

Nota Bene



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2021-2022 Revival Issue

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UC Davis undergraduates of any major, Post-Baccalaureate students in Classics, and graduate students currently enrolled in Greek or Latin or who have a designated emphasis in Classics are eligible to contribute their original academic essays or creative works to *NOTA BENE*. Submissions must address a pertinent topic to the ancient or classical Mediterranean worlds between the rise of Greek Civilization circa 2000 BC and the fall of the Roman Empire in 476 AD, and may focus on any aspect of civilization, including Comparative Literature, History, Law, Philosophy, Religion, Sociology, Art History, or Archaeology, in addition to Classics, Greek, Latin, or Norse.

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Letter From the Editor

Once again we are reviving this publication. I would like to start by thanking Professors Tim Brelinski and John Rundin for helping reboot this journal again after a four-year hiatus. Without their help and encouragement, this publication would have been much more difficult to compile and would likely not have been possible.

Nota Bene is a compendium of the creativity, dedication, intelligence, and diversity of the Classics Department at UC Davis. All of the students who have submitted to *Nota Bene* are extremely hard working and deserving of the highest recognition of their achievements. I am proud to have assembled this collection and to have read and edited the thoughtful pieces within. This publication contains not only academic papers but enthusiastically includes creative experimentation in the field of Classics.

Much work went into the revival of this journal after so many years, extreme cultural divisions, and enduring the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. I would like to once again express my gratitude to the educators in this department for the time and effort that it took to adapt to the rapidly changing teaching conditions of the past years.

It is my hope that this is the volume that will lay the foundation for the future volumes and create greater consistency between publications. I believe that it is necessary to provide a space for young minds to be heard in an academic sphere, a goal hopefully achieved by this journal.

Finally, I would like to specifically thank Autumn Wright and Dominique Paz for serving on the editorial board. Without them, this publication would have been impossible. And again, thank you to everyone who provided submissions and worked to resurrect *Nota Bene*.

Similar to the multitude of COVID-19 variants, this publication will return, evolve, and overcome, and - Fates permitting - will never truly die.

Sincerely,
Alessandra Soto
Editor In Chief
Nota Bene 2021-2022

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Academic Essays

2021-2022



**"I do not foresee your deaths. You will be immortal. Latin will make you immortal!"
- Professor John Rundin, 2020**

Following Their Lead

By Christine Daniels

The Muses—essential figures to Greek society. They are the divine daughters of Zeus and they bring guidance and memory in their discourses to their poets. One such poet is Hesiod, who gains his poetic abilities and understanding of the universe from the Muses after they come down from Mount Helicon to him. Hesiod's poems, the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, both start with invocations of the Muses. They come to him and transform him from a shepherd into an epic poet. Another figure similar to these Muses, and their abilities, is Diotima. She appears within the *Symposium* as a character with whom Socrates discusses Love and beauty. She guides Socrates, acting as her pupil, and transforms him from being a part of the youth into a guide himself. These two figures demonstrate guiding abilities to their respective students. Through such assistance, these apprentices gain mastery of their respective fields. Plato draws inspiration from the Hesiodic Muses for his characterization of Diotima. He uses her role as a guide towards Socrates in order to demonstrate the necessity of proper guidance in philosophy, so that the youth may see the beauty in every argument—rather than just their own.

The Muses are essential characters to Hesiod and the introduction of both the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*. They appear first in the *Theogony* and come down from Mount Helicon, where they are known to frolic. Hesiod encounters them here and he will soon become their poet. Regarding the dynamic between the Muses and a poet, the “poet is a servant of the Muses, instructed by [them]” (Collins 242). The Muses act as guides to Hesiod, inspiring him to speak on the matters of the divine and the genealogy of the gods. They are the ones who “...Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδὴν / ἄρνας ποιμαίνονθ' Ἑλικῶνος ὑπο ζαθέοιο” (*Theo.* 22-23, ...taught Hesiod the beautiful song, tending sheep under the divine Helicon). Before the Muses, Hesiod had no abilities in poetry, merely a simple shepherd tending to his flock. He was not able to until the Muses graced him with their appearance and instilled their song and divine breath into him. They, thus, guide Hesiod and lead him to the ways of poetry through their prophetic power. While he may have been a shepherd to his sheep, the Muses shepherded him to the divine voice of poetry. The Muses are indispensable figures to Hesiod and his development into a renowned poet.

Hesiod, as the follower of the Muses, undergoes a massive transformation following his meeting with them. His life is completely and utterly changed, going from the mere mortal shepherd to the everlasting poet of legend. He recounts how they “ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν / θέσπιν” (*Theo.* 31-32, they blew a divine voice into me). Hesiod essentially becomes possessed by the Muses, enlightened by the knowledge they possess—knowledge beyond the comprehension of a mortal man. They blew this voice into him and this allowed him to gain his abilities. Collins argues that the Muse-poet relationship is “one of dependency and patronage” (242), which is an accurate assessment of their dynamic. He continues his argument and advocates that the poet relies on the Muses for their inspiration. Without the Muses, Hesiod would be nothing. He is the vessel of the Muses and relays their wisdom since the knowledge that they tell is only available to the gods (Clay 63). Due to his mortality, Hesiod cannot directly know the divine ὄσσα that the Muses have. He rather becomes possessed and experiences the clarity of the divine after they blow a godlike voice into him. He is guided by the Muses and the voice that they give him; he then utilizes such gifts to impart the information of the Muses to his audience. The Muses, as divine figures, cannot be present and rely on Hesiod to utilize his voice

to act as their messenger, just as he relies on such voice to transfer to his poetry. The dynamic between the Muses and Hesiod is one of dependency; Hesiod needs to be possessed by the Muses in order to gain his divine voice while the Muses need Hesiod to spread their myths.

Much like the rapport between the Muses and Hesiod, Diotima acts as a similar prophetic guide to Socrates in philosophy. She leads him to topics pertaining to Love, beauty, and desire. She expresses that:

ἀλλὰ μὴν Ἐρωτὰ γε ὁμολόγηκας δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτῶν τούτων ὧν ἐνδεής ἐστίν (*Symp.* 202 d1-d2)

But then, you [Socrates] admitted that Love, because of a lack of good and beautiful things, desires these things of which he is in need.

She leads him, through her questioning, to the fact that Love is the desire of that which one does not have. She shows him that—to love—requires a lack in order to love. Socrates continues to tell her speech. In similar fashion to the Muses, Diotima is the “only example of a woman whose wisdom...is reported in her absence by a man” (Irigaray 32). While Irigaray delves primarily into the nature of gender, which this paper will not focus on, this is an interesting piece of information applicable to Diotima’s characterization. Diotima’s narrative about Love is discussed by Socrates while she is not there. Her account is said secondhand and relayed to the others within this dialogue. Diotima, although not present, appears to know the arguments given at the *Symposium*. Socrates, as the one relaying Diotima’s direct speech, includes references to the speeches made in said dialogue earlier. She references the claim made by Aristophanes that lovers are those cut in half looking for their other half (*Symp.* 205e). Diotima does not have the ability to know what Aristophanes or any of the others present in the dialogue say, since she is not there. This suggests that Diotima possesses some form of prophetic ability, able to see the arguments of those there before they have happened. Diotima thus resembles the Muses, demonstrating a similar power in the realm of the divine. When looking at her name of Διοτίμα, which comes to mean “honored by Zeus,” this is also another form of prophetic influence within it—akin to the Muses. It is likely that Diotima “is a made-up person” (Bloom 129) and Diotima could be created by Plato as a form of homage to the prophetic power and influenced by the Muses. There is the question, however, as to which Muses Diotima most resembles—Homeric or Hesiodic. According to McHugh, Homeric Muses are geared primarily towards memory while the Hesiodic Muses pertain to “voice, truth, knowledge, and an ability to end arguments” (6). While Diotima displays influences in memory, she primarily utilizes her voice and wisdom to act as a guide to Socrates—similar to the Muses. Diotima bears a resemblance to the Muses and the divine knowledge and prowess they demonstrate, such prowess that they then impart to their pupil.

While Diotima and the Muses demonstrate similarities in their abilities and roles, Socrates must be compared in a similar fashion to Hesiod. Like Hesiod and his poetry, Socrates did not demonstrate any capabilities in desire as Diotima until his discourse with her. She led him to the wisdom she possessed not through formal instruction but, rather, through questioning him. The line “ἔχεις εἰπεῖν;” (Are you able to say?) is continually repeated by Diotima, asking Socrates to answer these complex ideas that she poses to him, and thus prompting further questions to him for further answers from him. This allows for Socrates to critically think about these abstract concepts until he comes to his own conclusions regarding Love and its nature. Diotima acts as a guide to Socrates, not informing him but leading him to the conclusions she wants him to make. While the Muses breathe a divine voice into Hesiod in order for him to gain mastery of poetry, Diotima utilizes her line of questioning in order to have Socrates gain mastery

of philosophy and matters of Love. Socrates is led by Diotima so that he can formulate philosophical conclusions on Love—through her guidance.

As a part of the direction that Diotima gives within the *Symposium*, she stresses the necessity of proper guidance within philosophy, particularly pertaining to the appreciation and acknowledgement of beauty. She first begins this commentary with the introduction of a guide to the youth and their education. She conveys that:

μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας
ἀγαγεῖν, ἵνα ἴδῃ αὖ ἐπιστημῶν κάλλος (*Symp.* 210c6-c7)

and after the practices, [the guide] must lead [the youth] to the fields of knowledge,
so that one, again, sees the beauty of knowledge

Through this passage, Diotima highlights that the youth require some person as a guiding figure to lead them to the beauty of knowledge itself, rather than educating them simply on knowledge. One who wishes to become enlightened in this realm must experience the quintessential beauty that lies within knowledge—for this is true philosophy. Thus, those learning, primarily the youth who do not have such experience, have to obtain an aide that can lead them to this facet, rather than the simplicity of τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα. Thus, guides do this in an attempt for the youth to then see the beauty in other phenomena. Diotima then continues and explains why a guide is necessary for the youth, elaborating that “βλέπων πρὸς πολὺ ἤδη τὸ καλὸν μηκέτι τὸ παρ’ ἐνὶ” (*Symp.* 210c7-d1, now very much looking towards beauty [and] no longer [to beauty] in one thing). A guide is essential for those learning about beauty and philosophy because it allows for the youth to then see the beauty in everything, rather than just being limited in their outlook. The Muses and Diotima act as such guides to their respective youths—Hesiod and Socrates—who were lost in their disciplines without proper assistance. With their aid, both are able to reach their own fields of knowledge. For someone like Socrates to appreciate the beauty within philosophy, one would have to broaden his horizons and see everything. One could see the beauty in another’s claim, even if they do not fully agree with it, because they would be able to see the beauty in the argument and logic of the case itself. It is because of this that Diotima expresses the need for guidance within philosophy, in order for the youth to appreciate the beauty of all works and knowledge rather than just the beauty of one—what they agree in argument with. Diotima imparts her knowledge of philosophy and love and expresses the need of proper supervision within the youth; this is done, according to her, so that they may be able to properly see beauty in all opinions rather than just their own.

Another passage that Diotima imparts pertains to the steps of guidance on the ladder of beauty and love. Such passage is a step-by-step formula for how one can achieve fulfillment and understanding of beauty as a whole. She begins by describing the process as:

ὥσπερ ἐπαναβασμοῖς χρώμενον, ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἐπὶ δύο καὶ ἀπὸ δυοῖν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ καλὰ σώματα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν σωμάτων ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ μαθήματα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνο τὸ μάθημα τελευτῆσαι, ὃ ἐστὶν οὐκ ἄλλου ἢ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ καλοῦ μάθημα, καὶ γινῶ αὐτὸ τελευτῶν ὃ ἐστὶ” (*Symp.* 211c3-d1)

Just as using ladders, from one [rung] to two and from two to all beautiful bodies, and from the beautiful bodies to beautiful activities, and from the activities to the beautiful lessons and from the lessons one ends up to that lesson, which lesson is not anything other than that beauty itself, and so that one may learn, finally, the very thing that beauty is.

She describes how one must climb onto each of the rungs until they can obtain a philosophical-level appreciation and knowledge of beauty. The entry steps are seeing all bodies as beautiful, then to beautiful activities, then to beautiful lessons, which finally leads to the

beauty of beauty itself. It is a gradual process but a necessary one in order to see the beauty within beauty. It is worth noting the importance of the step prior to the enlightenment of beauty itself—beautiful lessons. These lessons must be given by a guide in order for the youth to reach the beauty within beauty, or else such enlightenment will never be attainable for those studying. There are a multitude of benefits for such a learning, since the aftermath of such awakening is unmatched in the benefits that it brings to philosophy. Life becomes “βιωτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ” (*Symp.* 210d2, worth living for a human) and thus becomes “κατὰ χρυσίον τε καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς παῖδάς τε καὶ νεανίσκους” (*Symp.* 211d3-d4, comparable to money and clothes and beautiful children and young men). After this revelation of the beauty of beauty, the world clicks. Life becomes worth living and feels full of riches beyond one’s wildest imaginations. This is the feeling of a philosopher. Such a feeling rests on and requires proper supervision and lessons from a guide, such as Diotima as a Muse to Socrates, in order to obtain such enlightenment. Socrates becomes able to see the beauty in all arguments, even those that he does not agree with. An example of this is when Agathon finishes his speech and Socrates remarks that: “ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὑπ’ ἀβελτερίας ᾧ μιν δεῖν τάληθῆ λέγειν περὶ ἐκάστου τοῦ ἐγκωμιαζομένου” (*Symp.* 198d, For I, from silliness, thought that [we] had to say true things about that [Love] being praised). Socrates, prior to this comment, exults Agathon for how wondrous his speech is, but then comments that he did not tell the truth. Even though Socrates did not agree with him, he could still see the beauty within his argument—such as Diotima showed him. Diotima points out that the steps towards philosophy are gradual; however, they are fundamentally dependent on a guide showing the youth the beauty within beauty itself rather than the simplicity of knowledge. This is necessary in order for such youth to transcend their understanding and see the beauty in all formulations rather than just their own.

Pertaining to the Muses, there is question as to the validity of what they tell Hesiod, which thus raises questions regarding the authenticity of Diotima’s allegations within her own philosophies told to Socrates. The Muses, in their own introduction, begin by setting questions onto the legitimacy of their claims. It is virtually impossible to distinguish which statements made by them are true and which ones are lies. They preface their nature by warning Hesiod:

ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα

ἴδμεν δ’ εἴτ’ ἐθέλωμεν ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι (*Theo.* 27-28)

We know how to say many false things similar to true things
and we know how to, when we wish, sing true things.

The Muses then relay their tale and there is no cue as to whether they are telling the truth or spreading lies through their ὄσσα, which itself has a connotation of rumor. Diotima’s words, consequently, are also brought into question, as she is a figure related to the Muses. It is after this exchange with the Muses that Hesiod thus receives his divine voice from his guidance given by the Muses and retells their statements from the beginning of the universe. Collins suggests throughout his piece that Hesiod is forbidden to know what the Muses do—that Hesiod will never be able to decipher whether the Muses speak the truth (260). However, this is too narrow minded in its reasoning. Hesiod, and Socrates as an extension, is able to distinguish whether their respective Muses relay true things or falsities. This is possible due to the guidance they are given by their guides. They are able to discern—to their own beliefs—what the truth is. For truth is subjective and depends on what one believes to be correct. Both Hesiod and Socrates, through the guidance they are given, decide for themselves what is true, and display it as such. This is their argument. It is up to the figure of the poet, in this case Socrates, as “the philosopher, guard-dog of the truth and of the desire for truth, [to be] committed to alētheia” (Cassin 13). A

philosopher, as such a hound for truth, is the guiding warden on how to differentiate ἀληθῆ from ψεύδεα. It is because of this that Socrates is capable of distinguishing the facts in his Muse's discourse. This is the necessary step towards his philosophical status. He is able to formulate his argument and identify, for himself, what the truth is and what he thinks is correct. Anything contrary to this is a lie to Socrates and Hesiod—going against their truth. However, even though they are lying to them, they still can appreciate the beauty within the argument—as their Muses have guided them. An example to this is the comment that Socrates made to Agathon at the conclusion of his speech (*Symp.* 198d), which was mentioned previously. Although Socrates did not agree with Agathon for the content and beliefs that he displayed, he could still find beauty in his logic. It is only after this step of guidance to the formulation of his argument that Socrates demonstrates his experience as a philosopher. Though the discourses from the Muses, and by extension Diotima, may be plagued by inaccuracies, it is up to their respective pupils to decide what are ἀληθῆ from ψεύδεα, as this is always them to choose their truth compared to others 'lies'—while still seeing the beauty in that which they disagree with.

Following the guidance of the Muses, both Hesiod and Socrates transform into guides themselves, who will come to guide the youth to come after them. Hesiod uses the divine voice he gains through his direction to impart such a guidance to his audience. He relies on the Muses in the *Theogony*; however, in the *Works and Days*, he shifts his paradigm and begins his narrative himself by saying:

κλῦθι ἰδὼν αἰῶν τε, δίκη δ' ἴθυνε θέμιστας
 τύνη· ἐγὼ δέ κε Πέρση ἐτήτυμα μῦθησαίμην (*WD* 9-10)

Listen, watching and hearing, and straighten the laws with justice
 yourself, and I would say true things to Perseus.

He shows his ability and attempts to guide his brother, Perseus, as the Muses had done for him. He tells him that we will say ἐτήτυμα to him. These things are true because they are what Hesiod believes to be true. He attempts to instill such divine inspiration to his brother so that he can become enlightened as he is. Socrates also becomes a guide to youths himself, with Plato being his greatest example. Plato is guided by Socrates and he becomes his aid to the questions in philosophy, similar to how Diotima led him. Wegnert agrees that Socrates obtains a guiding role in philosophical inspiration, comparing his role to Diana's role in childbirths (9). Socrates acts as a guiding hand to his students and leads them to their own conclusions in arguments. In this way, Hesiod and Socrates become guides to their youth, such as when they—as youths—were led by their divine guides.

Diotima resembles the Muses with her prophetic knowledge on Love and beauty, as well as her relationship to her 'poet' of Socrates. The Muses act as guides to Hesiod, leading him to the way of poetry and the origins of the universe. It is because of this mastery and experience that Hesiod thus introduces the *Works and Days* while he relied on the Muses in the *Theogony*. The relationship between Socrates and Diotima displays similar characteristics to that of the Muses and Hesiod. Diotima acts as the guide to Socrates and prompts him to critically think about Love and its nature in relation to beauty through the questions that she asks him. She allows for Socrates to gain experience producing his own wisdom and truth through her guidance, which thus allows him to become a guide himself to the youth in philosophy. Diotima states that youth must be led to the fields of knowledge by a guide. She then gives the example of the ladder and the steps necessary for one to gain the knowledge of the beauty of beauty. Both Hesiod and Socrates show the necessity of proper guidance within their fields. These guides broaden the horizons of their students, so that they can appreciate all arguments and see the

beauty within them—even if they do not agree with the claim being made. Without the guiding hand of their respective Muses, they would be unable to see the beauty in everything and would be limited in their appreciation for alternative claims. Socrates and Hesiod, as pupils, corroborate Diotima’s claim that the youth must be properly guided. Plato draws inspiration from the Hesiod and the Muses in the *Symposium*. He uses such a model for Diotima and her role as a guide to Socrates, as her youth. Through the Muses’ direction given to their respective youth, one is able to see the necessity of such guidance for those learning. Proper guidance is essential—especially in philosophy—in order to appreciate the beauty of all claims, regardless of their validity.

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Cicero's Tusculan Disputations: Inventing Ethical Consolation

By David Gilstrap

I. Introduction and Thesis

At one point in Cicero's magnum opus on the subject of oratory - *De Oratore* - L. Licinius Crassus, who functions as Cicero's mouthpiece in the dialogue, claims that 'after he had arrived in Athens as a quaestor from Macedonia,' an opportunity was presented to him to learn the opinions of the most eminent philosophers of the day on the vexed topic of oratory.¹ Crassus goes on to claim that the philosophers in Athens were of a single mind concerning the superiority of their dialectical art over the dubious art of the orator. Furthermore, Crass says that he got the impression in Athens that "the orator was driven from the helm of the State, shut out from all learning and knowledge of more important things, and thrust down and locked up exclusively in law-courts and petty little assemblies, as if in a pounding-mill."² Even so, says Crassus, it struck him that philosophers, - for instance, Plato in *Gorgias* - were acting as "consummate orators" precisely when they were decrying oratory.³ Crassus perceptively observed that whenever an opportunity presented itself to speak on commonplaces, such as, the immortal gods, duty, friendship and the virtues, the philosophers were as a whole eager to "raise the cry that all these matters were their exclusive province", but that nonetheless they discussed these themes "in a sort of thin and bloodless style."⁴ The implication being that outside the specialized circles of the philosophical elite, these stymied discourses failed to animate and affect the complex range of human psychology needed to motivate the average citizen, and thus, "the speaker failed to achieve what he wanted to achieve by his words," namely, the valorization of the philosophical life among the general populace.⁵

In the *Tusculan Disputations*, which are the chief concern of this essay, Cicero once again takes up this criticism regarding unadorned philosophical discourse:

Now it is possible for an author to hold right views and yet be unable to express them in a polished style; but to commit one's reflections to writing, without being able to arrange or express them clearly or attract the reader by some sort of charm, indicates a man who makes an unpardonable misuse of leisure and his pen.⁶

And a few more illustrative passages,

The Stoics construct foolish syllogisms to prove pain no evil, just as if the difficulty in question were a verbal one and not one of a matter of fact.⁷

Whether then the sense of pain is an evil or no, let the Stoics settle in their attempt to prove that pain is not an evil by a string of involved and pettifogging

¹ E.W. Sutton, B.C.L., and H. Rackham (tr.), *Cicero: De Oratore*, xiii, 35. Further, it appears that "Crassus served as quaestor sometime around the year 109 BC."

² *Ibid.*, 35.

³ *Ibid.*, 37. See also, Plato, *Gorgias*, 463d: "...oratory is an image of a part of politics."

⁴ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁶ J.E. King (tr.), *Cicero: Tusculan Disputations*, 9.

⁷ J.E. King (tr.), *Cicero: Tusculan Disputations*, 177.

sylogisms, which fail to make any impression on the mind.⁸

If you are going to do any good, you must look out for some fresh arguments. Those you have given have no effect on me, not merely because they are hackneyed but much more because, as with certain light wines which lose their flavor in water, there is more delight in a sip than a draught of this stoic vintage.⁹

The idea being that even if a philosopher succeeds at conveying true propositions regarding the ethical life, if he nonetheless fails to do this in a pleasant and attractive style, the discourse will lack the impetus it needs to stimulate his interlocutor with any degree of constancy. Indeed, Cicero explicitly states in his *Disputations* that his aim is to marry *prudentia* (wisdom) and *eloquentia* (eloquence) in order to treat “the greatest problems with adequate fullness”, but what exactly does he mean by this claim?¹⁰ What is his project in concreto? In this essay, I advance the position that Cicero’s chief aim is to help his non-specialist Roman reader develop the ability to extemporaneously ‘invent’ persuasive and effective ethical arguments, which are to be addressed primarily to the self and used as a kind of logos-therapy for healing a soul in distress. In short, I claim that Cicero’s *Tusculan Disputations* are working to curate the highly technical and polemical debates of Hellenistic philosophy by pointing to deeper congruences in the ethical positions held by the various sects of philosophy, and thus, Cicero is mining the most potent and efficacious arguments found in the various schools of philosophy in order to produce *medicina animi* (a healing art of the soul) that can be of genuine therapeutic use to his Roman audience.

