*, p 86.

people just got killed for entering politics, and recognized that he could still wield enormous influence by using his wealth and sitting on the sidelines. When Brutus and Cassius had assassinated Caesar, "Atticus, at that period, conducted himself towards Brutus in such a way, that that young an was not in more familiar intercourse with any one of his own age, than with him who was so advanced in years, and not only paid him the highest honour at the council, but also at his table."¹ Atticus was clearly buddying up with the powerful parties in Rome, as he would later buddy up with Antony.² Atticus, removed from Roman politics and living permanently in Greece, was, according to Nepos, against *nothing*, and is in some sense a very successful politician for not engaging in politics. Had he participated in the political turmoil actively, he would have been forced, like the other politicians in Rome, to take sides with one or another of the various people fighting. By staying out of it he was able to support whom he wanted without denouncing anybody. Atticus followed in the political ballroom, and by doing so he never stepped on his partner's toes.

The main points stand that relationships were paramount to political success in both the mid and late republics. Ancestral glory was always helpful to the careers of politicians, but the abilities of individuals to make new personal relationships allowed for the possibility of new men, and in general, successful choices of allies translated into success in politics, to the point in the late republic where the difference between success and failure was the difference between proscribing and being proscribed. Maybe the development of Atticus is inevitable in a system where it

always paid more to associate with people than be associated against them.

Caelius Rufus writes to Cicero: "I think you are alive to this rule, that men ought in a case of home differences, so long as the contest is carried on constitutionally without an appeal to arms, to follow the party most in the right: when it comes to war and the camp, the stronger party."³

Thus, the only thing that changed from the middle to late republic was that the politicians of the late republic could no longer remain neutral. Sides now *had* to be chosen just as an ally during the invasion of Hannibal was severely for failing to send Rome support. Increasingly the hands of senators were forced and lines were ever being drawn in the political dust. If politicians ever had chose sides based on what was right instead of what would further their career most, the late republic no longer afforded them that option. But despite these changes I must stick to my assertion that it is the relationships, and the ability to develop them, that made a politician successful in the late republic just as it was true of the middle republic. The most compelling example of this being the triumvirates that grew out of the political mishmash. These grew out of a mutual dependence of their members, a tacit agreement of each to help better the career of the others. For a time all gained influence, power, and wealth *solely* because of this triumvirate, this relationship between some of the most distinguished men of their time. The fact that in each case one person came out on top was simply the result of military luck and skill, but the fact that both Caesars were in a position to use their military to achieve ultimate power they owed to their aptitude at building alliances and keeping friends.

We might end, then, with a look at the example of Atticus, who certainly focused on establishing connections but did not,

¹ Cornelius Nepos, *Life of Atticus*, p 236.

² Cornelius Nepos, *Life of Atticus*, p 236-7.

³ Caelius Rufus, *Letter to Cicero*, p 86.

however, hold office. Atticus must have seen that, by this point in the republic, people just got killed for entering politics, and recognized that he could still wield enormous influence by using his wealth and sitting on the sidelines. When Brutus and Cassius had assassinated Caesar, "Atticus, at that period, conducted himself towards Brutus in such a way, that that young an was not in more familiar intercourse with any one of his own age, than with him who was so advanced in years, and not only paid him the highest honour at the council, but also at his table."¹ Atticus was clearly buddying up with the powerful parties in Rome, as he would later buddy up with Antony² Atticus, removed from Roman politics and living permanently in Greece, was, according to Nepos, against *nothing*, and is in some sense a very successful politician for not engaging in politics. Had he participated in the political turmoil actively, he would have been forced, like the other politicians in Rome, to take sides with one or another of the various people fighting. By staying out of it he was able to support whom he wanted without denouncing anybody. Atticus followed in political ballroom, and by doing so he never stepped on his partners toes. The main points stand that relationships were paramount to political success in both the mid and late republics. Ancestral glory was always helpful to the careers of politicians, but the abilities of individuals to make new personal relationships allowed for the possibility of new men, and in general, successful choices of allies translated into success in politics, to the point in the late republic where the difference between success and failure was the difference between proscribing and being proscribed. Maybe the development of Atticus is inevitable in a system where it always paid more to associate with people than be associated against them.