Of course, Cicero is not working in a cultural and social vacuum, thus I also argue that he is operating within a specific framework of established Roman rhetorical practice as he performs for his reader his ideal of extemporaneous psychic therapy. In other words, Cicero’s distinctive philosophical approach is targeted to reach a general, but learned Roman audience, that is, men who are seeking to become statesmen, politicians, lawyers, and public speakers, and thus have mastered the art of declamatory exercise under the instruction of Roman professors of rhetoric and then, in many cases, “have gone abroad, to Greece or Asia Minor, to study advanced rhetorical theory, oratory, declamation, and philosophy with the Greek ‘masters.’”¹¹ Hence, Cicero is adapting a long established model of Hellenic therapeutic practical philosophy within a framework of Roman declamation, specifically, the branch of *declamatio* known as *controversia*. Accordingly, Cicero’s work is speaking, on the one hand, to a politically active generation of educated Romans - typified by the works primary addressee Brutus - who were in need of moral fortification in the dark days of the late Republic, and, on the other hand, to promising young men, who were seeking to make their own way through the *cursus honorum*, men such as Cicero’s own son, Marcus Tullius Cicero the Younger.¹² I now turn my attention to explicating some notable passages from the

⁸ Ibid., 195.

⁹ Ibid., 439.

¹⁰ Ibid., 9-11.

¹¹ Jo-Ann Shelton, *A Source in Roman Social History*, 114-120.

¹² In 44 BC Cicero Jr. was studying philosophy and rhetoric abroad in Athens. Cicero may have had young men like his son in mind when he composed the *Disputations*. Indeed, in Cicero’s work *De Officiis*, he addresses Marcus Jr. directly, “My dear son Marcus, you have now been studying a full year under Cratippus, and that too in Athens, and you should be fully equipped

Tusculan Disputations that I hope will further substantiate these claims.

II. Textual Exegesis

In the presence of a genuine philosophical master, surely a young Roman, who was studying philosophy abroad, would have been impressed, if not by the substance of the master's arguments, then by the living model provided by the philosopher himself. However, years later, perhaps jaded and exhausted by active life, and longing to return to one's philosophical notebooks, the same Roman would not have been nearly as impressed as he once was by the terse syllogistic reasoning and pointed dialectic that is characteristic of Hellenic philosophy generally. Indeed, in the first book of the Disputations, when the disputant M. suggests to A. that he return to the text of Plato for instruction, Cicero has his interlocutor say:

I take it that Cicero is suggesting - through the back and forth in the drama - that in the absence of a living teacher, philosophical text(s) have come to replace the authority of a living master, but that those texts, on their own, are not a sufficient replacement. As Plato understood so well, philosophy is an active conversation that must begin afresh on each occasion that prompts its aid. Philosophy is not necessarily an edifice of knowledge that accumulates over time like the static intellectual palaces of pure mathematics.¹³

Therefore, what is a Roman to do in the absence of such a master? What is a Roman to do who finds himself politically isolated, who has just experienced the loss of his beloved daughter, and is increasingly witnessing the dissolution of his beloved Republic under the threat of authoritarianism? Cicero offers the following guidance:

A: I have done so, be sure, and done so many times; but somehow I am sorry to find that I agree while reading, yet when I have laid the book aside and begin to reflect in my own mind upon the immortality of souls, all my previous sense of agreement slips away.¹⁴

I take it that Cicero is suggesting - through the back and forth in the drama - that in the absence of a living teacher, philosophical text(s) have come to replace the authority of a living master, but that those texts, on their own, are not a sufficient replacement. As Plato understood so well, philosophy is an active conversation that must begin afresh on each occasion that prompts its aid. Philosophy is not necessarily an edifice of knowledge that accumulates over time like the static intellectual palaces of pure mathematics.¹⁵ Therefore, what is a Roman to do in the absence of such a master? What is a Roman to do who finds himself politically isolated, who has just experienced the loss of his beloved daughter, and is increasingly witnessing the dissolution of his beloved Republic under the threat of authoritarianism? Cicero offers the following guidance:

Assuredly there is an art of healing the soul- I mean philosophy, whose aid must be sought not, as in bodily diseases, outside ourselves, and we must use our utmost

with the practical precepts and the principles of philosophy..." Walter Miller (tr.) *Cicero: De Officiis*, 3.

¹³ See *Disputations*, V, 18: "And yet you argue here like the mathematicians, not like the philosophers."

¹⁴ J.E. King (tr.), *Cicero: Tusculan Disputations*, 31.

¹⁵ See *Disputations*, V, 18: "And yet you argue here like the mathematicians, not like the philosophers."

endeavor, with all our resources and strength, to have the power to be ourselves our own physicians.¹⁶

Cicero is arguing here that in the absence of a philosophical master, a student of philosophy must learn to take care of his own soul. Indeed, Cicero says that we must strive with all our resources and strength to become our own physicians. The idea being that: as students of philosophy, we are solely responsible for generating the philosophical discourse(s) that will heal the mind from *perturbationes* (disorders), just as it is part of the art of medicine to generate *pharmaka* that will heal the body. In other words, philosophical arguments are the means to the ‘sound health of the soul’, which is realized in the treasured state of *tranquillitas*.¹⁷ Surely, in the battle for the equanimity of the soul, the affective art of rhetoric must not lie idle, cowering in the rear. Even so, what is the specific methodological procedure being advocated by Cicero? I claim that the following programmatic passage from the proem of the first book gives us a significant clue:

The procedure was that, after the would-be listener had expressed his view, I opposed it. This, as you know, is the old Socratic method of arguing against your adversary’s position; for Socrates thought that in this way the probable truth was most readily discovered.¹⁸

Now, as A. E. Douglas notes, “Clearly the Socratic assumption of ignorance and the famous method of question and answer could not demonstrate even the ‘more probable’ of conflicting views as is shown by the inconclusiveness of many of the earliest and most authentically Socratic, of Plato’s dialogues.”¹⁹ The suggestion being that, at best - in the passage quoted above - Cicero is presenting a distorted picture of the famous Socratic method of inquiry. I think that this distortion is not an accidental slip of Cicero’s pen, nor an attempt to frame the Socratic project in terms of Cicero’s allegiance to the New Academicians, but rather, that in this programmatic passage, Cicero is appropriating and transforming the method of Socratic inquiry and adapting it to the established Roman rhetorical practice of *controversia*. The reader will recall that *controversiae* (plural) were “the summit of the rhetorical curriculum.”²⁰ These classroom exercises taught students of rhetoric to argue both sides of a moral or legal theme. The student of rhetoric was expected to master these compositional and performative exercises in order to lead a successful career as a politician or lawyer in the active public sphere. In practice, the comparison of themes encouraged by the discipline of *controversiae* produced orators who were able to speak freely and imaginatively on any topic.²¹ I think it is precisely this freedom and creativity in invention of philosophical discourse that Cicero is after in the *Disputations*. The idea being that, in the absence of a philosophical master, a student of philosophy is to deploy this rhetorical technique in order to marshal the most potent arguments - pro and contra - against a given ethical thesis. The consequence of this procedure is that the student imagines himself as having advocated forcefully for both sides of the thesis, and in the

¹⁶ J.E. King (tr.), *Cicero: Tusculan Disputations*, 231.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 235.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁹ A.E. Douglas (tr.), *Cicero: Tusculan Disputations: Book 1*, 93.

²⁰ Dominik, William and Hall, Jon (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric*. Article by Bloomer, Martin W., *Roman Declamation: The Elder Seneca and Quintilian*, 305.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 304.

final analysis, has come to settle on the argument that seems to him most probable, persuasive, and efficacious for the healing of his soul. Hence, Cicero is really advocating for an alliance between practical philosophy and the art of rhetoric, which assists the student in extemporaneously inventing therapeutic arguments that aim at alleviating the aegritudines (anxieties) and cupiditates (desires) that cause perturbationes animi (disturbances of the soul), pace Plato: “For excellence in speaking cannot be made manifest unless the speaker fully comprehends the matter he speaks about.”²²

This strong connection between philosophy and rhetoric is made explicit in the second book of the *Disputations*, where Cicero has the following to say:

Accordingly these considerations always led me to prefer the rule of the Peripatetics and the Academy of discussing both sides of every question, not only for the reason that in no other way did I think it possible for the probable truth to be discovered in each particular problem, but also because I found it gave the best practice in oratory. Aristotle first employed this method and later those who followed him. Philo, however, as we remember, for we often heard him lecture, made a practice of teaching the rules of the rhetoricians at one time, and those of the philosophers at another. I was induced by our friends to follow this practice, and in my house at Tusculum I thus employed the time at our disposal.²³

Further confirmation of Cicero’s rhetorical and syncretic approach to the invention of philosophical arguments is found in the fifth book of the *Disputations*. Here, Cicero is commenting on the freedom allowed by his academic approach, specifically, the method championed by Carneades, a scholar of the New Academy. Cicero says:

Let me then use the freedom allowed to my school of philosophic thought alone, which decides nothing on its own pronouncement but ranges over the whole field, in order that the question may be decided by others on its own merits, without invoking anyone’s authority.²⁴

In the final analysis, then, it appears that Cicero’s Romanized philosophy seeks to upend the traditional system of doctrinal authority, which was linked to the centrality and dominance of Athens as the philosophical center of gravity in the ancient world²⁵, and instead, Cicero offers his Roman readers a philosophical methodology that leverages the advanced techniques of rhetorical practice in order to generate cogent and affective arguments that are practically useful and discursively open-ended. Hence, in the remainder of the fifth book he curates the displeasure of polemical and technical conflict and extracts from the various philosophical sects the key arguments that he thinks are important for ethical reflection and oratorical deployment. Accordingly, a highly trained orator, who has constructed a philosophical citadel in his memory palace, which is supplied with an arsenal of affective arguments, will never be found wanting with regard to the intellectual resources needed for offering *levatio* (consolation) to an ailing spirit.

²² E.W. Sutton, B.C.L., and H. Rackham (tr.), *Cicero: De Oratore*, 37.

²³ J.E. King (tr.), *Cicero: Tusculan Disputations*, 155.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 511.

²⁵ The philosophical centrality of Athens evaporated after Sulla’s sack of the city in 86 BC and the ensuing diaspora of the various philosophical libraries. The scholarchs of the various schools relocated to Rhodes, Alexandria, and Rome. See David Sedley, *The Cambridge Companion to The Stoics: The School, from Zeno to Arius Didymus*, 24-32.

III. Conclusion

In this essay, I have argued that Cicero, in his *Disputations*, has set out to help his Roman audience to develop the ability to extemporaneously invent persuasive and effective ethical arguments, which are to be addressed primarily to the self and used as a kind of logos-therapy for healing a soul under psychological duress. Further, I have argued that Cicero has adapted the venerated and highly developed model of therapeutic ethics, which was first introduced by Socrates, within a Roman context of *declamatio*. In addition, I have also advanced the claim that Cicero is working to curate the highly technical and polemical debates of Hellenistic philosophy by pointing to deeper congruences in the ethical positions held by the various sects of philosophy, and thus, that Cicero has mined the most potent and efficacious arguments found in the various schools of philosophy in order to offer efficacious cognitive pharmaka for the rhetorical use of his Roman audience. Here, in closing, I leave the reader with the following consideration: imagine an active Roman, who may have found himself in Cicero's own demoralized position, subjected to the relentless assaults of fortune, isolated and politically exiled, perhaps even lacking access to his beloved philosophical notebooks, it is clear that he would need more than just the barbed syllogism of the Stoic or the unadorned precepts of the Epicurean to overcome the waves of sorrow that threaten to engulf his mortal happiness. Indeed, in the closing sentence of the work, Cicero has the following to say regarding his philosophical subject matter, "...in my cruel sorrows and the various troubles which beset me from all sides no other consolation could have been found."²⁶

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²⁶ J.E. King (tr.), *Cicero: Tusculan Disputations*, 547.

Parody, Lies and Rumor: The Truth Behind Lucian's *The True History*

By Andrew Haley

This essay explores the role of parody in Lucian's *The True History* to inspect the transmission of knowledge in the ancient world.

Parody relies on extremes to make commentary comedic, a process which Lucian does well in *The True History*: Every luxury is bountiful— rivers flow with wine (*The True History* 1.7), doors are made of cinnamon, and walls are made of precious stones (*The True History* 2.11). Even Homer himself is twisted to be a Babylonian slave (*The True History* 2.20). And, despite a small portion of his men falling victim to the trap of a grape-woman's embrace (*The True History* 2.8), both Lucian and the majority of his crew make their way safely from place to place.

In presenting such fantastical things (some inflammatory, some benign), Lucian makes himself out to be an "Odysseus" character. However, he also makes himself out to be a historian through his attempts to verify what the fantastical things he "witnessed", such as an engraving he saw that proved the footsteps he saw on his travels were those of Heracles and Dionysus (*The True History* 1.7). In establishing such conflicting extremes as truth, Lucian pushes his work to be parodies of both Odyssean travels and historical accounts.

Yet despite the unmistakable nature of his parody, Lucian still warns his audience in the that "the only true statement" they can expect is that he is a liar (*The True History* Introduction.4); a seemingly odd remark, considering that the extremity he establishes in his parody should make it obvious that he is lying. However, the implication of such a statement is an assumption that Lucian's audience would gladly go on reading his work incorrectly: as if the fantastical elements were real; or further, as if Lucian himself was a lying historian, rather than seeing the parody for what it plainly is. Lucian has to tell his audience in explicit terms that it is a parody of "the cock-and-bull stories of ancient poets, historians, and philosophers" (*The True History* Introduction.3), even though he claims that the work is "a rest" from other works for a "literary man" (*The True History* Introduction.2). The result, then, is that *The True History* is aimed to amuse the *pepaideumenos* who easily understand his parody, while warding off any rumors that might arise from a misunderstanding of his work by the insufficiently educated, which would ruin his social standing.

Further, Lucian proves that such a warning is necessary. If Lucian's account of Peregrine's death is to be believed, passersby uncritically spread his rumor that a vulture emerged from the pyre that Peregrine was burned on (*The Death of Peregrine* 1.39-41). Certainly, some people did not believe such a rumor, especially when Lucian distributed two accounts of events: the bare truth of the matter to those he liked, and outrageous lies to those he didn't (*The Death of Peregrine* 1.39). But, someone who did not believe the outrageous lie could still distribute the rumor in disbelief, which would allow the lies to spread to a more gullible sort who would believe that they are the truth. This passage illustrates the necessity of clarity, and the futility of it. For as much as Lucian can insist that his tale is a lie, there is still a chance that *The True History* will be taken out of context; and, in doing so, people would claim him to be either a truth-telling historian, or a lying historian, when in reality he is simply a parody of both.

I cannot help but wonder whether this muddying effect of rumor was also his intention. Lucian enjoys unsettling people from their steadily held beliefs with seemingly reckless abandon; it would hold that he would intentionally disperse a work which would play into a rumor of fantastical reality and the rumor of historical lies simultaneously. In fact, there are only

a few instances in his body of work where he speaks without a mocking agenda, or even approaches transparency about his identity.

With respect to the latter, there are numerous works where he names not himself, but uses an unidentified Syrian (*The Double Indictment*), metaphor (*The True History*), or a cynic (commonly Mennippus in the *Dialogues of the Dead*) as his mouthpiece.

With respect to the former, *Alexander the Oracle Monger* is the only work which comes to mind, in which Lucian takes a more sober approach to exposing the frauds of Alexander the prophet. Notably, he states that he is “a little ashamed” on his own account for “going seriously into an investigation” of Alexander’ (*Alexander the Oracle Monger* 1.2). This is due in part to giving Alexander the benefit of rumor (which I have already established as unrelenting in transmitting truths and falsehoods in turn), and the benefit of being read by the *pepaideumenos*, rather than being “torn to pieces in the amphitheater by apes or foxes with a vast audience looking on” (*Alexander the Oracle Monger* 1.2). Lucian, being so well versed in lies, knows that the written word can give attention to both the good and the bad. Therefore the departure of Lucian from his record of lies, fiction, and shadowy descriptions of himself to write about Alexander, regardless of the inherent risks, is significant because it evidences that the goal of his corpus is not primarily to deceive, but rather to expose faults in knowledge and logic.

It is clear, however, that Lucian is much more comfortable operating in falsehoods given the vast amount of deception in his work. Lucian’s work makes it apparent that he knows the limits of his own knowledge. Lies and fiction are much more reliable sources because he can fabricate them himself; truth is murkier because he can only evaluate knowledge that comes from external sources. Thus, Lucian must have been quite sure about Alexander’s nature to agree to write the truth about him, rather than fiction.

What this brief diversion into these other texts demonstrates for the purpose of *The True History* is that rumor makes truth much more ambiguous, which is why Lucian has such a propensity for falsehoods and fiction as a means of cultural disruption. Yet, as I’ve demonstrated, the truth still has a place in his work where it is appropriate and less prone to misrepresentation.

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Confessions IV.6: A Wanton Affection

By Alex Nguyen

Book IV of the *Confessions* sees Augustine confessing to harboring inordinate desires. Chapters 1-3 make mention of his appetite for prizes and renown from rhetorical competitions, as well as his keeping of a concubine. He dedicates a good portion of the book, however, to his beloved friend, whose passing affects him with such grief that he is forced to reconsider his faith and personal philosophies. He recounts their friendship and the man's death in chapter 4 and expounds upon his quandaries regarding the nature of grief in chapter 5, but chapter 6 revolves entirely around the intemperate nature of his love for him. Overcome with devotion and grief — grief caused by misdirected devotion — Augustine contemplates his attachment to mortal things and decides there is no choice but to turn to God. It is apparent in his writing, however, that the mortal thing he expresses his attachment to in this chapter — his friend — is the one object of his affection that has truly merited his love. It is not lust, which he recognizes in many of his actions and has enormous shame for, nor a desire for fame, nor any material desire, but love: a concept that is particular among his many confessions for confounding the notions of what exists in the mortal world to be spurned. From the beginning of the chapter to the end, the confused and wandering state of his musings gives clear proof as to how strongly he had been affected by the man's death, and thus changes the nature of the 'confession' from being as contained and decisive as his other confessions into a scramble for purchase in the midst of his immense loss.

Augustine's guilt defines the first half of the chapter, punctuated by many *misers*, of which the very first is a cathartic admission, a cry for salvation from both sin and agony: *miser eram* — "I was wretched." He justifies his self-condemnation immediately after: "and wretched (*miser*) is every soul" *vinctus amicitia rerum mortalium*, "bound by the friendship of mortal things." The commentary by James J. O'Donnell suggests a reiteration of a line from *Conf.* I.13: *amicitia enim mundi huius fornicatio est abs te*, "for friendship of this world is fornication away from you", referencing Jas. 4:4, *adulteri nescitis quia amicitia huius mundi inimica est Dei?* — "Adulterers, do you not know that friendship with this world is enmity with God?" It is an attachment to worldly things that is expressed here — James 4 discusses the evil that results from coveting (*zelatis*) that which one does not have and cannot attain (*et non potestis adipisci*). The interpolation of other mortal beings into this concept of "worldly things" — rendered by Augustine here as *amicitia rerum mortalium* rather than the earlier iteration which imitated James's version: *amicitia huius mundi* — indicates a separation Augustine makes from earlier tradition (emphasizing that which is *mortal*, and therefore alive, rather than that which is simply *worldly*, or material), and one that could indicate the involvement of a more personal narrative.

In *Conf.* I.13, he already uses this concept to condemn his having been affected by another 'mortal' relationship — he chastises himself for being too emotionally involved in the tragic and fatal love between Dido and Aeneas in the same way that he is now overly invested in the relationship between him and his friend. In this light, one could imagine Augustine construing himself as Dido, and his friend as Aeneas. Augustine begins constructing this metaphor in Book I, recounting his obsessive grief over Dido's death, *quae fiebat amando Aenean*, "which occurred due to her loving Aeneas" — grief which had wrongfully preceded his *mortem... quae fiebat non amando te, deus*, "death, which came about due to not loving you, God" (I.13.21). In discussing his own moral failing in not prioritizing his relationship with God, Augustine focuses most on his sympathy with Dido and the passion of her tragedy. Augustine, in Book I, wishes to grieve over Dido's grief over her lost love, saying, *si prohiberer ea legere*,

dolerem, quia non legerem quod dolerem — “if I had been forbidden to read these poems, I would have grieved that I was not allowed to read what grieved me” (I.13.21). In Book IV, he similarly obsesses over a grief caused by a loss of love — *habebam cariorem illo amico meo vitam ipsam miseram*, “I held dearer than my friend that very wretched life” (IV.6). He condemns, rather than his overwhelming affection, the all-consuming grief that he feels, and the fact that it had trumped his friend’s memory in his mind. He finds his experience reflected in Dido’s, his heartache borne back to him through reading of Dido’s tragedy.

As the Aeneas to his Dido, Augustine portrays his friend as a righteous figure, nearly swayed from his virtuous path due to their time together: *mecum iam errabat in animo ille homo, et non poterat anima mea sine illo*, “With me this man went wandering off in error and my soul could not exist without him” (IV.4.7). Here, he directs the criticism solely inward, in contrast with how he condemned the bond he had with his mistress in IV.2. Like Dido, who was not able to live without Aeneas by her side, Augustine admits that he — more specifically, his *anima* — was not able to survive without his friend. This, too, is vastly different from how he had described his relationship with his mistress, which he called a *vagus ardor inops prudentiae*, a “fickle passion lacking in prudence” (IV.2). The love he had for his friend, on the other hand, served as vital nourishment for his soul. This love, however, did not come entirely as a benefit to his friend, as, when his friend is baptized on his sickbed, Augustine scorns the act as having occurred without his friend’s volition, and expects him to denounce it upon waking. He is *stupefactus atque turbatus*, “astounded and confused”, when his friend rebukes him for mocking the rite (IV.4.8). Like Aeneas, his friend had set his mind on his rightful destiny, his *pietas*, when Augustine was still only concerned with their earthly relationship. Although their bond was a devoted one, his friend needed to leave him in order to fulfill his duty and return to God.

The faults Augustine admits to — grieving and fearing — are vague notions that he spends the chapter attempting to discern, along with what exactly comprises *res mortales*. He hints at the imperfection of this term in IV.4.8: *sed ille abreptus dementiae meae, ut apud te servaretur consolationi meae*, “But he was snatched from my insanity, in order that, with you, he might be saved for my consolation.” The phrase has two possible meanings, depending on what exactly is meant to console Augustine. It might have come as a relief to him that his friend was *servaretur*, “saved”, from his *dementiae*, and thus untouched by the consequences of his lack of faith. On the other hand, as his friend is now *apud te*, “with you [God],” the consolation may lie in the possibility of their posthumous reunion in eternal life. This acknowledgement of the eternal quality of his friend’s soul calls into question what the *res mortales* Augustine shares an *amicitia* with are. His friend’s body is surely mortal, but Augustine speaks specifically of their souls when he speaks about their friendship. When his friend passes, he does not put the blame on “this world” as he had before in I.13 with *amicitia huius mundi*. It is not the friendship that he condemns, either, for he says that his soul is rent asunder *cum eas amittit*, “when it loses them,” with the object as a feminine plural, clearly referring to the *res*. This line, written two chapters prior, has already rendered his denouncing of “mortal things” discordant with his previous judgment of the event. Either Augustine is constantly revising his beliefs regarding his friend’s death, or his condemnation of *amicitia rerum mortalium* is not entirely meant, and was only written as a testament to the magnitude of his *miser*, his wretchedness.

Decrying even after his own conversion his reluctance to have joined his friend in death in the style of Orestes and Pylades indicates either a lapse in literary composure or an adaptation of this particular regret to Christian values. The former would be consistent with the inconsistency and stream-of-consciousness nature of this chapter so far. The latter indicates a

possible ulterior meaning to the expression. Perhaps, rather than wishing he would have died along with his friend, Augustine wishes that he could have let go of his attachment to mortality, just as his friend might have before death, with his conversion. Had he been swayed by his friend and converted at the same time, he might have saved himself the grief, which he recounts had tormented him, in understanding that they could reunite after death, in an eternal life with God. Instead, his grief over the perceived eternal loss of his friend sends him into an existential spiral: *eam repente consumpturam omnes homines putabam, quia illum potuit*, “I thought that [death] would suddenly devour all mankind, since it could [do so to] him.” Augustine’s bond with his friend has drifted from the ideal represented by Orestes and Pylades due to his *moriendi metus*, his “fear of death”, which all of a sudden becomes real only *quia illum potuit*, “because it could [happen to] him.” In fearing death this way, he essentially equates *omnes homines*, “all mankind,” to his one friend — and here, therefore, it could be inferred that he was, all of a sudden, on par with all mortals, if not greater. This talk of mortality and posthumous devotion introduces the idea of his soul being indelibly tied to that of this other man, over all others.

This, notably, is also the first instance in the chapter in which Augustine uses the verb *amo*, “to love”, saying, *credo, quo magis illum amabam, hoc magis mortem... oderam et timebam* — “I believe that, the more I loved him, the more I hated and feared death.” Up until this point, he has skirted around the word in his writing, using many words that, instead, sound very similar to *amo*, *amare* — *amicitia*, *amitto*, *amarissime*, and *amaritudine*, meaning “friendship”, “lose”, “bitterly”, and “bitterness” respectively. The only time he is outright about his affection for the man prior to this is vague, as well: *habebam cariorem* — “I held dear.” This sentence, in contrast with his other sentences, is free of guilt or condemnation. It, instead, contains a heartfelt expression of fear and pain — pure emotion, rather than self judgment. Augustine does not confess his love for his friend as a sinful, shameful thing, but as a confession of feeling. Rather than simply confessing (*confiteor*) here, he confides (*confido*) in God. His love is left pure, tainted only by incredible sorrow. Interestingly, in Albert Outler’s translation, his first use of the word “love” is not here at *amabam*, but during the discussion of Orestes and Pylades: “because not to *love* together was worse than death to them”, instead of *non simul vivere*, “not to *live* together” (Outler 45). Other translations do not do this, opting instead to use the correct translation, “to live”. Certainly, the subtext for an affection such as love exists at that point, such as in IV.4.7, when Augustine describes his time with his friend as being *suavi mihi super omnes suavitates illius vitae meae*, “sweeter to me than all the sweetnesses in my life thus far.” To use the word “love”, however, when Augustine has not, both spoils Augustine’s poetic tension and exemplifies how evident the extent of his love for his friend is.

Thus, Augustine, too, begins to describe the extent of his love, following this declaration. He defines this confession by saying, *sic eram omnino, memini. ecce cor meum, deus meus, ecce intus* — “This is how I was entirely, I remember. Behold my heart, my God, behold the inside.” This is a true, substantial confession, encapsulating not only his guilt and negative feelings, but the entirety of his heart, pouring out his soul from the “inside”. The ambiguous temporality of the second statement only serves to reemphasize his friend’s continual effect on him. This affection, comprising his *cor*, his very soul, strikes a vast difference in devotion between this relationship and the one he had with his mistress, described in IV.2 in two sentences. In fact, he explicitly describes the affection he has for his friend as *affectionum immunditia* — a “wantonness of affections”. *Immunditia* here likely indicates excess, but it also has connotations of lust, which would insinuate that his affection for his friend was possibly perverse, beyond what was normal and acceptable. His first admission of love (*amabam*) acts as a sudden break in

his dam of grief, allowing him to speak now consistently about the depths of his feelings for him. He calls out to God here as *spes mea*, “my hope”, who *mundas*, “cleanses” him of these inordinate affections. The connotation of perversity in *immunditia* would make sense, if God were to be cleansing him from filth — another definition of the word — by removing all of his affection for his friend. However, given all that Augustine has confessed up until this point, it does not seem likely that he would consider his friendship and deep bond with his friend to be something filthy, in need of erasing. It makes more sense that he would supplicate God to remove the *immunditia*, the excess and wantonness of his affections, which had been causing him so much anguish. It is the inordinacy of his love that would have been his doom.

Augustine, in the following sentences, uses a synonym for “love” again, showing yet another facet of his overwhelming affection. He again separates his friend from all other mortals: *mirabar enim ceteros mortales vivere, quia ille, quem quasi non moriturum dilexeram, mortuus erat* — “For I marveled that other mortals lived, since he, whom I loved as if he would not die, had died.” In this instance, rather than *amo*, he uses *diligo*, meaning specifically, “I choose.” He chooses his friend, and thus raises him above all other mortals — *ceteros mortales* — using again the specific word “mortal.” He loved him — *dilexeram* — or, more precisely, chose him *quasi non moriturum*, “as if he would not die.” In loving his friend, he had unconsciously separated him from mortality, making him instead, in his mind, immortal, and thus, his friend, for the duration of their friendship, had been distinguished from all *res mortales*.

At last, Augustine comes to his most significant admission of devotion: that he had never before considered himself to be an individual, set apart from his friend. Specifying from his incredulity that other mortals were alive while his friend was dead, he says, *me... quia ille alter eram, vivere illo mortuo mirabar* — “all the more I marveled that I, since I was a second him, was living while he was dead.” The construction of the phrase, *quia ille alter eram*, is noteworthy due to the particularity of its syntax. *Ille* is in the nominative, even though the verb, *eram*, is in the first person. This, of course, serves to emphasize the fact that he and his friend were one and the same, predicating an implicit *ego* — without the *alter*: “I was him.” It indicates a passivity on the part of his friend, and an activeness on Augustine’s part — he believed that *he* was an alter of his friend, rather than his friend being his own second (*ille erat alter ego*). He goes further to suggest that, *animam meam et animam illius unam fuisse animam in duobus corporibus*, “my soul and his soul were one soul in two bodies”, referencing a line Horace writes about Virgil — *dimidium animae*. Thus, *mihi horrore erat vita, quia nolebam dimidius vivere* — “Life was a horror to me, since I did not wish to live as a half.”

Augustine indicates a gradual, yet subtle progression towards this final topic of confession from the beginning of the chapter. The consequence of every soul being chained by the friendship of mortal things is that, *dilaniatur cum eas amittit*, “it is rent asunder when it loses them.” The verb *dilanio*, being formed from the prefix *dis-*, “apart”, and *lanio*, “tear”, paints a violent image of him literally being torn from the other half of his *anima*. His reference to Orestes and Pylades, in which he regrets not dying at the same time as his friend (*simul mori*) as they would have done, bears its consequences here — he now must live on, separated from his whole, as they had not shared a death. His declaration, *sic eram omnino*, “Thus I was entirely,” could be construed, given an alternate meaning for *omnino*, as “Thus I was, as a whole.” The *sic* that he writes — “thus” — seems naturally to take on the antecedent of his overwhelming grief, which he spent the first half of the chapter admitting. The addition of *memini* following the sentence, however, and the ambiguous temporality that it implies, allows for the possibility of its antecedent also being the state he had been in before this great tragedy, which he had recalled in

earlier chapters with both fondness and dolor. The sentiment of a horrid rending of his being is illustrated in the intimate statement following this: *ecce cor meum, deus meus, ecce intus*, “Behold my heart, my God, behold the inside.” “Behold,” he might be saying, “the wound there.” His friendship had once composed the entirety of his heart, but God, looking inwards, would find how it has been left half-hollow, and *dilaniavit*, “rent asunder.” The signs of his having been gored this way are vivid, now, in light of this revelation.

The real consequence of his half-existence is given in the last two clauses of the chapter, perhaps the most poignant by far. As a result of living without his second, his other half, *ideo forte mori metuebam, ne totus ille moreretur quem multum amaveram*: “for that reason perhaps I was afraid to die, lest the whole of him should die whom I loved so much.” It is prefaced by a simple instance of wordplay, where he contrasts *metuebam*, “I feared,” with *forte*, here an adverb meaning “perhaps,” but is nevertheless reminiscent of the adjective *fortis, forte*, “brave.” This points to an underlying sentiment regarding the veracity of his suffering — he fears death, and yet, he has persisted boldly, in spite of his grief, for the sake of keeping the memory of his friend alive. This fear that he describes, then, should not be wholly condemned, as it was borne in the service of love. Originally, he had attributed his fear of death to an existential type of fear, confessing his paranoia that perhaps all of mankind would die as suddenly as his friend did. Here, however, he specifies and solidifies his friend’s place in his heart — he is one half of him, and that is why he fears death. Albeit somewhat selfish, he does not fear death entirely for his own sake or the sake of others, but for the sake of preserving his friend, and therefore keeping him immortal, solidifying his place above all *res mortales*. Should he be forever separate, his friendship with him, no longer being an *amicitia rerum mortalium*, can no longer be condemned.

The very last word of this chapter, *amaveram*, happens also to be the second and final use of the word “love.” This definitive utterance suitably closes this episode, summarizing its underlying, comprehensive subject: love. Love is the source of the strength of his emotions, the catastrophic nature of his heartbreak, his shifting definition of mortality, and his understanding of the state of his soul. His wanton affection and his love for his friend transcend, at least for a moment, his concerns regarding the immortality of his own soul. His fear, as he finally discloses, is not for death as a whole, but for the death of a single person. Love is also what changes the purpose of this chapter — *confitendi tibi* — from a mere confession to a cathartic release of his torrent of emotions, lingering in the wake of his friend’s absence. He spends the many following chapters attempting to reconcile these emotions, and comes, in IV.12.18, to the conclusion that, *in illo ergo amentur, et rape ad eum tecum quas potes* — “In [God], therefore, let [your loved ones] be loved, and carry with you to him whomever you can.” Here, he again uses the word *amentur* — *amo*. He concludes, as well, on the subject of the immortality of the soul: *non enim fecit atque abiit, sed ex illo in illo sunt*, “For he did not create them and then leave, but they are from him and in him.” Souls can be loved because they are not a part of *rerum mortalium*, but the definition of this sort of love is peculiar. It must involve the soul, and not the body, and souls are fused together in love. He rebukes the carnal relationship he shared with his concubine in IV.2, but seeks to preserve the bond he shared with his friend’s soul. Augustine thus establishes that it is acceptable to love outside of God so long as it is with another soul, as doing so should bring one closer to God, not farther away. The love that he has for his friend does not need to be erased, as it is, in fact, undying. Pure love for others is one of the only worldly things that can exist eternally, which does not have to be shunned if it is done correctly — that is, with all of one’s *cor et animus* — heart and soul.

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Magic, Gods, Vikings, and Romans: A Comparative History of Iron-Age Scandinavians and Roman Empire

By Dominique Paz

The ancient Mediterranean and medieval Scandinavia are separated by not only time, but by place, language, and further cultural differences. However, they share one key similarity: magical practices. This paper will compare ideas of magic in the ancient Mediterranean world and medieval Scandinavia to analyze the similarities and differences for the conclusion that the conceptualization of magic over thousands of years is consistent even within different cultural contexts. In my first paragraph, I will compare the two main gods of Norse and Greek mythologies, Óðinn and Zeus. I will note that Zeus does have a counterpart in the Roman tradition. For the sake of simplicity, I will primarily be focusing on the Greek Zeus. I will be referring to Hermes instead of Mercury as well. Second, I will look into the similar language of Norse bind runes and Greco-Roman curse tablets. Finally, I will take a look at the impact of the Catholic church during a pinnacle moment in defining what “western civilization” is through the dominating force of the church. Modern words about magic and witchcraft come from the Christian denigration from the Greco-Roman and Scandinavian worlds. While in very different time frames and regions of the world, Greco-Roman and Iron Age Scandinavian magical concepts are comparable in the way they use their language and the ramification of the conversion to Christianity. Religious practices indicate that they were very similar despite the differences in time. The gods in both societies follow the same archetypes, and linguistic comparisons show that the respective languages used the same semantics.

Before moving on to the argument proper, there needs to be an important clarification on our sources, particularly in the case from medieval Scandinavia. Most, if not all, medieval Scandinavian sources were written after conversion. It is impossible to say how much of the material is true to pre-conversion religion. The Greco-Roman sources are distinct because they are not only before Christianity but after conversion we can see the influence of Christianity. Christian conversion had a comparable effect on attitudes towards and definitions of magic in both Greco-Roman and Norse contexts. In *Völuspá*, Óðinn awakens a dead seer to tell him what is going to happen in Ragnarok. *Völuspá* also serves as a creation and destruction cosmology myth. However, magic is needed to learn the seer’s detrimental information. *Völuspá* has pagan magical practices, such as necromancy, that indicate it is a tradition before Christianity. However, at the end of Ragnarok, it is hinted that the world renews itself and the good gods come back. This clearly mimics Christianity’s Revelations in the *Bible*. Since Óðinn is the head of the Norse pantheon, he is important to discuss as he is very much tied to magic.

In order to understand Greco-Roman and Norse ideas of magic the deities need to be explored. There are many discrepancies that need to be addressed between the gods. On the Norse side, this role is fulfilled by the ruling deity, Odin, while on the Greco-Roman side, Zeus – despite being the ruler of the Olympians and humans – is not associated with magic; instead, his closest ally, Hermes is. Due to this drastic difference in the main gods of these pantheons, it is less fruitful to compare Zeus to Odin one-on-one. Instead, the comparison between Odin and Hermes in particular that lays out these differences gives greater insight into the role magic plays in these divine systems. Zeus is a lightning god, and Óðinn is more of a god of war and poetry. Þórr is a lightning god, but he appeals to the common man rather than kings. Should Zeus be compared to Þórr instead? There is also the question of who Týr is. In some older Germanic sources Týr is the king of gods rather than Óðinn. His name is also a linguistic

cognate to the Greek name Zeus.

Let us now dive in deeper into understanding Oðinn, as he is not only important culturally for the Norse, but also important for understanding magic. Oðinn is the Al[1]dafaðr, literally “father of all/men”, of the Aesir gods and humans. He is primarily associated with magic as is his occasional ally and greatest foe, Loki. Loki is going to be the one to start Ragnarok and bring an end to the gods and the world. In an additional comparison, Oðinn relies on other people to know what lies in store for him. For instance, in *Völuspá*, Oðinn talks to a lady seer to know what happens at Ragnarok, the end of the world. He sacrifices himself to himself on Yggdrasil to understand the knowledge of the runes and know magical spells. *Hávamál* 138 says, “I know that I hung on a wind-battered tree nine long nights, pierced by a spear, and given to Oðinn, myself to myself, on that tree” (trans. Crawford). He also uses his birds Hugin and Munin (thought and memory) to get the news for the day. In *Grímnismál* 20, Oðinn laments that “Hugin and Munin fly each day over the mighty earth. I fear for Hugin [thought] lest he come not back, yet I am afraid more about Munin [memory]” (trans. Faulkes). Since Oðinn is an aging man, his birds reflect his fear of old age. They also demonstrate general human fear not only of aging, but also of the inevitable death that is soon to come after. Whether or not magic is explicitly dictated by the gods, it is clear in many primary sources that the knowledge of how to use magic came to humans through divine origins. In *Hávamál*, Oðinn narrates how he hung himself on Yggdrasil in order to learn magic, and the secrets of the runes (*Hávamál*, 138, trans. Crawford). Now that Oðinn is further explained, it is now time to shift to the Greco-Roman side.

The situation is quite different within accounts of gods within the Greek mythological tradition. Zeus uses Hermes for knowledge and he does not age. Hermes carries messages to and from Zeus. He is also a bit of a trickster. In Homer’s *A Hymn to Hermes*, Hermes climbs out of his cradle right as he was born and goes and steals Apollo’s cattle while he is not looking (*A Hymn to Hermes* 17, trans. Shelley). So that Apollo does not get mad at the thieving child, Hermes makes him a syrinx. (*A Hymn to Hermes* 71, trans. Shelley) This puts Hermes as also a cunning thief. In almost every way, the Greco-Roman gods are immortal and perfect, save for their moral choices. When they battle they can heal themselves with ambrosia (*Illiad*, Homer, trans. Fagles, pg. 194). Zeus also does not care to meddle in anyone’s affairs but his own. He even tries his best to wiggle out of responsibility in the Trojan war. In opposition to this, Oðinn purposefully antagonizes kings to start wars. His valkyries bring the worthy dead from a battle field to Valhøll so they can fight for him against the enemies of the gods. The fact that the leading deity in the Norse pantheon is a god of magic shows that the Norse people cared about magic and its influences above everything else. While for the Greco-Romans, magic was not as important. Thus, the magical god, Hermes, is secondary.

Having established the role of magic in their divine structures, we can now turn to the actual practice of magic itself. Both ancient Mediterranean and medieval Scandinavian cultures, though thousands of years apart, have similar spells. For both cultures this can involve binding spells which bind someone to something, someone to someone, or a sickness beckoned onto someone. Both cultures change the structure of their respective language through these magical spells. Both Greek and Latin inscriptions chant vowels or create “secret” names for gods (Odgen, 2002, p. 212). In Greco-Roman antiquity it was common to not only call upon gods but also pronounce utter strings of vowels and diphthongs as part of a magical incantation. An example of this is a “Sethian” curse tablet from Rome found in 1992. This tablet dates from the fourth century CE. On this tablet is written:

EULAMÔN, restrain, OUSIRI OUSIRI APHI OUSIRI MNE PHRI, [lacuna] . . . and archangels, in the name of the underworld one, so that, just as I entrust to you this impious and lawless and accursed Cardelus, whom his mother Fulgentia bore, so may you bring him to a bed of punishment, to be punished with an evil death, and to die within five days. Quickly! Quickly! (trans. Wunsch, 1898).

This particular curse tablet calls upon many unknown gods to restrain chariot riders. However, it is not only unknown gods that people call upon.¹ These curse tablets cater to all kinds of situations. Typically the user follows a script for what type of god they are calling upon, and what the situation is. This next tablet is from Boeta though made at an unknown date. The user asks the gods, namely Hermes, to stop the sexual allure of a woman named Zois. The tablet reads:

I deposit Zois the Eretrian, the wife of Cabeiras, with Earth and Hermes, her eating, her drinking, her sleep, her laughter, her “intercourse,” her lyre playing, her “entrance,” her pleasure, her little buttocks, her mind, her eyes [I deposit with] Hermes her wicked parading-around, her words, her deeds, her evil talk, and her (trans. Ziebarth, 1934).

These curse tablets demonstrate not only who the users call upon but also for what purpose they may be used. These tablets can also give an insight into what type of people lived in the Roman empire at the time of these tablets. Most importantly, they give a concrete structure on how society used magic.

The Norse follow the general rule of using their written language to beckon divine beings but can have bad ramifications if not written properly. In an Icelandic Saga, Egil’s Saga or *Egills saga Skallagrímsson*, the main character Egil notices a binding rune is not written correctly which makes a woman sick. Here, a binding rune means someone is trying to bind themselves to another person. Egil fixes the rune which then makes the woman fall in love with the original rune carver (Trans. Bernard Scudder, 2000, p. 141). Futhark runes are the name of a written alphabet prior to the use of the Latin alphabet to native inhabitants. “Elder” simply refers to the age of the runes. “Younger” Futhark relates to the young “twig” runes that become more intricate as they become “newer.” However, there are magical inscriptions that use the runes that beckon the gods. For example, on a Ribe skull-fragment found in South Jutland, Denmark, there is a two line inscription, here transliterated from Younger Futhark into the Roman alphabet,

ulfuRAUkuþinAUkHUtiUR HiAlbburiisuiþR / þAiMAUiArkiAUktuirkunin buur
(Ulfr auk Oðinn auk Ho-tiur. Hjalp buri es viðr / þæima værki. Auk dverg unninn.
Bourr). [Ulfr (wolf of some kind, perhaps Fenrir?), and Odin and high-Tuir
(perhaps the god Týr). Buri is help against / this pain. And the dwarf (is)
overcome, Bóurr] (Stoklund 1996).

As these examples demonstrate, although the means may differ, many of the same magical mechanisms can be seen. Both societies call on a deity of some kind for aid and use their language in an interesting way.

Another magical practice worth of note that exists in both societies is prophecy. Foresight is Oðinn’s main field and knowing the future is something the *All-Father* stresses about due to Ragnarok. The name *All-Father* quite literally implies that he wishes to be the

¹ For a summary of Greco-Roman binding spells, see Edmonds, *Drawing Down the Moon: Magic in the Ancient Roman World* (2019): 53-88

knower of all, or as much as he possibly can, including his and others' fates. In the Greco-Roman tradition, Apollo is the god of prophecy. Indeed, both prophecy gods are male, Oðinn and Apollo, but their cultural associations are much different. Apollo not only has women oracles, but he is tied to music, archery, healing, art, and in later tradition, the sun. He is depicted as young and youthful. However, Oðinn is depicted as old, but also as a warmonger who enjoys poetry. In some ways, Oðinn can be thought of as a combination of Zeus, Apollo, and other Olympian gods who endow war, magic, kingship, and poetry.