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¹ Cornelius Nepos, *Life of Atticus*, p 236.

² Cornelius Nepos, *Life of Atticus*, p 236-7.

Archaeological Field Work - a Neolithic Village

By Larkin Kennedy

As a small school, Denison doesn't offer either a specific program in Archaeology, nor many opportunities to enjoin in archaeological research. In an attempt to both stay at Denison, and to pursue this field, therefore, I've tried to combine my interests by majoring in Biology and by picking up a second major in Classical Civilizations. Furthermore, this summer there is an opportunity my roommate Allison Cartmell and I wish to become involved in, as we have similar aspirations: to apply to graduate school. Her concentration is in Classical Archaeology, while I lean toward a more Physical Anthropology/Archaeology bent.

First, through the Classical Civilization course being offered this May in Italy (*Loca Antiqua 2003: Italia* taught by Dr. Jacobsen and Dr. Fronza), we would learn more about the cultural context of such historical and prehistorical finds as well as being able to see the full impact of these premodern cultures on today's world. We will visit both continuing and completed archaeological digs in Rome and the surrounding countryside, and through individual site-related projects, we will further be able to research the Archaeological methods involved in such projects as well as familiarize ourselves with the fieldwork we hope to do after this class is completed.

To collect preliminary data, we would turn to the Medias field project in Romania, which is jointly funded by the Brukenthal Museum of Sibiu in Romania and the Archaeological Techniques and Resource Center – ArchaeoTek in Canada. We would be excavating both a Neolithic village as well as a Roman provincial town, and there are weekend trips available with which the culture and other historical legacies of the region can be experienced.

Attached are four more detailed project explanations from the director. While in Romania, not only would we be able to participate in the discoveries made and understand the way knowledge of a society can be gleaned from such discoveries, but we would also be immersed in a different culture and language and as such would be able to experience first hand the difficulties and rewards of overseas work. Allison, with her more classically minded interests, would be concentrating on the work in the Roman town while I am more interested with the sites associated with early man and would focus on the Neolithic village. We would stay in regular contact with our research advisor, Dr. Jacobsen, at Denison by email and would be able to provide him not only with written responses to the project but also with pictures via a digital camera. Also, as we are planning on doing this preliminary field work together Allison and I would be able to interact with and complement each other's projects, providing feedback, help, and support to each other in both our working and living environments.

Once Allison and I come back to campus in early July, having finished our initial data collection, we will not only be left with the greater task of piecing together the excavation and experiences we accumulated there in light of our ongoing research here on campus, but also be able to present the initial portion of our project with the rest of the summer scholars. For the remaining two months of the summer, we would use the resources found at Denison to further our knowledge of both Archaeological methodology and the site we excavated as well as relate the experience to our wider goals. We hope by the end of the summer to be able to provide a not only this look into the actual details of Archaeological fieldwork, but also provide a full field

report. For this we would rely very heavily on the library's resources as well as faculty guidance, especially Dr. Jacobsen who will be helping to direct our study both before the excavation through the class in Italy as well as with his help after we return to campus. We would like to allow our disparate projects to evolve somewhat in the light of the library and faculty resources available to us, and through them the initial field project would be able to attain its full significance to our goals, and perhaps future careers as well.

The Gorgon's Head: A Study of Mythology Through Art

By Matt Messmer

Art is always something I've been interested in. From as early as I can remember, I loved to draw and play with paints. My first formal teaching in art came from a local artist in my hometown of Phoenix, Arizona. From her I learned the basics of oil painting and drawing, focusing mainly on oil paints which have since been my medium of choice. Attached to this application are printouts of two paintings that I have done in the past. One is a still life of a pitcher and other objects that has been chosen for printing in the campus Exile magazine. The other is a master study of the Rembrandt painting *The Man in the Golden Helmet*.

As a studio art major and classical studies minor, my interest in the art of antiquity is natural. Some of my favorite paintings are those that depict the scenes of classical mythology. This kind of art appeals to me because it uses symbolism and imagery to convey the narrative of stories that are of great interest to me as a student of the classics.

Last semester I attended a class on Roman poetry which included the reading of Virgil's "Aeneid" and Ovid's "Metamorphoses." In this class we learned about Roman myths and their cultural significance. This sparked my interest in classical myth which led me in the Painting I class I was taking at the same time to briefly investigate paintings that depicted scenes from these epic poems and mythology.