In the Greco-Roman tradition, prophecy is usually done by oracles. Most notable are the Apollo oracles in Delphi, Greece. These women would consume some sort of substance and become frenzied which would allow them to give cryptic fortunes. It would be up to the individual person to try and piece together what the oracles would tell them. An example from a cryptic oracle prophecy is from Herodotus' *Histories* in which he narrates a story about Croesus, king of Lydia. Worried about his empire being destroyed by other nations, he sends messengers to different oracles and prophets. Croesus likes the message that the Delphi oracles gave the most. They tell him, "Whenever a mule shall become sovereign king of the Medians, then Lydian Delicate-Foot, flee by the stone-strawn Hermus, flee, and not to stand fast, nor shame to be chicken-hearted." (trans. David Grene). Well, Croesus was delighted because he thought there was no way a mule could rule the Medians. As it turns out, Cyrus, king of Persia, was half Mede and half Persian. Cyrus attacked Lydia, thus capturing Croesus and fulfilling the prophecy (Herodotus, *The Histories*).

In comparison, the Norse also have seers that give out cryptic prophecies. The most famous example is the one Oðinn rises from the dead in *Völuspá*, literally meaning "the words of the Volva", or female seer. She tells him how he and his fellow gods are going to die from the monsters and giants during Ragnarok. However, an Icelandic saga named *Laxdæla Saga*, or "The People of Laxardal", is full of prophecies. Most notably is a woman named Gudrun's dreams. During the yearly Althing, she tells her friend Gest about four of them. In the first, she is wearing a headdress that she feels doesn't suit her so she throws it on the ground and runs away. In the second, she is wearing a silver ring on her arm which she intended to keep and care for. However, it ends up dropping into the lake and is unretrievable. The third dream is about her owning a gold ring. Which, to put in context, is more expensive than silver, and is much more valuable in medieval Iceland. She trips and the ring hits a rock which shatters it into pieces. In the fourth dream she is again wearing a headdress but this time it is gold but it was too heavy for her to wear. It slipped off her head and fell into the water forever. Gest interprets them as each of those four objects being four husbands (trans. Kunz, p. 330). Indeed, as the saga progresses, Gudrun's four husbands die just in her dreams. The first husband she divorces for selfish reasons. The second man drowns, the third is cut to pieces, and the fourth also drowns. Thus, the prophecy is fulfilled.

As demonstrated so far, both Greco-Roman antiquity and medieval Norse societies may be profitably compared along several lines in regard to magical beliefs and practices. One further important note of connection between them is how the importation of Christianity into these societies has resulted in many modern associations with magic about which most people remain unaware. Two important dates in Greco-Roman society and medieval Scandinavia are 312 and 1000 CE respectively. These two dates establish when the cultures converted into Christianity. Although conversions were gradual for both societies it was firmly established in Greco-Roman society when Constantine repealed the law making Christianity illegal in the Western Roman Empire. 312 CE refers to the date in which the decree was overturned. 1000 CE

marks the official conversion of Iceland, the then hub for literature and pagan worship because Norway, Sweden, and Denmark had already been converted. One could argue that Iceland was the last place Nordic religion was properly practiced. One last important note is the lack of context for sources. Those who work with primary sources must consider when it was created. Mitchell (2013) reminds us that, “After the Conversion, Christian observers associated [magical pagan] activities with the church’s evolving image of witchcraft and sorcery. Beyond such simple assumptions, however, there is little we can be certain of regarding the belief complexes, religious practices, and mythological systems from this early period, as they overwhelmingly come to us from several hundred years after the acceptance of Christianity.” (p. 25).

Now that the historical context of conversion has been established for both societies, let us now discuss what happened afterwards. In the Greco-Roman tradition, Christianity was incorporated smoothly into the society once it was deemed legal by Constantine. As seen in the curse tablet above, the user calls upon not only unknown deities but also archangels to aid them. But there are also people who take Jesus’ teaching into their own hands. Philostratus writes a biography of a man by the name of Apollonius of Tyana. Apollonius performs many miracles and exorcisms. What is most interesting, however, is him raising a girl from the dead. Philostatus describes the terrifying situation:

The bridegroom was attending the bier, shouting out all that one would [do] after a marriage left uncompleted. Rome grieved with him, for the girl belonged to a family of consular rank. Apollonius, happening on their misfortune, said, ‘Set the bier down. I will put an end to your tears over the girl.’ At that he asked her name. Most people thought that he would make a speech, an elegy to provoke lamentation. But all he did was lay hold of her and say a few obscure words over her, and he woke the girl up from what everyone thought was death (*Life of Apollonius*, Philostratus, 4.45).

Apollonius carries striking similarities to Christ. It is impossible whether he did these miracles on his own or was influenced by Jesus. However, what is definitive is the fact that the similarities between the two men was noticed by writers afterwards, especially by Eusebius, a Greek historian on Christianity.

In the Norse tradition, those who practiced the pagan religion accepted Jesus to simply be another god who can be called on when needed. The best example of this is the Ruthwell Stone Cross found in Dumfries and Halloway in Scotland. There are inscriptions on various sides of the cross but the longest, and best, inscription reads like this, again transliterated from Younger Futhark into the Roman alphabet:

[+ond]gere / dæhinægodalmettig. þahewaldeongalgugistiga? odigf?odigf?men?ug / [?hof]jicriicnækyinc.heafunæs.hlafardhældaicnidorstæ?ismærædu. u?ketmenbaætgað?iþb?odibist?mi?i?æ² (Ondgeredæ hinæ god almehtig / þa he walde on galgu gistiga, modig fore men. Bug[a ic ni dorstæ. Rod wæs ic arærid,] ahof ic ricnæ kyninc, haefunæs hlafard, hælda ic ni dortæ. Bismærædu unket ba ætgaðdre, ic wæs miþ blodæ bistermid, bigoten of [guma sida - hæfdæ his gast onsendid]).

This can be translated as:

² The plus sign in the front shows that there could have been more runes at the beginning. The question marks indicate that the runologist does not know what runes were there.

He stipped himself, God Almighty, when He wanted to climb on the gallows, brave before all men, to bow down [I did not care. I was reared up as a rood,] I raised up the mighty King, Lord of heaven, I did not bow down. Men insulted us both together; I was stained with blood [which had] flowed [from the man's side - He had sent forth His spirit] (trans. McKinnell, 2003).

The Norse god Oðinn is not only a god of magic, war, and poetry, but also of the hanged man. *Hávamál* 138 says, "I know that I hung on a wind-battered tree nine long nights, pierced by a spear, and given to Oðinn, myself to myself, on that tree" (trans. Crawford). This story in *Hávamál* sets the stage for Oðinn to be present while people are being hung from trees. The Ruthwell Stone Cross calls back to the *Hávamál* myth but also to the cultural practice. However, instead of Oðinn being hung it is God, or more than likely, referring to Jesus' execution via the cross. So, after conversion, Oðinn and Jesus, or God as they are one in the same, are blurred to become the same deity.

Magic in the Greco-Roman and medieval Norse contexts are far in history and time, but they share similar concepts, practices, and language. This paper discussed and compared magical ideas in these two societies for the conclusion that they are consistent. I compared the Greco-Roman and Norse gods and demonstrated that while the gods may share similar aspects, they are very ambiguous in their respective culture. Magical practices were examined closely through the lens of Greco-Roman curse tablets and Norse runic inscriptions. Additionally, I laid out the historical context of Christian conversion and the impact it had on the Norse and Greco-Romans. This essay has demonstrated why the bridge between the ancient Mediterranean and medieval Norse may not be so farfetch'd.

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What Can Be Learned From Athenian Pottery About the Lives of Women and Their Roles in Athenian Society

By Alessandra Soto

From the images on Athenian pottery, we can learn more about the lives of ancient Athenian women and about their roles in society. Which images of women's lives are depicted in pottery, and which images are not depicted, can give us more insight into certain aspects of women's lives and tell us more about what kind of activities would be depicted and not depicted. Additionally, Athenian pottery gives us insight into women's roles in society, specifically, as many scholars have broken it down, in the domains of being a wife and of being an entertainer or sex worker. Finally, Athenian pottery can also teach us about Athenian women and their standing through their portrayal in nude washing scenes and dressing scenes.

In his *Greek Art & Archaeology: c. 2500-c. 150 BCE*, Richard T. Neer provides a good deal of background information on Attic pottery from the archaic period (600-480 BCE) and classical period (480-323 BCE), which could be broken down into earlier black-figure pottery and later red-figure pottery. In the 6th century BCE, Sparta, Corinth, and Athens were all producing black-figure pottery but Attic pottery (from the region around Athens) soon rose to prominence in the 6th century. Within a generation or so, Athens had come to dominate the pottery market but Corinthian influences remained strong through the first half of the century, with Athenian vase painters such as Nearkhos imitating Corinthian vessel shapes and features. By the middle of the century, vase painters had begun to specialize (Neer 147-152) and the end of the 6th century witnessed an explosion of technical innovation from the Athenian potters. Vase painters, looking to create new types of pottery more elaborate and complex than black-figure pottery, tried using new colors and new techniques (e.g. putting white figures on black ground, adding yellow, etc.) but most of the experiments were unsuccessful because the new colors did not adhere very well to the clay surface. Around 520 BCE, vase painters reversed the traditional figure-ground relations of Greek pottery with light figures on a dark background instead of the then-traditional black silhouettes on a light background. Painters no longer needed to incise details but could paint them on instead with a fine brush and by using various dilutions of glaze, painters could add a range of expressive potential to the medium. This technique, known as red-figure pottery, had some of its earliest appearances on "bilingual" vases which were half in red-figure and half in black-figure. Many bilingual vases made the vase's technique itself noticeable and important by repeating an identical scene in both techniques. Black- and red-figure pottery coexisted for about forty years but eventually, red-figure pottery came to dominate Attic production and black-figure pottery only survived for small, cheap pots and for special commissions, such as the Panathenaic amphorae (Neer 211-216). Black-figure and red-figure pottery not only differed in technique, but also subject and the attitude toward that subject, as seen later, for example, in depictions of nude dressing and bathing women.

In her *The Athenian Woman, An Iconographic Handbook*, Sian Lewis, beginning to discuss what roles and scenes women are depicted in, notes that little is known about many important parts of an Athenian woman's life because they are not reflected in images on Attic pottery. In the ancient Mediterranean, the chief concerns of female life would have been the family, including childbirth and child-rearing; events such as marriages and funerals; illness and death; and domestic chores. But little is known about classical Greek women's early childhood, female friendships, training for married life, or the experience of motherhood, partially due to the lack of literary sources written from a female perspective but also as a result of the agenda of

Greek artists and their choice in what images they depicted on the pottery they made. Ceramic evidence, just like literature, is partial and is affected by its creator. It is possible to build a story of female life from birth to death using pots as illustrations, but only by using evidence in a very broad brush way, taking scenes from disparate periods and regions to create what appears to be an apparent whole. Some aspects of female life that were ritualized, such as marriage, are richly illustrated; others, such as pregnancy or childbirth, are almost never depicted. This is due in part to the objects' use themselves; where pots were used in ceremonies or in practice, they tend to illustrate the occasion of their use, and hence there is plenty of evidence, but where pots were not used, evidence is often lacking. While scenes of women in labor are frequent on Athenian grave stelai, relating to either mothers who died in childbirth or to midwives as imagery of their profession, there are no scenes of childbirth on surviving Greek pottery. Pottery does not seem to have figured in rituals of birth and as a consequence, childbirth is not well reflected in pottery in the archaeological record. Conversely, there are many pots illustrating weddings or preparation for marriage, since pots, especially *loutrophoroi* and *lebetes gamikoi* which were used in marriage rituals and regularly carried images of their own function. Often placed in the tombs of those who died unmarried, these images tended to survive in the archaeological record. As a personal and private event, childbirth never became a theme of pottery, which celebrated the more public aspects of Greek life (Lewis 13-16).

Additionally, the representation of children on pottery was slow to develop because early artists found depicting babies and older children accurately to be rather difficult. Babies were not shown in black-figure pottery at all and children only appear in scenes such as mourning families, the departure of warriors, or with women at the fountain-house. In red-figure pottery, an iconography distinguishing infants, toddlers, and children gradually developed and the range of scenes in which children were depicted gradually became wider. Babies most often appeared in the hands of a mother or nurse as depicted in Figure 1, the hydria where a nurse in a sleeved garment reaches out to take a baby from its mother (Lewis 13-16). On this red-figured hydria from the Harvard University collection, which can also be seen in Dyfri Williams's "Women on Athenian Vases: Problems of Interpretation" in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, a wealthy looking woman is seated in the center, handing her baby to a maid-servant or nurse on her left. On the right of the image is a young boy, possibly the family's eldest son, although vase-painters were not very precise in their depiction of age, and a loom can be seen on the far left of the image. This image seems to celebrate the main functions of an Athenian woman as they are set out by ancient Greek writers: to produce and rear children and to contribute to the self-sufficiency of the household by weaving textiles for use in the home. This red-figured hydria was probably intended as a gift for the tomb either of the woman or of her husband who had perhaps left such a family behind and the vase is even said to have come from a tomb in the countryside south-east of Athens (Williams 93-94).

From Attic pottery and additional writings from James N. Davidson's *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens*, we can also learn more about women's roles in society, often divided by scholars chiefly as wives or potential wives and as sex workers or entertainers such as the *hetairai*, the higher-class and more educated entertainers, and *pornai*, the lower-class prostitutes found in brothels and streets (Davidson 74-75). Due to the planned creation of a large number of pottery for drinking and the accidental good fortune that kept them intact, a large proportion of surviving Greek painting of the 6th and early 5th centuries BCE comes from pottery made for drinking, whose decorative imagery more often than not shows their function. The most formal context for the consumption of wine was the drinking-party or

symposium, a highly ritualized occasion and an important event for the forging of friendships, alliances, and community in ancient Greece (Davidson 38-49). Among these events, some women entertained the men, providing services ranging from playing music to serving drink or food to providing stimulating conversation and/or sex. But “respectable” women such as wives or potential wives would never be present and “women who wanted to preserve a reputation for decency rarely strayed out of doors except under pressing necessity and a thick cloak; public activities, such as politics and shopping, were the province of men. Women of the streets therefore lived on the wrong side of the threshold and advertised their availability by submitting to the public gaze (Davidson 78).” Indeed, men broke women down into many groups in ancient literature in order to put ancient women in their “proper” sexual place and there was many labels and terms with which to do it (e.g. ‘two-obol woman’, ‘ground-beater’, ‘flute girl’, ‘companion’, ‘wage-earner’, ‘wanderer’, ‘wife’, etc.). In fact, the very act of naming was an important part of policing women and women’s sexuality. For example, when attacking a prostitute named Neaera in court, Apollodorus, the orator, digressed on the different uses for women in Athens saying, “*Hetaeras* we keep for pleasure, concubines for attending day-by-day to the body and wives for producing heirs, and for standing trusty guard on our household property (Davidson 73).”

“Respectable” women, or wives, were pictured in surviving Athenian pottery less often than less respectable women like entertainers such as the *hetairai*, but that could be largely in part to the fact that entertaining women were pictured on many drinking pottery which survived and more respectable women, being respectable, were only pictured on pottery such as hydriai for carrying water or lekythoi, pottery that would have been placed at graves. These depictions of “respectable” women usually only depicted them in rituals such as weddings, in which the pottery depicting the ritual would be used, or depicted them performing household activities associated with being a good wife, such as spinning or weaving textiles to use in the home (Lewis 1-12). Attic pottery, such as the 5th century perfume bottle in Figure 2, can also give us more insight into the attire of women, a topic covered more by Mireille M. Lee in her *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece*. The practice of veiling was primarily a feminine practice, with both brides and married women being represented grasping the edge of the veil to hold it away from the face. The identity of the figure in Figure 2 is debated by scholars, but the presence of the male figure leaning on his walking stick, bearing a money bag may indicate she is a *hetaira*. This spinning woman, who might be a *hetaira*, hides modestly behind a veil with a wool basket just visible behind her chair. Again we can see depictions of women engaging in practices such as spinning. But both more and less “respectable” women would have worn veils, because other examples of pottery depict other female entertainers using the veil in the so-called mantle dance. The only women who seemed not to wear veils were slaves and young girls. Although the veil could definitely have multiple meanings, its primary meaning had to do with *aidos* or modesty. A proper Greek woman would preserve her honor, and that of her husband, by concealing herself from the gaze of strange men (Lee 154-158). So wearing veils was a feminine practice but the presence of a veil alone cannot necessarily separate more proper women from less respectable women.

A final area of women’s lives and role in society that Attic pottery tells us more about can be seen in pottery depicting women nude or bathing. The many depictions of women at their toilette, putting on jewelry, looking in mirrors, doing their hair, or putting on sandals or sashes, waited on by maids, friends, or *erotes*, eventually became a very popular scene in pottery. Initially, in black-figure pottery, the theme of female adornment is almost nonexistent, as are private scenes of most kinds. But in early red-figure pottery, there started to be depictions of

women dressing and the theme steadily became more and more common, especially on the growing number of pots for marriage rituals. Over time the images became more and more stylized and the women less individualized and less varying in their activity. Eventually, a more specialized form of female toilette scene, depicting women bathing, became more prominent in classical art. Scenes of washing, which depicted the washing figures as nude, have attracted a lot of debate among scholars about the status of women and about viewers' responses to the nudity. While nudity for bathing or dressing women was frequent and acceptable on a small kind of pot predominant after 450 BCE with women considered to be citizens or brides, initially the most widely credited view suggests that nudity began as something only suitable for images of the *hetairai*, with art before the end of the 5th century showing bathing women that were understood to be prostitutes. In figure 3, an amphora illustrates four women knee-deep in water at a fountain, washing with their clothes in the background (Lewis 142-150).

In her "To Be or Not To Be a Hetaira: Female Nudity in Classical Athens" in *Images and Gender: Contributions to the Hermeneutics of Reading Ancient Art*, Kreilinger, when concerning female nudity in Classical Athens, adds her thoughts to how the hermeneutics of reading ancient art, or the branch of knowledge that deals with interpretation of that art, should be changed. She argues that the interpretation of female nudity in Classical Athens has been subject to the prudery, taboos, and prejudices of modern viewers and modern viewers have interpreted women depicted nude in Athenian vase paintings of the 5th century BCE as only able to be *hetairai* or deities, but never honorable Attic citizens. But she argues that naked women on Attic vases should be interpreted as young, beautiful, attractive, and desirable women, who are possibly soon to be married, without trying to deduce their social status. According to gender studies that she cites, there is a double standard for the modern interpretation of depictions of men and women with modern ideas concerning the appearance of a respectable woman being used when considering ancient pictures. The naked bodies of young, good-looking women should be taken as a completely positive image, just as it has always been done with the naked male body, where nudity was often understood to be a result of being an athlete or warrior or the nudity was ascribed to some other positive reason. She argues that people washing themselves do so nude as nobody is intended to watch them bathe and a representation of an Attic vase of naked men or women is not supposed to be a realistic scene but rather an artistic medium. Many scholars, male and female, have taken these nude depictions as evidence that Attic women were oppressed and excluded, some going so far as to identify any depiction of a naked woman in Classical Athens with "peephole pornography aimed at an audience of males." While there may have been pictures of that nature, she vehemently makes the case that all naked women were not necessarily prostitutes so therefore many women previously regarded as prostitutes should now be regarded as respectable wives or daughters of Attic citizens, or with a more neutral characterization as just young, beautiful, and attractive women without any perceived social distinction. This revised interpretation should be considered when interpreting the wide variety of female nudes from symposia, dance, sports, sexual intercourse, etc. And the representation of a young and beautiful naked person, whether male or female, should be understood as an allusion to the concept of *kalokagathia* -- the equation of physical beauty with the strength of personal character (Kreilinger 229-236).

From the images on Athenian pottery, we can learn more about the lives of ancient Athenian women and their roles in society. Which images from women's life depicted in pottery (i.e. marriage, etc), along with those images not depicted (i.e. pregnancy and childbirth), can give us more insight into certain aspects of women's lives and tell us more about what kind of

activities would be depicted and not depicted. Additionally, Athenian pottery gives us insight into women's roles in society, specifically in the domains of being a wife and being a sex worker. Finally, Athenian pottery can also teach us about Athenian women through their portrayal in nude scenes and washing scenes.

Illustrations



Figure 1. Attic red-figure hydria, Harvard University, Sackler Art Museum 1960.341, c.430 BC. Photo: Michael Nedzweski. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museum, Bequest of David M. Robinson.



Figure 2. Attic red-figure alabastron, Pan Painter, ca. 470 BCE, Antikenmuseum, Staatliche Museen F 2254, Berlin. Lost in WWII, current whereabouts unclear. ©bpc, Berlin/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany/ Art Resource, NY.

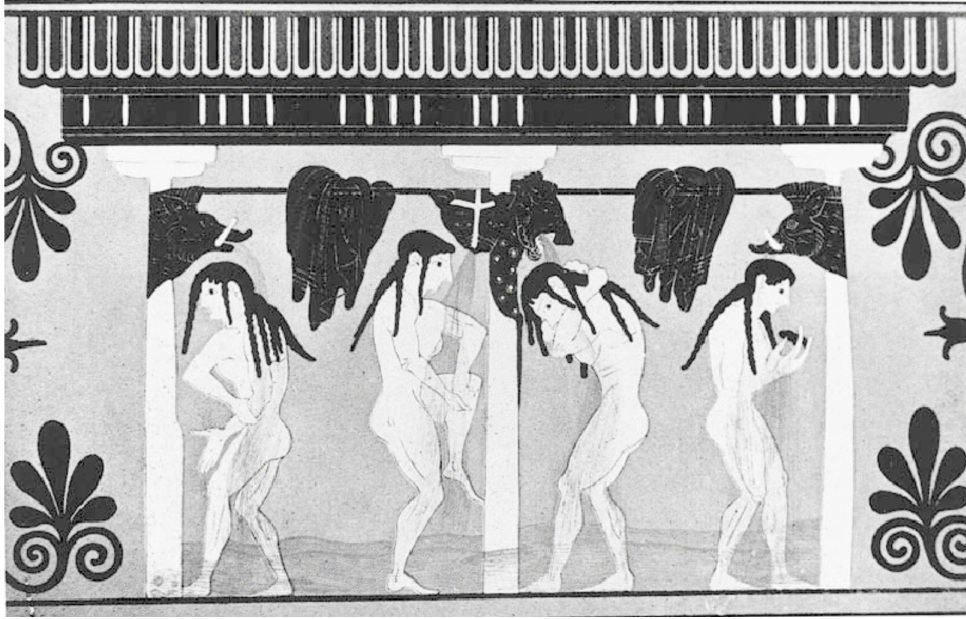


Figure 3. Attic black-figure neck-amphora, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F1843, 500-490 BC (drawing). After Pfuhl, fig. 295.

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Hetaerae on Attic Red Figure Vases and in Athenian Society: Exploring Gender Roles within the Symposium

By Sierra R. Stange

Through an examination of the images of women depicted on Athenian pottery we can learn things about the lives of women and their roles in Athenian society. This paper will focus on specific images and themes of females depicted in male private spaces as entertainers and sex-workers, and the ones called *hetairai*. The *hetairai* fulfilled a particular role within Athenian society, as they were outside the social norms enforced upon most women and girls, and were able to interact with men in private social gatherings. Focusing on five specific pieces of Attic Red-figure pottery produced between circa 500 BCE to 420 BCE, we will explore the depictions of the *hetairai* and their interactions with elite Athenian men. Some other pieces, described but without images in this paper, will also be mentioned as other examples of this theme.

The images we will focus on, five pieces of Athenian pottery; three drinking cups (*kylikes*), one amphora and one hydria, all are part of the Ancient Greek collection at the British Museum. They all have records of their findspot, acquisition date and seller, as several of these pieces came from private collections, only one piece had been excavated recently from the island of Rhodes (British Museum 2021). These examples of Attic/Athenian pottery reinforce the words of Paolino Mingazzini, who wrote in *Greek Pottery Painting*, that Greek art is the product of two tendencies, often conflicting yet interacting; the urge toward realism and perfection in the form of beauty (Mingazzini, 10). Red-figure pottery depicts scenes from everyday life more than the earlier Black-figure pottery which tends towards mythic scenes or iconography, this seems to show a change in society, artistic preference, and the new prominence of Athenian pottery (Richter, 323-324). These everyday scenes include the symposium and *hetairai*, while still depicting burials, weddings, courtship scenes, mythic and heroic themes, etc. (Boardman, Greek Art, 92).

Image 1 is a Red-figure Attic kylix produced by the Brygos painter c. 490-480 BCE. It depicts on the interior of the cup an elite man reclining on a couch at a symposium, holding a kylix, looking at the *hetaira*, dressed in transparent clothing and standing at the foot of the couch. On the outside are multiple figures, more elite men reclining and drinking and female and young beardless males depicted as musicians, servants/slaves, or *hetairai* engaging with the men on the couches. One *hetaira* has a hand under the man's clothing in an inferred erotic act (British Museum 2021). The Brygos painter has been referred to as 'the one of banquets and easy women', a life that was available to richer Athenians (Mingazzini, 72).

Image 2 is also a Red-figure Attic kylix produced by Onesimos c. 500-490 BCE. On the interior is a bearded man and a transparently dressed *hetaira*, who is trying to untie her belt, while the man, looking impatient, reaches out to help her. On the outside are two mythic/heroic scenes; the fourth labor of Herakles – capturing and returning alive the Erymanthian boar to Eurystheus, who is hiding in a huge, half-buried storage *pithos*. On the other, Hermes and the chariot of Odysseus, perhaps a reference to a scene from the *Odyssey*, in which Hermes twice helps Odysseus (British Museum 2021). Onesimos excelled at kylix production, combining Archaic vigor with the dignity of later styles, which often depicted excited satyrs and wine, c. 500BCE (Boardman, Greek Art, 97-98). In this example only the drinker would see the image of the *hetaira*, the others would see the exterior, mythic, panhellenic hero scenes.

Image 3 is another Red-figure Attic kylix produced by the Dokimasia Painter c. 480 BCE. The interior has an erotic scene with a bearded man and *hetaira* in the act and the outside depicts several young men as athletes and with armor (British Museum 2021). Again, this kylix

provides the drinker with the erotic scene for his eyes only, while the others see only the athletic young men. The woman depicted is nude and isn't in a submissive position, in fact she seems to be in control of the act, the so-called equestrian position, which was rare and often equated with the Amazon women (Stewart, 164). This scene reinforces either the one perception we have of the *hetairai* as well-trained, elite prostitutes, or the other perception of *hetairai* as sexually active, single female companions (Silver, 94). The male dominance isn't as boldly asserted here in this kylix as it is in the example in the course textbook, Image 8.17 attributed to the painter Douris. (Neer, 215). Yet the male dominance is still implied as he is the free, elite citizen and she is the one shamed or disgraced by being a non-citizen.

The prevalence of these images of *hetairai* on *kylikes* speaks of the nature of the elite male symposium, a type of drinking party with much political, philosophical, and social discussion as well as an abundance of entertainers, games and perhaps drunken revelry. The symposium differed from the public ritual feasting banquet (*dias/thalia*) that was about the equal distribution of meat, instead it was about the equal distribution of pleasures for a specific type of male citizen (Stewart, 163). Because these private parties were for men the images on the pottery used were focused on themes of interest to these elite men; athletics, heroic male iconography (e.g., Herakles, Odysseus), nude women and *hetairai*, often in erotic, explicit scenes. More broadly the scenes fell into three categories: courtships, erotic pursuits and abductions, and explicit sex (Ibid, 156).

The artists often placed the most erotic images on the interior of the cups, for the drinker to discover as they drank and drained the cup. This is found often enough with erotic, and non-erotic scenes, that it seems to be part of the fun of the symposium itself. The shift from mythic/heroic iconography, battle scenes, and athletics to erotica and *hetairai* demonstrates that there was a change in the attitudes of the consumer base and the audience of these pottery pieces. An interesting note is that all three of these kylix cups were found in Etruscan tombs in Vulci, Italy, and were exports for a non-Greek, Etruscan audience. The export of this type of pottery, which depicted the way of life of elite Athenian males, enabled others to “vicariously participate” in that pleasure and culture (Garrison, 126, 295).

The explicit sex themes were almost wholly limited to symposium pottery, for a specific audience at a specific event of social bonding and enjoyment (Stewart, 157). While the earlier themes reinforced male dominance over other males and non-Greek males, the erotica reinforces male dominance over women, and citizen over non-citizen (Neer, 215). Two strong examples of this male dominance over women are the kylix by the Briseis painter (from Cerveteri, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) and a kylix by Douris (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) (Boardman, 162, 170). In each of these interior scenes on the *kylikes* the women are in bent-over submissive ‘lionesse’ positions. These themes demonstrate a sort of male-bonding, the importance of a homosocial, shared culture – patriarchy- and of male citizen privilege (Stewart, 156, 159).

The *hetairai* were not necessarily prostitutes, or *pornai* but a female; free, freed or enslaved, for the entertainment and companionship of elite men (Glazebrook, 497). Some scholars suggest that they were single women, not necessarily enslaved or sex-workers, but sexually active, single women (Silver, 91-92). They were educated and could engage in the political and social discussions occurring at the symposium. They were well-groomed and often adorned with jewelry and fine clothing (Silver, 96). They also were trained in music and singing as well as erotic arts (Garrison, 121-124). The *hetairai* and erotic themes depicted on the pottery of the symposium on the one hand aroused the men, on the other hand enslaved them and created the need for release through both dominating and penetrating women (Stewart, 19). Often the

female entertainers are depicted playing the double-flute, wearing transparent or very thin clothing and jewelry, c. 400BCE, Red-figure volute krater, Southern Italy, Ceglie del Campo (Boardman, Greek Art, 175).

The elite prostitutes and single women fulfilled a niche within Athenian society which was vacant because of the social laws inflicted on married Athenian women, which was both outsider and insider to the *polis* (Stewart, 10). Although women were not considered citizens in an active sense of taking part in the assembly, after 450/1 BCE they gained a nominal, legal citizenship status through the laws of Pericles, which defined a male citizen as one who was descended from both father and mother Athenian citizens (Pepe, 153). Were single Athenian women considered citizens, or just married mothers who produced legitimate heirs? It seems that these single women, or *hetairai* also had some nominal legal citizenship status and eventually if later married to a citizen, their children would also become citizens (Silver, 96-97). These images of *hetairai* and hired women reflect the Athenian view of this class of women and their usefulness to society, at any social level, these types of women, paid or not, were objects for the enjoyment of men (Stewart, 165).

Since wives and ‘proper’ women did not attend the symposia, the men were able to enjoy their erotic art, entertainers, and *hetairai* seemingly without consequence. Although there must have been consequences; such as unplanned and unwanted pregnancies that these women had to deal with, as well as diseases and the social stigmas which kept them as outsiders of Athenian mainstream culture (Garrison, 295). The anal-sex scenes may serve to show a form of birth control, emotional distance, preservation of virginity, or as an imitation of the homoerotic sex act (Stewart, 159, 161). The prevalence of hired women for the symposium may also be part of an ‘erotic social code’ as mentioned by the writer Pindar in the first half of the fifth century, in which an emblem of the ideals of the ruling class was the love of boys, the *kalokagathoi*, and devaluing of the love of women, the hired women could fulfill this niche as well, by providing erotic companionship without the attachment of love (Garrison, 108-109).

Interestingly we have some examples of role-reversals at the symposia, a hydria in the Museum Antiker Kleinkunst Munich, c. 510-500 BCE, depicts two *hetairai* reclining on couches playing *kottabos*, throwing their wine dregs at a balanced dish intending to make it fall over. Normally the male winner won the right of first choice of the women, in this case, the women may have had the first choice of men (Mingazzini, 57-61). Was this role reversal just a game or a painter’s dream? These women seem to be the banqueters and maybe these aren’t exclusively male roles and the divisions between male and female activities at the symposium weren’t so strictly defined (Glazebrook, 500). The painter Euphronios gives us another example on a *psykter* (a vase used to cool wine and usually floating inside a *krater*) of naked women enjoying the couches, one holding a kylix, another playing the double flute, on a *psykter* from Cerveteri, in the Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, from J. D. Beazley’s *Attic Red Figure Vases Painters* (Boardman, 33,40). We know that the *psykter* would have been used by men, since it was widely known that men, true refined male citizens, drank their wine mixed with water, in other words, in moderation, while unmixed wine was for barbarians and women (Venit, 126). While these two examples of female banqueters are a rarity in the whole of symposium scenes, and may have not been viewed by all participants since the *psykter* is usually immersed in wine, they do make one ponder what can be known about the ancient world from the depictions of it (Glazebrook, 502).

Image 4 is a Red-figure Attic amphora, type B, produced by the Pig Painter c. 480-460 BCE. This amphora has a scene of an un-bearded man with a staff and a thinly dressed *hetaira* facing each other, with the *hetaira* holding a purse (British Museum 2021). It seems to indicate

an exchange of some sort, possibly in public as there is nothing in the background to suggest they are indoors or at a symposium, nor is it a kylix for drinking. The man is also a curiosity in the sense that he is depicted with a staff, which normally suggests old age, but he is neither bent over nor aged in appearance and also un-bearded, yet almost with peach fuzz, suggesting youth. Is this scene showing a non-elite male seeking a courtesan or perhaps he is recruiting women for a symposium? Or is this a scene in which the male and female are merely engaging in some type of courtship, outside of the narrow confines of arranged marriage courtship? The woman doesn't look as young as some of the women depicted on other erotic vases, she may be in charge of a household of *hetairai* or an owner of a brothel (Buraselis, 215-218). This image interested me because it is somewhat enigmatic and very different from the other more explicit erotica, although in the same pottery collection of the British Museum. What was this amphora used for? Who was the intended audience?

Image 5 is a Red-figure Attic hydria produced by the Washing Painter c. 430-420 BCE. This hydria has one side painted with a scene of two nude women bathing at a *loutron*. Both women are wearing only a black band with a ring attached on their thigh closest to the viewer (British Museum 2021). This black band indicates a *hetaira* because we find other women depicted on vases are wearing it while naked engaged in erotic scenes, on a Red-figure kylix c.470BCE at the City Museum in Tarquinia (Garrison, 130). While these women are not attending a symposium, nor are they pictured as entertainers or companions for elite men, they fall under the category of *hetairai* because they are depicted nude, 'proper' or married Athenian women were not depicted without clothing. It is also in the *hetairai* pottery collection at the British Museum. These nude women break the mold of the earlier paradigm that the men were depicted naked, in their natural state, while women were clothed, a product of male culture; controlled and subdued (Stewart, 40-41). Women's nude bodies, specifically *hetairai*, were objects of lust, not virtue as the nude male body was (Pepe, 151). This scene is a quiet private moment for these women, as a contrast to the usual scenes of the symposium with sometimes rowdy, intoxicated, dominating men. This hydria falls into a later period after the height of erotic vase painting, and is not a kylix, so the masculine themes of sexual dominance are not stressed anymore and have changed into private glimpses of women. This image still echoes the enforced submission of the female body in Athenian culture as it is put on display in this hydria (Neer, 216).

It is difficult to say whether *hetairai* were limited to private male elite parties or if they also interacted with men as companions in public spaces (Buraselis, 213). The newer trend in scholarship is to view these women with *hetairai* status as companions to men, without the stigma of sex-work or even forcible sexual favors, but more generally as the 'other', that is, non-male, within a male bonding social group such as the symposium (Glazebrook, 498). In Image 4 which depicts the exchange between a man and *hetairai* looks to be outside of a symposium, although perhaps not in public, but another private location. The interaction between men and these single women, *hetairai*, was not necessarily confined to the symposium, whereas the erotic sex seemed to be, at least in depictions on *kylikes* (Ibid, 497). The Brygos painter also produced a Red-figure cup, c. 490 BCE, which depicts a bearded male party-goer pulling a *hetairai* presumably to another party, walking through the city, (Boardman, Greek Art, 101). The lines between public and private life were not so strict for 'proper' Athenian women. They did go out in public spaces for temple or sanctuary visits, festival days, and to travel to relatives and friends' homes. Of their daily public tasks, such as shopping in the agora or getting water from the public wells, some were done by their slaves, some by the women themselves (Stewart, 10).

Most of the public spaces were defined as male spaces such as the political and social institutions; the assembly, the courthouse, and the gymnasium. The religious and commercial spaces were open to women and as well as processional routes for festivals or funerary routes to the necropolis. The house was frequently separated into male *andron* and female *gynaikon* spaces, the female more secluded while the male was closer to the street or entrance of the house. Athenian law also enabled a man to keep a concubine at home, whereas a woman's sexual infidelity was severely punished (Garrison, 113). Retaining an unmarried status enabled a woman to participate in Greek society more liberally than if she was married and somewhat confined to motherhood and domestic duties of the household (Silver, 99).

The access *hetairai* had to private spaces gave them a different kind of freedom than that of 'proper' Athenian women, while it also provided them with an income, something many Athenian women were not able to earn, or was for lower class women only, such as work in the textile industry (Silver, 91). Elite Athenian women were married with a dowry and their husbands took over from their fathers their assets and wealth. Women were viewed as dependent on men, whereas men were dependent on other men (Garrison, 115). The *arete* or honor/virtue for women was to recognize and conform to male supremacy and her male guardians (Stewart, 12). Greek female sexuality was on the surface controlled, always in sharp contrast to the female archetype of the Amazon warriors, who had uncontrolled sexual appetites and were prone to violence (Ibid, 118-119). *Hetairai* were able to live as Amazons in the sense of freedom from male social domination and sexual mores, yet were not stigmatized as threats to males (Silver, 104).

We see this dichotomy also in the two female goddesses, Athena and Artemis, both referred to with the epithet *parthenos*, in each case it may not specifically mean virgin, but unwed, free from male control, sexual or social. That epithet would also indicate their liminal status within Athenian and the wider Greek cultural spheres (Garrison, 28). Contrast those two goddesses with Hera, who is often depicted as the jealous, vengeful, controlled, domesticated = married goddess, and Demeter, the mother goddess, of agricultural and human fertility, but in a controlled, domesticated sense of the seasons and cycles of the earth, for its abundance, not erotic pleasure (Ibid, 29-30). Often it has been argued that the depictions of deities reflect not only the actions and personalities of humans, but also the desired actions and personalities of humans; how they are supposed to act or not act. These depictions on Attic Red-figure vases seem to be doing a similar thing, how women were viewed as acting by men or how they are supposed to act (Venit, 119).

The *hetairai* nevertheless were able to fit into that liminal space between those two extremes of Greek society as a whole, much larger than just seen in Athens. The two extremes were: enforced sexual control and patriarchal dominance versus unabashed sexual extravagance and violence towards men. *Hetairai* were able to move between these social structures and identities and inhabit a world that was narrowly defined based not only on their single status and specific education and training, but also on the social circles in which they inhabited and the maintaining of their single, unmarried status.

Illustrations



Image 1.a. Red-figure Kylix. Attic 490-480 BCE. The Brygos Painter. Interior Scene. Findspot Vulci, Italy. Painted Pottery 13.9c D x 12.70c H x 39.70c W. Acquired 1848 purchased from Basseggio.



Image 1.b. Red-figure Kylix, exterior scene in black and white.



Image 1.c. Red-figure Kylix, exterior scene in true color.



Image 2.a. Red-figure Kylix, Attic 500-490 BCE. Onesimos. Interior Scene. Findspot Vulci, Italy. Painted Pottery 14.10c D x 12.60c H x 42.30c W. Acquired 1836 purchased from Edme Antoine Durand.



Image 2.b. Red-figure Kylix, exterior scene Herakles and the boar.



Image 2.c. Red-figure Kylix, exterior scene Chariot with Odysseus(?) and Hermes.



Image 3.a. Red-figure Kylix. Attic 480 BCE. The Dokimasia Painter. Interior Scene. Findspot Vulci, Italy. Painted Pottery 22.80c D x 8.80c H x 31c W. Acquired 1836 purchased from Edme Antoine Durand.



Image 3.b. Red-figure Kylix. Exterior Scene.



Image 4. Red-figure Amphora, type B. Attic 480-460 BCE. The Pig Painter. Painted Panel Scene. Findspot Fikellura Grave 117, Kamiros, Rhodes. Painted Pottery 35.56c H. Acquired 1864 purchased from Sir Alfred Biliotti.



Image 5. Red-figure Hydria. Attic 430-420 BCE. The Washing Painter. Side Panel. Findspot Nola, Campania, Italy. Painted Pottery 17.78c H. Acquired 1867 purchased from Louis, Duc de Blacas d'Aulpo.

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De coitu et urbe: An Examination of Horace's Use of Sexual Metaphor in Satire 1.2

By Terek Walker

Horace's Satire 1.2 is a complex and somewhat easily misinterpreted work. The controversy surrounding its sexually explicit content has made the work exceptionally well-known in the Horatian corpus. While one might be tempted to focus on this controversy and admire the work for its unabashed raunchiness, there is much more to analyze. As one reads the text, it becomes clear that there are layers of meaning working together to promote a deeper message. References to married women, prostitutes, and affairs are not simply there to shock. Instead, Horace fully utilizes this sexual metaphor to not only promote a deeply Epicurean message about the dangers of ambition, but also to comment on his own career as a poet and his successes and failures in heeding this message.

The first twenty-eight lines of satire 1.2 are rather peculiar. In a satire famed for its bawdiness, they stand out for their relative tameness and more mundane subject matter. One might even be tempted to skim over these introductory lines and focus their analysis primarily on the raunchy ones. This would be a great mistake as these lines serve a very important role in the overall structure of the satire and are therefore of paramount importance. In addition to simply acting as a build-up for the later sexual metaphor that dominates most of the satire, these lines seed the mind of the reader with the information necessary to properly interpret said metaphor. Horace's observation that *dum vitant stulti vita, in contraria currunt*, "In avoiding one sort of fault fools rush into its opposite," (Hor. Sat. 1.2, 24)¹ states an explicit message, and is one of the main themes in the entire work. One might even go as far as to call this focus on balancing Horace's thesis; however, it becomes clear as the satire goes on that Horace's main goal lies in giving advice to the reader. Thus, these lines serve to warn the reader against taking Horace's advice too far. They tell the reader: "Listen to what I have to say, but do not follow this advice to the point that it becomes a detriment to you."

And what is Horace's advice? That question is answered by an extended sexual metaphor that begins a mere four lines after Horace's warning to maintain balance. At first this metaphor does not appear to be a metaphor at all, but simply another, albeit a raunchier, example of the type of behavior he warns against. As the discussion of married ladies and prostitutes continues, it becomes evident that these subjects are intended to stand in for something, perhaps a larger philosophical point. That point is never explicitly stated, but with a little thought, a reasonable inference can be put forward. The white-clad wives of the leading men of Rome would constitute a valuable prize that anyone trying to climb the socio-political ladder would want to get ahold of. Thus, they can be said to represent the object of one's ambition. Whether that ambition is purely sexual, or something less tangible like wealth or political power, is irrelevant. One can have ambitions about anything and chasing those white-clad ambitions can lead to a plethora of negative consequences. In contrast, the lowly prostitute represents virtuous restraint and living within one's means. Horace illustrates this point by recounting the tale of Cato's response to a young aristocrat leaving a house of ill repute: *'Macte virtute esto, inquit, nam simul ac venas inflavit taetra libido, huc iuvenes aequum est descendere, non alienas permolere uxores,'* "Keep up the good work!" he said. "Whenever a young man's veins are swollen by accursed lust he's right to go down to that sort of place instead of grinding other men's wives," (32-35). Through

¹ All translations are drawn from Rudd, 1973 and will henceforth be referenced only by line number.

this example, Horace acknowledges that ambition is a natural impulse, especially for young people, but it is best to channel that energy productively instead of tempting fate and driving oneself to ruin.

However, this is not to say that one should avoid all ambition entirely. This is where the full meaning of Horace's warning in the first twenty-eight lines becomes clear. If one takes their shunning of ambition too far, they run the risk of becoming a parody of the very virtue they wish to pursue. The pursuit of prostitutes and freedwomen, which Horace previously praised as virtuous behavior now becomes just as dangerous as the ambition he warns against. Horace cites as an example the folly of Sallust, who devotes himself to chasing freedwomen with the same passion with which others pursue married ladies. Sallust thus fails to achieve the balance which Horace recommends and therefore brings upon himself different types of misfortunes. Instead of attracting the ire of a wealthy woman's husband, he instead bankrupts himself by paying great sums of money for prostitutes. To drive this point home, Horace compares Sallust to another man, Marsaeus, who while seeking to avoid other men's wives, surrenders his entire estate to a lowly striptease artist, thus irrevocably damaging his reputation. Horace warns that: *Bonam deperdere famam, rem patris oblimare, malum est ubicunque. Qui interest in matrona, ancilla peccesne togata?* "To lose your good name and to wreck your family inheritance is always wrong. What matter whether your partner is a married lady or a wench with a cloak?" (61-63). The warning of the first twenty-eight lines foreshadows this very point. In fact, this section warning against the folly of Sallust can be seen as an extension of the first warning, but within the context of the sexual metaphor. These lines thus bridge the gap between the tamer introductory lines and the lines which come after it. With the importance of balance being well established by this point, Horace is now able to turn his attention to the main thrust of his argument: a series of warnings about the consequences of chasing ambition.

Line sixty-four represents a shift in the nature of the sexual metaphor. Gone is the discussion of balance, and here to stay is a discussion of the various dangers of chasing ambition. Horace begins this section with an imagined conversation between a man named Villius and his penis. His penis chastises him for chasing rich and powerful women and getting attacked by their husbands, arguing that it does not require a rich woman to be satisfied. This notion of only needing necessities to survive is a major theme in Epicurean philosophy and is one which Horace will revisit and fully expound upon later in the satire. Horace then follows this scene up with the observation that: *At quanto meliora monet pugnantiisque istis dives opis natura suae*, "Nature's advice is directly opposed to your attitude, and much more sensible," (73-74). Nature, which is personified through Villius's talking penis, is opposed to chasing ambition and is inclined toward the moderation promoted by Epicurean philosophy. It is this idea, that one should listen to nature and avoid ambition, that stands as the main thesis of Satire 1.2. The previous lines serve as a preparation for the reader to be able to properly understand Horace's point by putting into the reader's head the idea that this advice should not be taken too far. While the following lines further expound on the dangers of ignoring this advice.