This semester I am enrolled in both Drawing I and another class in the classical studies department that examines the history of the city of Rome. This class on Rome involves a 17 day trip to the city in mid May that lasts through early June. While on this trip I hope to get a first hand view of some of the artwork that I studied in my Painting

I class and to have the opportunity to experience the topics I'm studying in my Classical Civilization courses.

Drawing from all of these past and future experiences, my proposed research endeavor will combine both the study of art and classics by a joint examination of Greek and Roman mythological representations in art of the renaissance and later periods and then painting of similar subjects.

In my project I will study the myth of Perseus through representations of the myth in art, focusing mainly on the art of the renaissance and later periods. The story of Perseus is a central tale in Ovid's "Metamorphoses", a text used extensively by artists in the renaissance and later periods for the subject of mythology. Perseus has many deeds to his credit, including the slaying of Medusa and, probably his most famous deed, the freeing of Andromeda while slaying a dragon-like sea-monster (hence the constellation of Perseus and Andromeda). Many artists, such as Peter Paul Rubens in his painting *Perseus Liberating Andromeda* and Benvenuto Cellini in his bronze sculpture *Perseus*, have chosen scenes from the narrative of the myth as subjects for their work. Drawing from the study of classical and contemporary authors and painters of different periods, I will explore the myth of Perseus from a cross-cultural perspective, studying not only the myth itself, but the myth in context of the paintings and other artworks done by artists of different geographical and historical backgrounds, each with their own spin on the myth. Then, I will incorporate what I have learned and tell the narrative of the story from my own perspective through a series of paintings and drawings.

The trip to Italy in May will prove invaluable to the study of paintings first hand in museums such as the Galleria

Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Rome and the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence. The classical ruins of the cities themselves will also be a helpful source of reference as depictions of the gods and of mythic stories are abound in the architecture of ancient Rome. When I visit these sites I will take photographs using my digital camera for use later as references and as images for mixed media art. I will also take along a sketchbook in which I will take studies using pencil, inkwash, watercolor, and other easily portable mediums.

When I return to Denison I will take these photographs and sketches and, in conjunction with other reference material taken from books and texts, turn them into a series of larger drawings and artworks. These larger pieces will give me the opportunity to create work using many different media including charcoal, watercolor, pen and ink, pastel, photographic collages and mixed media works involving the digital photos I took in Italy and Photoshop. These larger studies will result in a minimum of twenty artworks in sizes ranging from 18x24 to 40x60. This will also be a time for further study of the myth of Perseus from a cross-cultural context as explained above.

The project will culminate in a final series of oil paintings and drawings in which I will tell the story of Perseus from my own point of view. These final works will include eight paintings and four drawings that depict scenes from the myth and involve the use of metaphor and symbolism to convey my ideas. All the final works will be linked by the narrative of the story and will together tell the story of Perseus and his deeds. Probable scenes include: The slaying of Medusa, rescuing Andromeda from the rock, and the battle with Phineus in addition to many others.

At the end of the project the final series of paintings and drawings will be

matted and framed for exhibition in the student gallery of Cleveland Hall in the Fall of 2003 for public viewing. This will also involve the writing of a brief summary of the project from a historical and artistic viewpoint.

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Beneficia Romanorum: Cultural Identity in Livy

By Michael Fronda

Books 6 through 30 of Livy's *ab Urbe Condita* narrate the critical years for the formation and the development of the so-called Roman alliance system. However, despite Livy's keen interest in analyzing "the motives, preoccupations, or reactions of men" faced with momentous decisions (Walsh 1963), he rarely gives detailed accounts of why, besides Roman conquest, states joined the Roman alliance system. Nor, except for a few lengthy discussions (such as the revolt of Capua, 23.2-10), does Livy describe in detail the attitude of the allies toward Rome. Rather, allied motivation is often collapsed into stylized dichotomies of the formula *magis quia...quam...* or a similar *variatio*. Historians often have accepted without much notice the historicity of these abbreviated explanations of allied motivation (for example, see Oakley 1997). However, their stylized nature suggests that Livy is using them for literary purpose and calls into question their value as historical evidence.