One of these dangers is biased mental calculation. One may be so enamored of what they desire that they become blind to the deleterious effects that such a desire may have. To illustrate this threat, Horace discusses a practice attributed to the Sheiks of covering a horse with a blanket before inspecting it for purchase. The idea being that if one covers the attractive features, the buyer will be more able to pick up on faults and therefore make an informed decision. Horace then compares this practice to that of evaluating women, and by extension, ambition. One must be able to properly judge the benefits and drawbacks of a particular ambition, lest they fall

victim to what they failed to see. This is a very real threat, as it often happens that achieving one's desires leads to unforeseen consequences. This idea plays into a larger fear of the unknown that chasing ambition can bring about, which Horace addresses by comparing the heavy clothing of married women with the thin see-through clothing of prostitutes. Married women have only their faces to show to the world, therefore hiding any physical deformities which might negatively impact a lover, while with a prostitute, *Cois tibi paene videre est ut nudam, ne crure malo, ne sit pede turpi; metiri possis oculo latus*, "Her Coan silk allows you to see her virtually naked, there's no chance of concealing bad legs or ugly feet; you can check her profile," (101-103). Horace thus argues that one ought to engage with desires which are known to be beneficial, as opposed to desires which could carry unforeseen consequences.

As the satire draws to a close, Horace synthesizes the previous themes of the necessity for moderation and the unknown dangers of ambition into a scene which is intended to provide a final warning to the reader. He first returns to the theme of moderation by echoing the points brought up by Villius's penis. Sex, Horace explains, is much like water and food. When one is thirsty, they do not require their water to be served in a golden cup, nor do they require the finest meats when they are hungry. They simply require what will alleviate the thirst or hunger they feel. Likewise with sex, one does not need a rich woman to be satisfied when a prostitute or household servant is present and easily taken. As Horace himself states: *namque parabilem amo venerem facilemque*, "I like sex to be there and easy to get," (119). Despite this rather unsavory endorsement of sexual violence, this attitude toward food, water, and sex is emblematic of the Epicurean classification of pleasures. In Epicurean philosophy, a common distinction between pleasures is that some are natural and necessary while others are natural but unnecessary. A natural and necessary pleasure would be the desire for water when one is thirsty, or the desire for sex when one is aroused. Ultimately, these are natural impulses which can be alleviated by moderated indulgence. Contrast this with the desire that one's water be served in a golden chalice, or that one's sexual partners be the wives of wealthy men. While the desire for water and sex are natural, these additional elements constitute a dangerous ambition which will ultimately lead to negative outcomes.

These consequences are expounded upon in the final lines of the satire. Starting at around line one hundred and nineteen, Horace describes a nearly disastrous encounter with the consequences of pursuing such ambition. He explains that it is preferable to remain within one's means, because there is *nec vereor, ne, dum futuo, vir rure recurrat, ianua frangatur, latret canis, undique magno pulsa domus strepitu resonet* "No fear, while I'm fucking, that her husband will rush back to town, the door crash open, the dog bark, and the house resound with an awful din," (127-129). The returning husband personifies the consequences of striving for unnecessary ambition, and this vengeful man is determined to inflict terrible harm not only upon the perpetrator, but even upon others who might be involved. The maid will have her legs broken as punishment for facilitating the affair, the wife will lose her fortune, and the lover will be chased off, lest he be killed or have his honor destroyed. The satire then ends with a rather matter-of-fact acknowledgement that it is never pleasant to be caught up in such affairs.

What is perhaps most interesting about the final sequence is that starting at line one hundred and nineteen, Horace changes the subject to himself, thus personalizing the last account. While Horace portrays this account as a hypothetical juxtaposition to his own preferred way of doing things, there is a level of detail which makes the scene quite visceral, thus implying a degree of personal experience on Horace's part. So, is Horace admitting to engaging in such an affair? Yes, but not in the way in which he describes. While it may at first seem that he is

obliquely referencing actual events, it is important to remember that these sexual references are not meant to be taken literally. Instead, this final scene is a self-aware reference to Horace's own position within Roman society. Despite his own warnings, Horace seems to have done his fair share of social climbing, becoming one of the state poets of the Augustan regime. However, as he demonstrates throughout Satire 1.2, social climbers often face extreme challenges, even under the most favorable of circumstances, and Horace was certainly not operating under such circumstances. The trouble with authoritarian governments is that they operate at the behest of their capricious tyrants, thus making social climbing an especially dangerous proposition. Simply put, Augustus is the husband whose wife Horace is having an affair with, and at any moment he could come through the door and strip Horace of his wealth, reputation, or even his life. One need not look far for examples of this. The poet Ovid, who was a rough contemporary of Horace, was famously banished from Rome for offending Augustus's sensibilities. To be a public figure under an authoritarian regime is to balance oneself on the tip of a sword: one false step can lead to ruin. Perhaps Horace felt this pressure, thus inspiring him to pursue and promulgate Epicurean philosophy and to warn others of the dangers of his own folly.

While this may explain the motivation behind Horace's creation of Satire 1.2, it does not explain why he opts to use a sexual framing. While it is impossible to know for sure why Horace made this decision, there are certain advantages to this framing which allow him to effectively advance his message. Specifically, the sexual framing allows him to blend philosophy with humor, thus making his work more accessible, while still allowing him to engage with big ideas. This blending of high and low genres is a common feature of Horace's work. His use of dactylic hexameter, or heroic verse, to describe humorous or raunchy topics in his satires is a notable example. However, the use of a sexual framing takes this even further. Sex, being something of a universal human fascination, occupies a unique position between the high and the low. For example, the image of a nude body, depending on the context in which it is presented, is either the pinnacle of high art, or lowly pornography. Thus, by opting for such a framing, Horace further blends the distinctions between the exalted and the lowly. This has multiple effects, the most interesting of which is an intentional self-humbling on the part of Horace. By presenting his philosophy in this ambiguous way, he can recuse himself from the position of being a true philosopher. In other words, he is avoiding the ambition of philosophy and opting to stick with the poetry that he knows well. Not only does this allow him to make his arguments in the way he is most comfortable, but it also allows him to avoid the dangers that stepping into the philosophical arena in earnest would bring. In this case, he is following his own advice.

When examining Satire 1.2, it becomes clear that it is a work which is quite complex, with many layers of nuanced meaning which become uncovered with each subsequent reading. It is this fact which reveals the true artistry of Horace. In one hundred and thirty-four lines of dactylic hexameter, he is humorous, philosophical, and introspective. While Horace is by no means unique in his ability to pack a lot of meaning into a short number of lines, he does so with a level of care and awareness which is quite remarkable. It is no surprise then, that Horace continues to be upheld as one of the great poets of antiquity. While it is impossible to know how Horace would react to his place in the literary canon, it is likely that he would be pleased to know that his works and their Epicurean messages are still being read, discussed, and iterated upon over two thousand years after his death.

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Demonstrations of Misogynistic Violence in Greek Pottery

By Autumn Wright

In a culture where hypermasculinity is seen as the ideal, the beautiful, and the most desirable attribute for a human to aspire to, gendered women were at a deficit from the very beginning. Women of ancient Greece were burdened with more social and cultural restrictions. With the social limitations given to them by 'superior' males, women were secluded in the confines of their homes. To further this disparity, there were even social divisions within the layout of the home. Women were bound to their private quarters while the men had the freedom of interior and exterior mobility of the residence. Women had no legal rights, as they were not considered citizens and did not make appearances in public or social gatherings, especially without the permission and escort of a related male.¹ Instead, society deemed them fit for only domestic jobs of taking care of the home, baring children, or servicing the men. If they did happen to leave the home, it was only with permission from their husbands.

Depictions of women in pottery mirror this social and gendered inequity in real life. Everything in the culture revolved around the male ideal status - establishing, exerting, and expanding on it. The absolute minimum for men was to maintain their status. The action of being stripped from their status could indicate a loss of citizenship in Athenian society. So, who better to demonstrate this type of status than to demonstrate it on women. Women who could not maintain the status quo or elevate it were easily seen as transactional goods. According to Solon's laws, "no man is allowed to sell a daughter or a sister unless he finds that she is no longer a virgin".² The first real female transgression is having a type of horizontal mobility in society. Where men are born into a fixed position in both the οἶκος and the πόλις, women are not.³ Women are transferable from one household (typically the Fathers) to another (the Husbands) with no fixed roots. Men are seen to be a stable fixture in the culture while women are less reliable. Sarah Pomeroy sums up the Grecian attitude towards women the best with this damning indictment:

Man is the most rounded off and complete...Hence woman is more compassionate than a man, more easily moved to tears, at the same time is more jealous, more querulous, more apt to scold and to strike...more prone to despondency and less hopeful than the man, more void of shame, more false of speech, more deceptive, and of more tentative memory. She is also more wakeful, more shrinking, more difficult to rouse to action, and requires a smaller quantity of nutriment.⁴

As noted by Halperin, "Women are assumed to be markedly more open to erotic emotion than men and sexually insatiable once aroused".⁵ This idea of being insatiable is key to

¹ Pomeroy, Professor of Classics Faculty Member in Classical Studies and Women's Studies Graduate School and University Center Sarah B., et al. *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1994:76.

² Solon 32.2. See Pomeroy, *Women in the Classical World*, 75.

³ Halperin, David M., and John J. Winkler. *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1990: 136. See LSJ, s.v. οἶκος. LSJ, s.v. πόλις.

⁴ Pomeroy, *Women in the Classical World*, 192.

⁵ Halperin, *Before Sexuality*, 138.

understanding the demeaning depictions on the pottery. If women were considered insatiable or more emotionally available, then in terms of Greek culture, they lacked self-control and had no restraint. So discipline and control had to be exerted from an outside, i.e. male, source. And as in most cases where absolute control of females is socially expected, sexual violence follows.

The sexual displays in pottery play out these power displays not as a form of boast but as a typical expectation of a proper man and woman's role in sexual intercourse. The 'passive' role or penetrative role in sexual intercourse is seen as an indignity for the man, who is expected to be the "active" agent, to suffer.⁶ It is unnatural and speaks to a male's corrupt morality to enjoy it. Therefore, sexual intercourse between two males of equal societal standing would be scandalous. The exception, of course, is when relations between an adult man and a young adolescent male. The adolescent is considered an ambiguous, androgynous line that is acceptable to cross because they do not have citizenship yet and thusly not considered a fully established member of society. Mark Golden, a foremost author in Grecian sexuality states:

Women on the vases often appear to enjoy sex. But passive homosexual partners show no sign of pleasure; they have no erection and usually stare straight ahead during intercourse... Women in vase paintings are depicted in a wide variety of sexual postures and are often shown being penetrated from behind. Women are sometimes shown leaning on or supported by their male lovers, physically dependent on them... Passive males, however, regularly face their partners. They are upright; it is the active partner who bends his knees and (often) his head.⁷

On an Attic red-figure cup from c. 480 BCE, a man stands behind a woman depicting them having sex.⁸ True to Golden's description, the female participant is bent over being penetrated from behind. A decorative ionic column and leafy plant are behind the two figures. The female leans over a couch and is propped up by a cushion like they are at a symposium making one wonder if this is a public demonstration. Both figures are nude but while this is expected from the male figure, nudity was not common for women in the archaic and classical periods.⁹ Different terminology should also be used here. A *nude* male indicates that his state of undress is socially acceptable. In contrast, *naked* implies a sense of vulnerability or unprotection as was intended in this image. Between the female nudity and the symposium setting, this can indicate that this is most likely a female servant or slave, and not necessarily a willing partner in this act.

The composition is such that it looks like he is cornering her. Her nakedness gives the viewer a sense of her being trapped. In this scene, the male is engaging in this idea of being in the 'active' role. The position behind her is a more commanding one and he holds the female's arms in a tight grip. But the artist gives even more clues to this display with the words, "Keep still!"¹⁰ The verbal command and the public act of this sexual act is the ultimate expression of his control. The man also does not display any emotion of pleasure. To do so would be construed as a feminine attribute and a 'passive' one. Only females can be on the receiving end of such an experience - at least publicly.

⁶ Ibid, 271.

⁷ Golden, Mark. 1984. "Slavery and Homosexuality at Athens." *Phoenix* 38:313-315.

⁸ Image 1. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris. Clay; c. 480 BCE. See Neer, Richard T. *Greek Art and Archaeology*. New York, Thames & Hudson, 2018:215.

⁹ Pomeroy, *Women in the Classical World*, 172.

¹⁰ Quality of the image was too blurry to see the full text. I was unable to translate it myself and instead borrowed the translation; See Neer, *Greek Art and Archaeology*, 215. However, I am assuming it was a present imperative.

To show pleasure was to lose control and give into wilder instincts. In this expectation of the ideal male, the display of pleasure would have been the equivalent of displaying a man as an animal. And here, Greek mythology provided such an avenue as an outlet. The god, Dionysus was seen as a more foreign deity with wild exploits and even wilder followers - the Maenads and the Satyrs. Maenads were always women who were followers of Dionysus who would become a frenzied horde, drinking and partying in nature. Satyrs were like minor male nature deities with voracious and salacious appetites for food, wine, and sex. They had animalistic traits like horsetails and ears and a large erect phallus.

The shape of this detail must have come from a red-figure hydria.¹¹ It shows two satyrs creeping up towards a sleeping maenad. The satyr figures are naked with tails and erect phalli. Both profiled satyrs have long beards and hair while bald at the top. The Maenad's body is fully frontal with the head turned in profile as it is turned in sleep. She holds a long-stemmed flower and is fully clothed. One of the satyrs that have crept up on the sleep Maenad has lifted the bottom of her dress while she is unaware and started touching her genitalia.

On pottery, the interplay between a male and female almost always shows the female as an assumed πόρνη or έταιρία.¹² Yet, in this pottery detail, two satyrs engaging in a horrible form of sexual assault. By today's standards, this would be abhorrent to display as a form of entertainment on a vessel no matter the kinds of figures involved. But in ancient Greece, sexual violence like this was entirely appropriate. The Maenad is possibly passed out after being inebriated and the satyrs sneaking around like this is a guilty pleasure of theirs. And it is. The artists intentionally used mythological satyrs to play out these lustful and often horrible sexual fantasies.

These satyrs have no constraints or restrictions. They can act out their wild inhibitions without consequence because they are animalistic creatures and not men. This scene is not about the horrific assault on the unsuspecting female. She is all but a secondary consideration. Instead, this scene is allowing these male desires to play out in an acceptable social medium.

Having this painting on a hydria reinforces this concept. The hydria would be present at a symposium for the men to pour water into a krater.¹³ The fact that this image is on a hydria in the first place is both a tease to the male guests and also acts as a warning. Male guests would understand that this tantalizing scene of masculine figures acting out their fantasies was just for the viewer. Since it is on the hydria, it would also serve to remind the guests that if they do not add enough water and dilute their wine sufficiently, they will lose that control and become wild like these uncivilized, half-men creatures.

¹¹ Image 2. Two Balding, garlanded satyrs approach a sleeping maenad with lascivious intent. Red-figure hydria. Rouen 538.3. See Halperin, *Before Sexuality*, 79. Hydria is a dual-handled water jug with usually a wide, round body that tapers into a columnal neck.

¹² There were two main classes of female sex-workers in Greece. The πόρνη were considered the more common street workers, living and working from brothers. See LSJ, s.v. πόρνη. The έταιρία were considered a higher class of sex workers. Often employed as sexual courtesans, entertainers, mistresses, and musicians. The έταιρία probably had the greatest social mobility for females. They had greater freedom within the οἶκος as they were expected to remain in the male quarters to entertain. They had a greater sense of agency in the fact that they had the ability of choosing their financier and staying with them if they provided. The έταιρία were seen more as acceptable companions for men to spend money on. See LSJ, s.v. έταιρία.

¹³ Krater is a mixing bowl to dilute the thick wine paste with water. To not mix the wine was to be considered uncivilized.

Often in pottery, there is a casual disregard for the female and an even more casual attitude toward violence towards them. Patriarchal dominance was so overwhelming in Greek culture that women had very little control over their own life. As seen in these depictions on pots, women were only seen as a means to an end. Often that means was to establish political status, amusement to symposia guests, or fulfill hidden male desires. Women were at the mercy of the male decision and the male gaze.

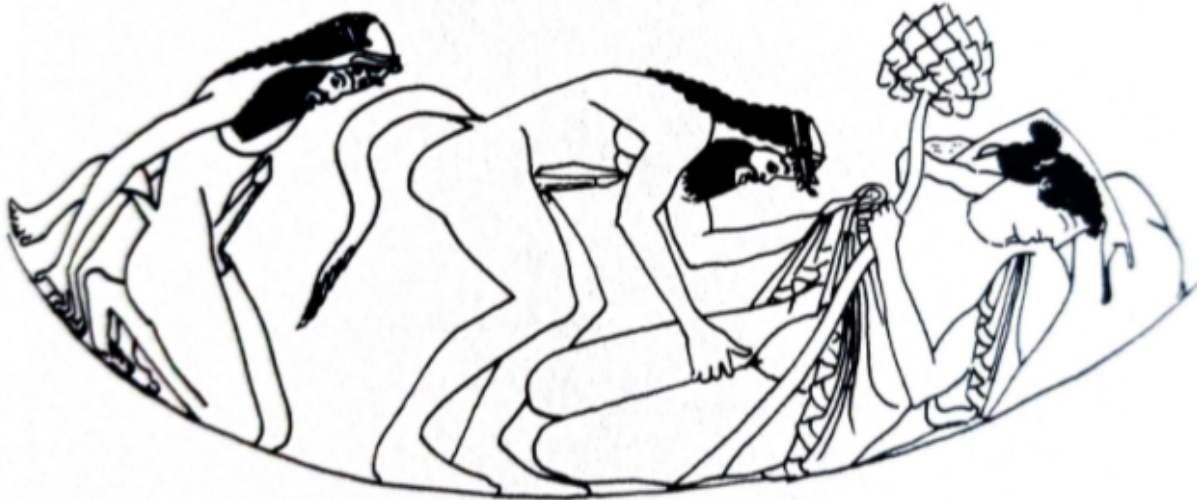
In scenes of sexual intercourse, women cannot display any agency. To do so would take control from the man which went against all the expectations in male society. They were always meant to receive any action, even to their detriment. But at a symposium with a servant or slave, this would have been acceptable. The man would have had ownership and therefore rights to this action.

However, this rape would not have been as acceptable in the case of the Satyr and Maenad hydria. Having this scene play out with mythological characters gives it a more socially admissible narrative. But even then, the provocative nature of the peeping toms and the fact that the Maenad was dressed and unconscious, leaves the viewer with the understanding of an unfortunate and common rape.

Illustrations



Image 1. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris. Clay; c. 480 BCE. See Neer, Richard T. *Greek Art and Archaeology*. New York, Thames & Hudson, 2018:215



2.25

Image 2. Two Balding, garlanded satyrs approach a sleeping maenad with lascivious intent. Red-figure hydria. Rouen 538.3. See Halperin, *Before Sexuality*, 79.

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Loving Wives and How to Leave Them

By Katelynn Xu

Odysseus, Jason, and Aeneas are among the few that have been immortalized as *the* epic heroes; they've been analyzed every which way for centuries in order to glean whatever information there is to be had about them as characters, the societies they reflect, the attitudes and backgrounds of their creators. Homer, Apollonius of Rhodes, and Vergil respectively have woven legendary tales that have stood the test of time. However, great though their heroic feats may be, it is in each of their love stories that their true characters are exposed. Love's purpose is as a tool to further the goals and achievements of the male halves, while being of severe detriment to the female halves, while *also* revealing the prevalent biases of their times. Ovid's *The Heroides* further delves into this through the perspective of the "loving wives"—who are victims of love (sometimes literally) and their men—by taking the contents of the original epics and inserting his own take on their feelings.

Unlike Jason and Aeneas, it's a little more challenging to group Odysseus in with the deserters. Perhaps by the standards of the ancients, Odysseus remained faithful to Penelope throughout the entirety of their union; if not in body, at least in mind. Judging him by modern standards, then, may be unnecessarily harsh. Nonetheless, given that it is Odysseus himself who recounts his own affairs, it is difficult to take his alleged unwillingness at face value. Is it so far-fetched that Odysseus might have twisted his words to cast himself in a more favorable light? No; he is renowned for his talent in oral manipulation, and exercises that skillset nearly every time he speaks. The first time audiences hear him speak of his experience thus far in his journey, it is for his eager listener, Alkinoös, king of the Phaiákians, whom he desires to send him home to Ithaca. Alkinoös is a good, charitable host; having met his beloved daughter and impressed upon the king his trustworthiness, Odysseus knows which characteristics he must emphasize in order to gain the king's continued favor. When he begins his tale, he underscores himself as a faithful man who values home above all, including the wives of the goddesses he encounters:

... though I have been detained long by Kalypso,
loveliest among goddesses, who held me
in her smooth caves, to be her heart's delight,
as Kirkê of Aiaia, the enchantress,
desired me, and detained me in her hall.
But in my heart I never gave consent.
Where shall a man find sweetness to surpass
his own home and his parents? In far lands
he shall not, though he find a house of gold.¹

Just within this short excerpt alone, he makes the listener aware of three significant pieces of information about him: first, there is something about him that has managed to capture the attention of two powerful women, one of whom is a goddess and the other the daughter of a Titan; second, he remained faithful to his family despite the temptation; and third, his ultimate goal is to return to his homeland. Each of these are qualities that would likely move Alkinoös to action on his behalf.

Furthermore, because Odysseus proves himself time and again over the course of *The Odyssey* to have no qualms about lying to get what he wants, as the audience, it's not

¹ Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. Robert Fitzgerald (New York: Vintage Classics), 9.32-40.

unfathomable that he might simply be doing so in his account. Even a god's words might be used to justify his unfaithfulness to Penelope in sleeping with Circe:

‘Let instant death upon it shine,
and she will cower and yield her bed—
a pleasure you must not decline,
so may her lust and fear bestead
you and your friends, and break her spell...’ (10.333-7).

He *has* to enter Circe's bed, not because he *wants* to, but because his men *need* him to. So, although he may have slightly betrayed Penelope, he has shown himself to be a responsible leader who values his comrades above himself. Yet another appeal to Alkinoös.