Habinek (1998) proposed that the ambiguous and even contradictory representations in Horace's poetry of the relationship between Rome and Italy, oscillating between the image of the Italians as conquered subjects of Rome and the ideal of *Tota Italia*, reflect the shifting balance of power between Rome and the Italians in the first century BCE and mirror in particular Augustus' involvement in the Italian problem. I argue that Livy in like fashion imposed the contemporary debate about cultural identity, about Roman versus Italian, on his historical narrative. Livy's "*magis quia...quam...*" dichotomies tend to pit the benefits of Roman rule against local or personal concerns. A comprehensive list is impractical for this abstract, but a few

examples will provide sufficient illustration. In 320 BC Rome forged an alliance with the Daunian city Arpi against the Samnites; according to Livy, the Arpini were so inclined *Samnitium magis iniuriis et odio quam beneficio ullo populi Romani* (9.13.6). In 340 BC, the Campanians broke their alliance with Rome and attacked the Samnites, then Roman allies, because *iniuriae Samnitium quam beneficii Romanorum memoria presentior erat* (8.2.7-8). Finally, during the Second Punic War, the people of Thurii decided to open their gates to Hannibal, but first allowed the Roman garrison commander Atinius to escape; the Thurians reached their decision because of personal amity toward Atinius, rather than because of consideration toward Rome: *magis quia ipsi ob imperium in semite ac iustum consultum volebant quam respectu Romanorum* (25.15.17). In all cases Livy has reduced what must have complicated debates about foreign policy to a clear choice on the part of the Italians between two opposing paths – toward Roman-Italian harmony or toward particularism. Livy's dichotomous explanations, therefore, represent his participation in the ongoing contemporary debate over Roman and Italian cultural identity.

'Nought may endure but Mutability': Ovid's Tristia 1.11

By Garrett Jacobsen

In the final poem in Book I of the *Tristia*, Ovid both restates the fundamental themes and poetics of the entire book and focuses upon the metaphorical reality of his exile. The language of Ovid's poem reveals the conscious mediation of reality through text, evoking Gadamer's conception that "a language view is a world view" (*Truth and Method*). A definition of the linguistic nature of human experience is especially appropriate for Ovid who poeticizes an exile caused by "carmen et error" (Tr. II.207). The attendant circumstances of remote exile, "nobis habitabitur orbis/ ultimus, a terra terra remota mea" (Tr. I.1.127-128), and the stormy passage there, "me miserum, quanti montes volvuntur aquarum" (Tr. I.2.19), become symbolic for alienation and anxiety. Tr.I.11 represents a poetic form of self-analysis and ultimately attempts to reconcile the Lacanian opposition between the symbolic and the real in an imaginary unity.

Ovid's use of linguistic devices, such as, syllepsis and personification, as well as the imagery and the structure of the poem, all contribute to a sense of dislocation that requires a redefinition of identity (Claassen, *Displaced Persons*). Ovid's "sylleptic imagination" (Tissol, *The Face of Nature*) as in "fluctibus" (line 10), and the personification of nature from an 'it' to a 'thou' (Buber, *I and Thou*), as in "scribentem mediis Hadria vidit aquis" (line 4), emphasize a constant shift from literal to figurative, from the real to the symbolic. The imagery of water, often in motion, dominates the poem-- 'aqua,' 'pontus', 'mare', 'pelagus'--and embodies the changeable nature of Ovid's situation. Frequent polyptoton (Luck, "Notes on the Language and Text of Ovid's *Tristia*"), such as "cura cura" (line 12) or "portum portu" (line 25), also reflects fluidity of context and thus meaning.

The very structure of the poem illuminates the tension between past and present, text and context, internal and external, poet and reader. Addressing the reader in an initial five couplet section (lines 1-10), Ovid establishes the poem as a coda to Book I, and he introduces the poetic mediation of praxis and experience, "ipse ego nunc miror tantis animique marisque/fluctibus ingenium non cecidisse meum" (lines 9-10). Two six couplet sections follow in a chiasmic elaboration of "fluctibus maris" (lines 11-22) and "fluctibus animi" (lines 23-34). The final five couplet section (lines 35-44) is a coda to the poem itself, and, as at the beginning of the poem, Ovid again addresses the imagined reader, "candide lector." Conflating self and verse (Williams, *Banished Voices*), Ovid manipulates the only reality he can--the text, "vincat hiems hominem! sed eodem tempore, quaeso, ipse modum statuam carminis, illa sui" (lines 43-44). In the real metamorphosis of Ovid from poet of Rome to poet of Tomis, to quote Shelley, "Nought may endure but Mutability."

Contributor's Notes

Jennifer Hart is a sophomore International Studies and Philosophy double major and a Performer's Certificate minor in voice from Calvert City, Kentucky. She is playing Second Woman in the Music Department's Spring 2003 production of *Dido and Aeneas*, for which she wrote the theatre piece for *Ephemeris*.

Derek Mong, a junior English writing major and Latin minor, hails from the Midwestern mediocrity known as Cleveland Ohio. This humble beginning, however, did not prevent him from attending the Summer Latin Workshop at University of California, Berkeley. There he spent ten weeks learning Latin while trying to absorb leftist culture through the filtered end of a clove cigarette. He still remembers his instructor Thaddeus's parting words: "Always be on the side of the nautae."

Matt Messmer is a freshman from Phoenix, Arizona. He is a Studio Art major, Classical Studies minor.

John Leebens is a sophomore Classical Civilization and History double major from Carterville, Illinois. Favorite Quote: "The Britons, who had had no experience of this, called it civilization, although it was part of their enslavement." - Tacitus, Agricola.

Betsy Prueter is a junior Classical Civilization and English double major, Latin minor from Chesterland, Ohio. This is her third semester as *Ephemeris* co-editor and is increasingly proud of the quality of work included in each progressive issue. This issue, drawing essays from several departments and a variety of majors, highlights not only Classical influence on the architecture of campus and events on campus with Classical themes but also a spread of papers from early to late antiquity. She wishes to thank all contributors for their excellent submissions and her co-editors for their hard work and long hours.

Charles Shonk is a senior Latin and Philosophy double major from Lancaster Ohio. He wishes to give special thanks to Dr. Garrett Jacobsen and Dr. Timothy Hofmeister, great teachers and mentors, whose kindness he will not forget. His submission is a chapter from his year long senior research project.

Bob Wyllie, is a junior Physics and Philosophy double major from Novelty Ohio. Thanks to the *Ephemeris* editors for working so hard for a forum where the growing number of Denison students interested in the Classics can publish their work.

Larkin Kennedy is a Junior Biology and Classical Civilizations double major from Reno, Nevada. She hopes to someday combine her interests in the field of archaeology.

Lauren Haas is senior Sociology major from Cleveland, Ohio.

John Pyles is a senior Physics major from Marietta, Ohio. He would like to thank Derek Mong and Eric Parrish for their help in editing.

Melanie Vanderkolk is a junior Classics major, art history minor from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Serving her third semester as editor, Melanie thanks all who were involved with this issue and is proud of both the quality of essays and the creativity of some of the contributors.

Cari Ramsden is a sophomore English literature major and environmental studies minor from Gatlinburg, Tennessee. She is very interested in publishing as a future career, and enjoys her work on *Ephemeris* because it is rewarding to see the expression of her fellow Denison students' interest in classic literature. She considers it a great privilege to be able to work with such talented students and dedicated co-editors.

Garrett Jacobsen, Associate Professor and current Chair of the Department of Classics recently was recognized by Denison for 20 years of service to the college. Originally sprung from a cage along Highway 9 in New Jersey, Professor Jacobsen received his A.B. degree in Latin from Franklin and Marshall College, and he fulfilled the requirements for the M.A. and the Ph.D in Classics from The Ohio State University. His research interests include Latin literature, especially Ovid; Classical and comparative mythology; late antiquity, especially Augustine; Byzantine history and culture; Celtic culture; gender in antiquity; and the classical tradition. His submission is an abstract from a presentation at a meeting of the Classical Association of the Midwest and South in Lexington, Kentucky in April of 2003.

Michael Fronda is a Professor of Classics at Denison. He earned a B.A. in both History and Classics from Cornell University. He received his M.A. at The Ohio State University in History and he earned his PhD from The Ohio State University in History in 2003. His submission is an abstract from a presentation at the Classical Association of the Midwest and South in Lexington Kentucky in April, 2003.