Penelope seems to be unaware of the infidelities in *The Odyssey*, and makes no mention of them. In Ovid's *The Heroides*, however, she briefly speculates that Odysseus is, indeed, disloyal to her in his long time away from home, saying:

I don't know what to fear: I fear everything, insanely,
and my anxieties are open to wide speculation.
Whether the sea contains the danger, or the land,
such long delays equally cause me to suspect.
While I foolishly fear it, that is your willfulness,
you could be captive now to a foreign love.
And perhaps you tell her, that your wife's an innocent,
considered to be almost like raw wool²

Although she doesn't know it, her fears are legitimate; that she already knows his “willfulness” has the potential to lead him astray lends even more credence to the theory that he is manipulating the truth in his original account in Homer's *The Odyssey*. This much is already hinted to even before he has the chance to speak:

...The sweet days of his life time
were running out in anguish over his exile,
for long ago the nymph had ceased to please (5.159-61).

None can call into question his genuine desire to return to Ithaca, but he wasn't always miserable in the company of the women he encountered. A ceasing to please implies the existence of a period of pleasure with Calypso, thus validating claims of an abandonment of Penelope, if only for a short while. Moreover, Calypso and Circe both prove valuable aid towards his journey home, whether through provisions, prophecy, or simply serving as a rest stop for him and his men.

Jason, hero of Apollonius' *Jason and the Argonauts*, is, among other things, infamous for his tragic relationship with Medea. Unlike Odysseus and Penelope—who, though their own relationship experiences some turbulence, ultimately do prove themselves to be a rather loving couple—Jason's feelings towards Medea are questionable at best. He woos her with charming declarations and reassures her sweetly:

In our wedding chamber
you shall enjoy the marriage bed with me,
and nothing shall divide us from our love
until our predetermined end enshrouds us.³

² Ovid, *The Heroides*, trans. A.S. Kline (England: Poetry in Translation), 1.71-8.

³ Apollonius of Rhodes, *Jason and the Argonauts*, trans. Aaron Poochigian (New York: Penguin Classics), 3.1455-8.

And yet, attempts to leave her at the first opportunity, while excusing himself on the basis of it being a strategy in her best interest:

Calm down, strange maiden. I don't like this, either,
but we are seeking means to stave off war.
A thunderhead of foes is flashing round us
because of you (4.497-500).

He seems to be less a man in love than a man who has suddenly been granted the tool—that is, Medea, the powerful sorceress—to complete his quest. It may not even be that he was completely feigning his tenderness for her: she's a beautiful princess who's been besotted with him at first sight. Just that he's not quite the lover she desperately hopes him to be.

There are several indications that their relationship will have an unfortunate ending, although Apollonius' epic doesn't explicitly show it. During one of their first conversations, Jason relates their forbidden love with an older hero's, attempting to coax her into aiding his quest:

Minos' maiden daughter Ariadne
once rescued Theseus from a deadly trial—
...
Once Minos had recovered from his anger,
the girl embarked upon the hero's ship
and left her fatherland (3.1290-6).

He changes the subject quickly, and Medea seems none the wiser as to the slip, but the romance of Theseus and Ariadne was not a long-lived one. Theseus abandoned Ariadne after using her to fulfill his own quest, leaving her alone on an island, cut off from her friends and family. Outside of *Jason and the Argonauts*, Medea has her own time in the limelight, if Euripides' *Medea* is any indication. *Medea* preceded Apollonius' epic by around a century, meaning Apollonius must have been well aware of the disastrous results of their union. The conflicting portrayals of Jason as a lover are, then, likely intentional, cluing audiences in to the inevitable abandonment Medea will experience at his hands.

Ovid, like Euripides, in *The Heroides* highlights the suffering of Medea after the quest has been completed, beyond the scope of *Jason and the Argonauts*. Ovid's Medea is hardened and cynical in the wake of Jason's betrayal:

This passion—and how much of it was words?—
moved a naive girl, and our right hands touched.
I even saw tears—or were they partly lies?
So I quickly became a girl captivated by your words.⁴

This Medea is a far cry from the earnest girl in Apollonius' epic, but not altogether unfamiliar, given her fiery disposition and quickness to anger. Recalling the instance in which Jason planned to leave her, fight, and retrieve her (although how likely it would be for him to actually follow through is debatable), she was immediately suspicious that it was all a ploy for him to neatly abandon her, even through the haze of divine love. In any case, he got exactly what he wanted from her, then left her for greener pastures: another—notably Greek—princess, riches, and the promise of kingship.

My rival clasps that body that I saved
and she has the fruits of my labours.
Indeed, perhaps when you wish to mention married foolishness,

⁴ Ovid, *The Heroides*, trans. A.S. Kline (England: Poetry in Translation), 12.91-4.

and speak in a way that suits unjust ears,
you invent new faults in my face, and my manner (12.175-9).

Physically and emotionally, she is thoroughly forsaken by the very man who can be said to be the root of her troubles.

The characters of Vergil's *Aeneid* are remarkably similar to its predecessors, particularly in regards to Aeneas and Dido, who parallel Odysseus and Medea respectively. Pious though he may be, Aeneas engages in deceit several times. On one hand, this is regarded as necessary for his, and his charges', survival; on the other, his capability—or even *willingness*—to do so hints at a retelling that may not be so truthful. Ovid states this more blatantly in the letter from Dido to Aeneas in *The Heroides*, but there are certainly clues to be found within Vergil's *Aeneid*. It's telling that Aeneas leads his account of the fall of Troy with the deadly falsehood of an enemy donning the role of a deserter seeking help. Perhaps, if Dido had paid closer attention, she would've heard the implicit warning buried within his own narrative: don't trust the pitiful man seeking refuge; he may sooner stab you in the back than join your ranks:

These tears won him life, and even pity.
Priam himself had the chains that bound
his hands and feet removed, and spoke kind words:
'Whoever you may be, forget the Greeks you've lost:
you'll be one of us.'⁵

As Dido echoes Priam in welcoming Aeneas, who may not be as trustworthy as he seems, so, too, should she anticipate her upcoming betrayal. Not long afterward, he speaks of his own participation in a ruse:

My friends, this is Fortune's path.
Let's take the way to safety that she's shown,
swapping shields and helmets with the Greeks.
Is it deceit or bravery? Who cares in war? (2.387-90)

Said by one of his comrades, it's clear that he agrees with the sentiment enough to clothe himself with the armor of fallen Greek soldiers. So, at the very least, when thrust into a situation in which survival is the highest priority, he readily deceives. This, in itself, is not a flaw; however, considering his refugee status, the responsibility he holds for the lives of his surviving people, and his god-given purpose, it *is* an indication that lying to Dido is something he's quite capable of.

When it comes to the abandonment event, Vergil's Dido and Ovid's Dido are essentially the same, though Ovid's takes her criticism a bit further, and regards him with an intenser harshness. She posits, in her letter in *The Heroides*, that Aeneas has *always* been a liar, ever since he gave his narrative of his escape. Notably, she mentions his late wife, Creusa, as another victim of his cruel desertion,

Shall the waves bury those gods you rescued from the fire?
But you did not bring them with you, as you told me, traitor,
nor did your sacred father straddle your shoulders.
You lied about it all: for your lying tongue did not
start with me, nor am I the first one to be punished:
if you ask where Creusa is, the lovely mother of Iulus—
she died alone, abandoned by a hard-hearted husband!⁶

⁵ Vergil, *Aeneid*, trans. Shadi Bartsch (New York: Random House), 2.145-9.

⁶ Ovid, *The Heroides*, trans. A.S. Kline (England: Poetry in Translation), 7.80-6.

Continuing the tradition, she also dies alone, abandoned by the very same hard-hearted husband.

It'd be remiss not to mention Medea and Dido's similarity in that they are both victims of love that has been thrust upon them by divine force. Both have been struck by Cupid's arrow in order that they may assist, or even directly fulfill, the purposes of the man they have "fallen" for. In return, they are abandoned, despised, and lead rather miserable lives. Not exactly a fair deal. This then begs the question: does love matter at all? After delving into the tragic twin love stories of Medea and Jason's and Dido and Aeneas', the nature of their relationships stands in stark contrast to the happily resolved Penelope and Odysseus'. There are a number of arguments that may reasonably explain these results, with the two most obvious being the level of divine intervention and the status of these leading ladies. Medea and Dido are both victims of Cupid's arrow; Penelope, not so much. Similarly, though all three are royalty, Medea and Dido are foreign women from Colchis and Carthage respectively; Penelope, like Odysseus, is born and raised in Ithaca.

Medea was immediately targeted by Hera as the tool that would best serve him in his quest for the golden fleece—and therefore, fulfill *her* goal of dethroning and thoroughly humiliating a mortal king whom she held a grudge against—sealing her fate. She has absolutely no pity for the cruel end this promises for Medea, instead suggesting that *this* is her ultimate purpose:

For if she takes an interest in the man,
she cherishes his cause and, when she does,
our hero will with trifling labor seize
the golden fleece and coast back home to Iolcus—
trust me, that girl was simply made for guile (3.112-8).

This utter disregard is reiterated in Venus, who pinpoints Dido as the perfect target for her son, Aeneas, "I'll circle Dido / with a blaze beyond the reach of any god. / She'll be mine, bound by deep love for Aeneas'" (1.673-5). Given the less-than-friendly relationship between Rome and Carthage—namely, the Punic Wars—it's not difficult to see why Vergil may have been disinclined to grant Dido, the queen of Carthage, no less, a happy ending with the founder of Rome himself. Furthermore, as Medea is punished for being in induced love with Jason, it appears that love that is not "true" cannot be allowed to thrive.

And yet, "true" love—that is, love without the aid of Cupid—is nearly identical to "untrue" love, though usually without as much of the blind fervency so characteristic of the arrow's target. Take Hypsipyle, an early romance of Jason's in *Jason and the Argonauts*. She follows a similar timeline to that of Dido and Medea: as the queen of Lemnos, she clearly has comparable royal status; she offers rule of her kingdom to Jason; they lounge around together for a while; and ultimately, he abandons her. The only significant difference between her and the other two women is in their reaction to being left behind: Hypsipyle isn't brought to a point of complete desperation that leads to tragic consequences. Rather, beyond initially being a bit upset, the news doesn't come as a surprise to her, nor does it reduce her to blind fury. Instead, she offers:

This island and my father's royal scepter
will still be yours if, after you are home,
you ever wish to come back here again.
How easily you could amass a vast
following out of the surrounding cities! (1.1191-5).

So, then, if the distinction between “true” and “untrue” has little bearing on the outcome of the relationship, it must be that they are determined by the biases of the creators. Hypsipyle could never be Jason’s bride because she is unworthy of him, as the enabler of an entire race of kin-murderers (even if the men did deserve it); Medea can’t live happily with Jason not only because she’s non-Greek, but because she’s *too* powerful, and partakes in evil sorceress rites; and Dido can’t be allowed to remain with Aeneas because she belongs to Carthage, Rome’s enemy. Penelope, the ultimate “good” woman, is rewarded for her steadfast loyalty to Odysseus with a happily ever after, surrounded by her loving family and faithful husband.

By analyzing the circumstances of each of these famous—or infamous—relationships, it’s clear that the success of love, rather than reflecting the actions of the men, is highly dependent on the characters of the women. If they prove worthy, they earn the right to love; if not, love is taken away, oftentimes with ruinous effect. Having said this, it’s also made clear that the women are not villains, not only in Ovid’s *The Heroides*, which takes a particularly sympathetic stance on their part, but within the original epics as well.

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Creative Works

2021-2022



"The one thing about Latin is that you start making things up in English that make no sense."

- Professor John Rundin, 2022

Fictional Diary Entry of Julian the Apostate's Initiation into the Cult of Isis

By Timothy Gibbs

To posterity,

I, Flavius Claudius Julianus, have spent 20 years a Christian, and 4 years in the way of the true belief, the belief of Helios, the Sun God. The year is 355, and I have struggled with the ways of Christianity for my entire adult life. How can Christianity be so pure and save the soul when my cousins, Constantius II, Constans, and Constantine II all viciously murder their rivals and themselves and then proceed to call themselves devoted Christians? My own uncle, the so-called Constantine The Great, rose to prominence through murder and sacrilege, only baptizing himself on the day of his death. The answers that Eusebius, the bishop of Constantinople, gave to me regarding the explanation of the cosmos is unsatisfactory and I was spiritually drawn to the city of Athens by a force unknown to me.

On one fateful day, the kalends of April, the most auspicious day given to me by the priests of Isis, I was inducted into the cult of Isis, one that is a part of the so-called Eleusinian Mystery Cults. I waited, without knowledge that I needed to be saved, for twenty-four long years, with which I learned Christian scripture front-to-back. Only later was I informed that the priests of Isis had received a divine message from Isis herself regarding my initiation. Ten days before the kalends of April, I was taken by the head priest to baths and cleansed with holy water, not unlike the baptism with which my uncle, Constantine the Great, received on his final day of life, and not unlike the baptism that I received as a Christian. The priest prayed for my well-being, and prayed for my health and for my own forgiveness. I was confused at first, seeing as I felt ashamed of nothing in my heart of hearts, but the ways of Christianity had blinded my soul and my spirit to the path of Isis. The head priest, as ordered by Isis herself, told me that I had to restrict myself from enjoying meat and drink for ten days. The patriarchal priest, who was more of a father to me in this one instance than my father ever could be, quelled my doubts by explaining the religious significance to me, stating that this path of abstaining from unholy food was the only way to arrive at the destination of the true faith. The head priest informed me only later that I needed this forgiveness to be officially inducted into the cult of Isis. (Since that day, I abstain as best as I can, forever from the shameful display of the intake of meat and drink.) On the kalends, I experienced the most joyous day of my entire life. Many groups of people, whom I otherwise would not have associated with, approached me with many gifts, each pertaining to ancient customs of the cult of Isis. These devout followers of the cult will forever hold a special place in my heart of hearts, as they helped to ignite the fire that had almost been extinguished by Christianity. After this gift-giving ceremony, I was taken by the priests, given a new robe which was thin and pernicious, and taken into the deepest part of the sacred chambers. (For my own memory, I have drawn a diagram of what the inside of the temple looked like, so that I may remember this day for eternity. The middle chamber is the chamber where I was Awakened.) Inside the chamber, I felt the full power of the goddess of the light. I understood little with regards to what I saw, but I saw everything and nothing at the same time. The principle object that I can fully grasp was light, and this light, though the indelible mark of Helios, also showed itself to be Isis's signature. Though sober for ten days, I felt drunk with happiness, and this single instance of drunken joy will suffice for a lifetime of abstinence. This was merely the first day of my initiation.

Today is April twenty-second, and I am twenty-one days removed from my special initiation. On this day, I visited a festival to the goddess Isis and deepened my understanding

of the cult. On this day, I experienced the most bizarre set of spectacles I have ever seen. A group of the most radiant Women started a ceremony, which I have no hopes of remembering the name of, by throwing flowers across the walkways. Women too, in less splendid attire, carried peculiar items on their backs which seemed to reflect the light of Helios back to the heavens. (Only later was I informed that they were meant to show devotion to the goddess Isis as she advanced, being that she is the queen of the heavens) In order to show devotion to the goddess, men and women alike would carry accessories on their person which lit the streets at night, such that city lamps and braziers were not needed. This fantastical display, twenty-one days after my initiation, overwhelmed any feelings of cynical doubt I held for Isis, my new protector and new patron. While Helios will forever be the king of the skies and the king of my heart, the initiation of the cult and the corresponding ceremonies have taught me the ways of true, unsolicited belief.

I wonder, in my heart of hearts, why this cult is called a mystery cult. The only thing mysterious to me about this cult is the fact that it did not call to me earlier. I see now the attraction of the cult and of the members. The cult itself is like the honey that attracts the bears. The sweet and alluring nature of the group has definitely drawn me in, and I can never look back. The priests, who are more like father figures than the 'fathers' in the Christian institutions, do not ask for anything except my patience. They are warm and understanding, as if the spirit of Isis lives through them individually. Though Isis was first worshiped in Aegyptus, her home in Athens feels normal, and not foreign at all. The concepts of Christianity seem more foreign and unnerving than the cult of Isis. The members, completely selfless in their acts, and with women and men freely mingling, represent a phenomenon which cannot be seen in Our society. The leaders of the Christian religion are impious, selfish, and greedy beyond all measure. They value power, earthly pleasures, and recognition. O, how angry the Christian God himself must be whenever he looks at his worldly servants. Both the cult of Isis and Christianity preach values like brotherhood and community, but the cult of Isis enforces these values. Though Christianity does teach the mingling of both men and women, Isis seems to draw them together in a tighter bond than ever seen before. I can see why this cult is popular in Our society. The free interactions, the intricate religious rituals and explanations, and the inclusive aspect of the membership seems to be a main reason as to why many people flock to this cult. We flock, not as sheep following the lash of the shepherd, but as wild beasts, drawn together and given purpose and amenability, Our bestial natures having been tamed by Isis herself. The person who walked into that initiation is far different from the person who walked out on the kalends.

I now understand that Isis is the one true goddess who deserves to be the wife of Helios. While these two come from different peoples of different worship, there can be no other explanation for this pairing. Isis is the mother of all things, she is the one who gave crops to humanity, the goddess of light itself, the progenitor of the sanctity of women, the embodiment of justice.

O, Isis, hear me now domina, I worship thee to the highest degree.
You taught me to abstain, and now I feel no pain.
The dim shroud in my mind has been dispelled in kind,
Any doubts that might abound, are no longer around.
Because of you, dear Isis, the goddess of life and the antithesis of strife.

My new life awaits.

ANALYSIS

This creation is a fictional diary entry written by Julian the Apostate, the last western pagan Roman emperor. This diary is written when he is 24, and has just been spared his life by his cousin Constantius II and allowed to continue his studies in Greece. As a philosopher and realist, Julian was highly skeptical of Christianity and outright rejected it, as seen in this diary. Here, he goes into great detail about his experience on being initiated into the cult of Isis, and also his experience on witnessing an Isiac procession going on. I use the voice of Julian to voice his displeasure with Christianity as a whole in addition to blending historical fact into this account. This diary entry is one hundred percent fictional, but I tried to blend Julian's real life with the practices of the cult of Isis.

In paragraph one, I used the historical backgrounds of Constantine the Great, Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans's lives to give one of the many reasons why Julian had rejected Christianity. This idea is just conjecture, and I do not have the sources to prove that this was a fact. "These people did exist, they did fight and kill each other, and they were Christians. Julian the Apostate was the nephew of Constantine the Great and he grew up in the shadow of his uncle and his cousin's bloody reigns. I put this historical context in the first paragraph in order to give a reason for Julian to join the cult of Isis in the first place. He felt that Christianity was insufficient, and so he branched out and tried something different. This parallels his real life, where he rejected Christianity and devoted himself completely to paganism and the worship of Helios. However, I significantly chose this to be a diary entry as diaries are private, and Julian only publicly rejected Christianity when he became sole emperor in 361 CE. Here, he admits to himself that he is no longer a Christian and that he is a believer in Helios, who willingly took part in the initiation of the cult of Isis.

In paragraph two, I wrote about Julian's initiation into the cult of Isis and used the primary sources from Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* in Beard 12.4b. The citation for this source is 12.4b, The Revelation of His to Lucius, ILS 4237; CIMRM 214; Insc. Italiae IV.67, in Religions of Rome, Volume 2: A Sourcebook, edited by Mary Beard, John North and Simon Price, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 308. The initiation ceremony that Julian undertakes stems directly from Apuleius's account of Lucius being initiated, with the exception that Julian needs to be cleansed because of his connection to Christianity. For almost all of Julian's initiation, I used the processes that Apuleius describes in his passage in Beard 12.4b. I did not want to change what happened or in what order because initiations are rituals that are sacred to cults, so by making Julian's initiation procedure very similar to Lucius's, I felt that I effectively showed the initiation procedures of the cult of Isis without just regurgitating the information. The quotes I used were: "Once I had been washed in the usual manner, he cleansed me with a sprinkling of purest water,... led me to the heart of the actual sanctuary". (12.4b, The revelation of his to Lucius, Beard) I added the personal thoughts and feelings of Julian into this paragraph in order to add something more to my creation, rather than to just reiterate the practices that Apuleius described. When I wrote about the priest cleansing Julian, the priest praying for Julian's health and forgiveness, the priest telling Julian he had to abstain from meat or alcohol for ten days, and the initiates giving Julian gifts specific to the ancient customs of the cult of Isis, I borrowed these descriptions of rituals from Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* found in Beard 12.4b. When I wrote that "*this path of abstaining from unholy food was the only way to arrive at the destination of the true faith.*", I gleaned this element of the cult of Isis from Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* found in Beard 8.8, "I should abstain from unholy and forbidden

food, so that I might arrive more directly at the hidden secrets of the purest faith.” (8.8, The caring priest of Isis, Beard). In this quote, Apuleius describes the fact that it was important to members of the cult to strictly observe the initiation rituals in order to really be a part of the rituals and the cult as a whole. This was done to show that Julian really took this cult seriously and wanted to be a part of it. I also incorporated the diagram in this paragraph in order to show a rough outline of where Julian claimed he was. This diagram comes from (Figure 8, Schied, *Introduction to Roman Religion*, Page 70)

In paragraph three, I used Apuleius’s *Metamorphoses* found in Beard 5.6c to illustrate an Isiac procession that Julian happened to be a part of and witness. The citation for this source is 5.6c, A procession of Isis, Beard. Similarly to the previous paragraph, I used this event as described by Apuleius to capture the practices of the cult and the rituals that they were described to have performed. I added the details about the women having a central place in the festivities while carrying mirrors on their backs. When I wrote about the women carrying mirrors on their backs, the women throwing flowers across the floor, the men and women carrying lights on their bodies which lit up the sky and led the procession of the Isiac ritual, I used the writings of Apuleius’s *Metamorphoses* as inspiration. My procession description is based on the quote “strewed the ground with blooms, drawn from their breasts, along the path that the holy company trod; other women held shining mirrors behind their backs, facing towards the goddess as she advanced, to show their devotion to her;” and “A great number of people, besides, both men and women, carried lamps, torches, candles and other kinds of artificial lights to win the favour of the goddess who is the origin of the stars in the sky.” (5.6c, A procession of Isis, Beard) This scene that Julian witnesses parallels Lucius’s own experience of feelings of awe.

In paragraph four, through the voice of Julian, I talked about how members of the cult must have felt about the cult and why they joined in the first place. I used themes of fatherhood from Apuleius’s *Metamorphoses* found in Beard 8.8. This specific quote influenced my writing: “But he, who was otherwise a somewhat severe character,” “put off my insistence gently and kindly – like parents do” (8.8, The caring priest of Isis, Beard). This quote seems to highlight the intimate nature that cult members must have felt towards their priests and cults as a whole, and I extrapolated the metaphors of honey and bears from this quote, as this familial connection must have been alluring.

In paragraph five, I invoked a callback to the text that was found at the sanctuary of Isis at Kyme on the western coast of Asia minor. In that text, found in 12.4a, the text states “I am she who invented crops for humans.” “and I made justice stronger than gold and silver.” (12.4a, Praise of Isis, first century B.C. or early first century A.D Beard). I used this invocation at the end of the diary entry in order to highlight just how decisively Julian had turned away from Christianity and how ardently he now supported Isis after being initiated into her cult. I followed this up with a poem that I made myself, in the style of a Greek muse, seeing as Julian was in Athens at the time. Additionally, I used the secondary source Beard, *The Religions of Imperial Rome*, to highlight Julian’s supreme respect for Isis. When Beard writes “Isis was believed to be the supreme power in the universe and the origin of civilization;” (Beard, *The Religions of Imperial Rome*, Page 286), she highlights the fact that these cults viewed one deity as superior and powerful, which is reflected in the diary of Julian.

Your Achilles vs. My Achilles

By Jessica Iwuoha

*Your dear Achilles
Will never be
My Achilles
So do not sing to me that
He was a hero
From anger and Rage
He was born, not
From love and grief
The Son of Thetis, Lover of Patroclus
Exclusively
To his mother and companion, love was given
So please remember
That my Achilles was an angry, selfish man
Nothing the Muses sing will make you believe
He was a gentle soul
Despite the fact
He was not strong enough to protect Patroclus
But the gods gave him no reason to believe that
Rage was prominent in him
Because whatever the people had believed about him is true
Just as my Achilles
But from sorrow and grief
Not from Rage and anger
He was born
As the Muses had sang
Achilles was an angry soul
Your Achilles
Will never be
My dear Achilles
(Now read from bottom to top)*

What Your Favorite Book of the Iliad Says About You (Like Astrology, but better!)

by Alex Nguyen

! WARNING: SPOILERS AHEAD !

Book 1

- You *really* like the first two lines. You know. “Sing, goddess, the anger...”, “Sing, goddess, Achilles’s rage...”, “Sing, goddess, the rage of...”¹
- You get a sadistic enjoyment out of the Achilles-Agamemnon smackdown.
- You also have a dysfunctional family, and you’re sick of playing Hephaestus.
- You were bullied in high school and your mom never did anything about it aside from attend the PTA meeting, but you wish she’d made a huge commotion and threw hands with the other guy’s mom, instead.
- This is as far as you ever got.²

Suggested careers: highschool English teacher, highschool guidance counselor, family therapist.

Book 2

- You really enjoyed Agamemnon getting owned, but you wanted to see Olympus forsake him, as well.
- Someone in your life needs a good thrashing. You know who I’m talking about.
- You like... genealogies? Lists? Pronouncing difficult names?
- You have an encyclopedic knowledge of Bronze Age Greek geography and epic heroes, and you’re the kind of person who gets excited every time an actor you recognize comes on screen.

Suggested careers: historian, accountant.

Book 3

- You want #Justice4Helen.
- You want to see Menelaus wreak violence on behalf of his wife.
- You just wish Paris was flung around more often.
- You want a story to keep you dissatisfied until the very last moment.
- You wish Paris died at the end.

Suggested careers: women’s advocate, contract killer.

Book 4

- You’re an Agamemnon stan.³ A rare breed. A dark horse.
- You’re an older sibling.
- You were like, “Aw, who ends a war story on a truce? Lame! Bring on the carnage!”
- You started a lot of drama in high school.

Suggested careers: nail technician, martial history specialist, drill sergeant.

¹ Lattimore, Lombardo, Fagles.

² And that’s okay.

³ For those unfamiliar with the verbiage: “super fan.”

Book 5

- You like seeing violent beefcakes have the time of their lives, going stupid, going crazy.
- You want to *be* a violent beefcake having the time of your life, going stupid, going crazy.
- You agree with Roman emperor Caligula: “let them fear, so long as they crumple under your heel as you blaze a trail of indelible calamity right through Trojan lines.”
- You’re a Diomedes stan.
- You’re sick of religious authority.

Suggested careers: professional boxer, arsonist, anger management. ⁴

Book 6

- You’re a dad.
- You have daddy issues.
- You are not a dad, and you enjoy dramatic irony.
- You have daddy issues,⁵ and the irony is very cathartic for you.
- You like Diomedes being violent, but you *also* like him being kind of clever and sneaky.⁶
- You really wish there was some universe in which this book passed the Bechdel test. Anyway, a lot of important women show up in this one, so that’s pretty good, you suppose.

Suggested careers: social worker, civil court lawyer, pediatrician.

Book 7

- You like watching beefcakes of equal valor engaging in physical encounters.
- You like a big man.⁷
- You want to see Hector squashed like a bug.

Suggested careers: the girl who holds up the scorecards at wrestling matches. ⁸

Book 8

- You have several kids, and none of them listen to you, and you’re tired of it.
- You think feminism is too extreme.
- You’re a Hector stan.⁹
- You really liked the passage at the end about the fires and the stars.

Suggested careers: retail manager, tortured celibate artist.

Book 9

- You think it’s funny when bad guys fail miserably.
- You like feeling important.
- You were in Speech and Debate at some point.

⁴ Sorry.

⁵ If it’s chronic, see: Book 24.

⁶ If you lean one way, see: Book 5. If you lean the other way, see: Book 10.

⁷ i.e You stan Telamonian Ajax.

⁸ Gender neutral. A career title. Read: “girl-who-holds-up-the-scorecards,” like “doctor” or “professor.”

⁹ Again: “super fan.”

- You've been a yes-man all your life, and you relish the idea of what it might be like to finally say "no."
- You have daddy issues, but it's not that bad, really.

Suggested careers: politician, public relations, corporate executive.

Book 10

- You root for villains.
- You wish more lay people knew just how dastardly Odysseus was.¹⁰
- You like Diomedes being violent, but you like him being sneaky and underhanded so much more.
- You miss being out on the town with the boys on late nights, making inadvisable decisions, giving The Man the finger.
- You enjoy a little scholarly controversy every now and then.

Suggested careers: career criminal (specifically like in Ocean's 11).

Book 11

- You LOVE dramatic irony.
- You can't say no to a senior citizen. You just can't. They're too old.
- You only like this book because you can whip it out whenever someone asks you to prove that Nestor is secretly the Antichrist.

Suggested careers: caretaker at a nursing home, screenwriter for a serial drama.

Book 12

- You think the Greeks are the bad guys here.

Suggested careers: war reenactor, dungeons & dragons player.

Book 13

- You love rebellion. Perhaps you are even teen-aged.
- You were a child of Poseidon in your halcyon Percy Jackson days.¹¹
- You know who Idomeneus is.

Suggested careers: lifeguard, marine biologist.

Book 14

- You like it when women win.
- You think Zeus looks, under a certain light, a *little* like Homer Simpson. (D'oh!)

Suggested careers: sitcom writer, perfume designer, Tempur-Pedic salesperson.

Book 15

- You are *so mad* that none of your several kids ever listen to you.
- You're an older sibling and you have had it up to *here* with your younger sibling.

Suggested careers: police officer, middle-school math teacher.

¹⁰ Because you enjoy it very much, actually, and people are missing out.

¹¹ i.e You're a Poseidon stan.

Book 16

- You've always had a massive crush on Patroclus.
- Either you want a powerful, beautiful, cold-hearted boyfriend to cling onto and die for, or you want a kind, humanitarian boyfriend to cry over you.¹²
- You read *The Song of Achilles* at a formative time in your life.¹³
- Actually, you never read that YA spinoff novel popular among people who thought the *Iliad* would have the Trojan Horse, or Achilles in drag, or Iphigenia in it. You just think Patroclus is very, very cool. Like, one of the best of them. Come on. He got Sarpedon!
- You really, *really* like dramatic irony.
- You are so very excited for what follows.

Suggested careers: Classics major.¹⁴

Book 17

- You like that Big Ajax and Menelaus are solid guys who help out when straits are dire.
- Honestly, I don't know why you'd choose this book when obviously you're waiting for what comes in the next one. We all are. Maybe you like the suspense! It's about the journey, not the destination.

Suggested careers: Tai chi instructor, tantric (Buddhist).

Book 18

- It's been eighteen books since the poet ordered the μῆνιν special, and by golly, you're going to get what you paid for.
- You have a lot of theories as to what μῆνιν actually means. It's so rich, this book.
- You enjoy poetry.
- You wish someone would scream and cry and kill and slaughter and die for *you*. :(
- You are obsessed with the ramifications of the fact that Achilles would throw away his own life to kill Hector to avenge Patroclus.
- You are obsessed with *The Shield*.¹⁵

Suggested careers: art historian, heavy metal enthusiast, literary critic.

Book 19

- You wish someone would hold you like Achilles holds onto Patroclus's dead body.
- You have depression, or have had depression at some point in time.
- You're a very stubborn individual, and it makes you feel justified.
- You've always wanted a talking, Jiminy Cricket horse. Two would be phenomenal.

Suggested careers: therapy...

Book 20

- You think the phrase, "Cry 'havoc' and let slip the dogs of war!" is the coolest thing you've ever heard.¹⁶

¹² Either way, this isn't healthy.

¹³ Someone had to say it.

¹⁴ Come to the dark side. We promise we have better literature.

¹⁵ Who isn't?

¹⁶ And if you haven't, you're welcome.

- You spent a lot of time in your childhood daydreaming about having a godly parent, and thinking about who it might be if you had one.
- You like it when heroes talk shit.
- You prefer the *Aeneid*.¹⁷
- You like genealogies... part two?!

Suggested careers: Latinist.

Book 21

- You go NUTS over the river god fight.
- You enjoy an evil Achilles.
- You stan Achilles.
- You grew up in an over-crowded, belligerent family, and appreciate the representation.
- You remember “Clash of the Titans”? Yeah... me too.

Suggested careers: weightlifter, dam-constructor, distance swimmer.

Book 22

- You like the fight scene. This does not make you a war-enthusiast, or someone who condones violence. We all like the fight scene.
- You kind of like seeing Hector brought down to his knees. He’s talked a lot of shit.
- You think about “Troy” 2004 all the time. The one where Brad Pitt drags Eric Bana’s body around the city three times.
- You want to see Achilles taking the utterly devastating revenge that he deserves.
- You kind of think Hector was pretty cool, in his last moments.

Suggested careers: choreographer, WWE announcer, unstable director of a tragic play.

Book 23

- You believe in seances.
- You have a loved one you’ve always wanted to have come back to you in a dream.
- Again, you want someone to hold you like Achilles holds onto Patroclus.
- You’re a hopeless romantic and the idea of being buried in the same urn is very appealing. Sensational, even.
- You had an athletic scholarship at some point and you like seeing a little low-stakes competition among friends.

Suggested careers: dime-novelist, poet.

Book 24

- You’re depressed.
- You have daddy issues.
- You like a human Achilles.

Suggested careers: Cy Twombly exhibit interpreter, Classical scholar.

¹⁷Booo.

“Two of Me”

By Dominique Paz



EVIL PUDDING: A Recollection of Trying to Recreate a Roman Recipe

By Liberty Schubert

Ahem.

I will now share the tale of my Roman pudding.

So. For class we had to make an adapted ancient Roman recipe. So, I scanned the options and I thought “huh pudding shouldn’t be too bad.”

Wrong

First tip of recreating ancient recipes is: don’t start 16 hours before it's due! Also: be sure you have the ingredients. *Ha*

I look at the ingredients for this pudding and it calls for: passum, tracta, honey, pepper, milk, eggs, pine nuts and rue.

Now passum is some kind of Roman raisin wine. They don’t sell that at Trader Joes. So, I skim the notes and the author is like “blah blah blah wine wine blah *dessert wine muscat*.” AH HA. I know what *that is*. So, I buy Sarah Bee’s, a sparkling \$6 dessert wine.

Definitely authentic

Now the recipe also wants tracta which is apparently a “dried pastry.” WHICH I ALSO HAVE TO MAKE. And it calls for semolina flour. I do not have semolina flour. Trader joes does not have semolina flour. NOBODY HAS SEMOLINA FLOUR BECAUSE THAT’S A WEIRD THING TO HAVE.

So, I ask Google.

“Hey google. What is a substitute for semolina flour?” (Except I type it into Google cuz I don’t have the voice thingy).

And Google says, “whole wheat flour.”

So, I go to the flour section, and they don’t *have* whole wheat flour BUT THEY DO HAVE ORGANIC UNBLEACHED ALL-PURPOSE FLOUR, which comes in a brown bag so it’s the same thing (not).

Then I look at the list and it says “rue.” THE FUCK IS THAT??? So I ask Google

“Hey Google, substitute for rue?”

And this cooking website says *If you are making a salad (I’m not) then you may use rocket*.

Now see. A year or two ago I wouldn’t have known what the fuck *that* was either, but I am old and wise and now know that is ARUGULA. (It helps, of course, that the arugula package also says “rocket” on it). The website says, “if you are cooking then use a bitter herb like fenugreek seeds.”

I'm sorry

What

The

Fuck

Is FENUGREEK?

So, I side eye the cilantro. Because that's basically parsley. And parsley is a bitter herb on Passover. Ergo. Bitter herb. (By the way when I told all this to my class there was a GASP at the mention of cilantro and a sign of relief when I said I went with the arugula).

Ok so I have my wine, my honey, my milk, my "rue", and my "semolina."

Now I need pine nuts

I KNOW TRADER JOES HAS PINE NUTS. I'VE SEEN THEM. *Guess what they were out of?*

SO I ASK GOOGLE.

"Hey Google. Substitute for pine nuts?"

And Google says

Pistachios

(Ok well also cashews but I figured pistachios are more Mediterranean).

SO I GET MY INGREDIENTS AND GO HOME AND HERE'S WHERE THE REAL FUN BEGINS.

So. Apparently this pudding requires tracta as one of its ingredients. Fun fact: Tracta take 60 MILLION HOURS TO MAKE.

ANOTHER THING: The measurements in this cookbook; Some were in metric. Some were in teaspoons. And. For the honey, I was asked to add "a dessert spoon."

WHAT

LOOK. WOMAN. I'M A COLLEGE STUDENT

THERE IS ONE SIZE OF SPOON

And that is *spoon size*. I don't *have* dessert spoons and soup spoons and cake spoons and after-dinner-before-supper-coffee spoons BECAUSE I'M NOT A VICTORIAN. So I figure I'll just use the spoon I have and fuck that.

So now *the metric*.

"This should be simple" I think "I just do unit conversions on Google"

WRONG

I ask

“Hey google what is 100g in cups?”

And google says “½ cup.”

Great

“Hey google, what is 40g in cups?”

“½ cup.”

WHAT
THE
FUCK

Something is not right.

Volume vs mass. Well, it was after 11pm, so fuck *that*. I dump more flour in to be safe

Now the recipe said: Take semolina flour (for me this is all purpose flour from the *brown* bag)
And add water, LET SIT FOR 30 MINUTES.

--

So I watch some Kitchen Nightmares. And let her sit.

The recipe then says to “drain through a fine sieve.” Again. I do not have a fine sieve. I have a *pasta strainer*.

I think, No no I can't use *that*. What do I have that is designed to let water through but not crumbs? COFFEE FILTERS!

So there I am. Trying to drain wet flour through a fucking coffee filter.

Fun fact: It was too small. So I try to get some more up in there. I eventually get most of it drained and then I'm supposed to add the flour. (In this case the all-purpose flour from the *blue* bag). I look at the dough and it looks very smooth and I'm like huh. Cool. So I add the flour.

ABORT MISSION! NOT DOUGH! THERE WAS STILL A COFFEE FILTER IN THERE!

So I have to peel that out; Sopping wet, slimy and translucent. And then I mix in the flour. OK. things are going nicely.

WELL

So the recipe says “let sit for an hour.” HECK IF I KNOW WHY! *THERE IS NO YEAST*. It also says, “cover with cling wrap or a wet towel.” Now I don't have cling wrap. And I'm not about to go *all the way upstairs* to get a towel. So I use more coffee filters. And let her sit. Watch more Kitchen Nightmares. It is now 12:30 am. And I look through the recipe, keep in mind I haven't even THOUGHT about the pudding yet.

THE LADY. WANTS ME TO ROLL OUT THIS SHIT. With my rolling pin. And then “when the large rolling pin stops working, use the small one *like you use for cake decorating*.”

OK so several issues here: I don't even have ONE rolling pin much less TWO.

And this



Is how I decorate a cake.

So fuck you and your rolling pins British lady. So I use a glass and roll out the dough.

So. I go and roll out the dough with my drinking glass. And then the recipe says "let dry."

"Feel free to leave out overnight or put it in a cooling oven. BUT DO NOT USE DIRECT HEAT." Not sure what would happen if I did. Probably, I would summon the author or be sent straight to Hell, "do not pass go, do not collect \$200." So I don't risk it. I leave them out.

The question now is *do I go to bed and wake up and make the pudding (finally) or do I brave the oven and stay up.* (It is now 1am). I decide to go to bed.

Cut to this morning: I go downstairs and there are my dough *things*



STILL STICKY.

But hey it's 10:30 and my ride is coming in an hour so we gotta hustle.

I finally, finally, FINALLY get to make the actual pudding. So I heat the milk. And add the “lightly crushed pine nuts”

Oh *wait* NO I DON'T BECAUSE THERE WERE NO PINE NUTS!

So I try to crush the pistachios. With a drinking glass because I don't have a food processor. Needless to say it doesn't work. So I guess we are just using whole pistachios. (I should note THEY WERE SHELLED so don't worry). So I toss those in. And then I add “a dessert spoon of honey.” And then it wants the “rue” aka arugula.

Chopped. My knife is dirty. I'm not going to *clean the knife* to cut *arugula*. so I shred it with my fingies. Toss that in. The milk is doing milk things. I add the pepper and the wine. And now the tracta. Which is not dry. So I do my best to crumble it in. And I stir. And stir. And I'm supposed to wait until it is “custard like.” *I've never made custard before in my LIFE.*

It's 11. My ride is coming. I don't have time for “custard like.” So I pour it out and add the eggs. Then. Apparently, it needs to GO IN THE OVEN.

IT'S AFTER 11



I stick it in the oven in a tray of water because that's what I was told to do. And wait. And wait. And wait. It *has* to cook; it has raw egg. Finally, it does actually solidify. And I catch my ride. And serve it to my class. And it was

Edible.

The end.

Reflection On *The Trojan War Museum*

By Liberty Schubert

I chose to do the creative final and I wanted to work more with my favorite piece from this class, Bucak's *The Trojan War Museum*. This short story was absolutely mind-blowing and I immediately recommended it to many friends. I really enjoyed the liminality of the piece. I was not sure I would be able to convey the liminality and melancholy of Bucak's story, but I have made my best effort at creating a representation of each Trojan War Museum. I will now give a short artist's statement about each of the eleven pieces that I have drawn to go with Bucak's work.

Each piece is formatted like it itself is a museum piece. They each have a frame and plaque with title, location, and approximate date. The frames, plaques, and walls are the same throughout to give a sense of continuity—as though the viewer is walking through a museum about this museum.

The First Trojan War Museum



The date for the First Trojan War Museum is approximate, about four years after the Trojan War is supposed to have occurred. Bucak writes that this museum was simply the burnt fields of Troy and the few remaining Trojans paying their respects to the dead and the gods. I have drawn the ruined walls of Troy, two funeral pyres surrounded by mourners, a scavenging dog sniffing at a human skull, and Athena overseeing it all. Athena is identifiable by her spear, helmet, and purple eyes to signify her divinity. I chose to make Athena Black as a nod to a book (which I have not read) *Black Athena*.

The Second Trojan War Museum



Bucak provides the date for the Second Trojan War Museum and writes that Ares wanted an “authentic experience”. I have tried my best to represent the gore that Bucak describes. There is a mound of corpses surrounded by a cloud of flies and two vultures. The sky is a burnt orange from the setting sun—and also to lend atmosphere to the scene.

The Third Trojan War Museum



In the Third Trojan War Museum I drew Apollo contemplating Homer’s Work inside the Trojan Horse. One the plaques that Athena made is depicted as well. Apollo’s curls are colored with a metallic bronze Sharpie to get as close to Bucak’s “golden head.” Apollo also has purple eyes (done with purple highlighter) to show his divine status. The Purple background is to draw attention to the fact this museum was on Mount Olympus and to add a somber tone to the piece.

The Fourth Trojan War Museum



The Fourth Trojan War Museum
Trojan War Museum Island, 598 BCE

The Fourth Trojan War Museum is a collection of gold statues displayed on an island created by Poseidon. Bucak mentioned many statues and since I could not draw all of them, I decided to draw the Laocoon and one of the golden ships. Again, my metallic Sharpies came in handy! I picked the Laocoon scene because it is very recognizable and fits the themes of graphic violence and the overpowering hand of fate that occur in both Bucak's piece and the *Iliad* itself.

The Fifth Trojan War Museum



The Fifth Trojan War Museum
Hampstead Heath, 1916 CE

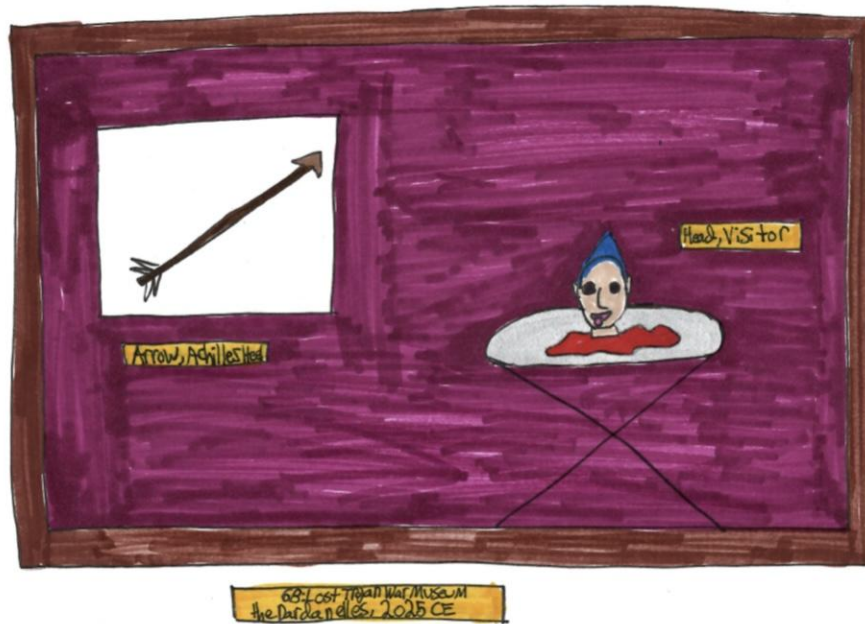
For the Fifth Trojan War Museum I drew all of the artifacts mentioned by Bucak. Outside the window I drew Zeus' jealous lightning bolt striking the wooden horse and subsequently destroying the museum. I wanted to draw the Fifth Trojan War Museum right before it was completely destroyed because I feel that the theme of imminent destruction is very present in Bucak's work.

6A



Museum 6A was described as “a research institute” for the “gods’ scientific age”, so I drew a laboratory. M.O. stands for Mount Olympus.

6B: The Lost Trojan War Museum



Museum 6B stands out in the story for its violent display of “the last visitor’s head”. This sort of violence has been missing from the previous few museums. The visitor in question is displayed on a silver platter and has a slightly futuristic hairstyle.

The Seventh Trojan War Museum



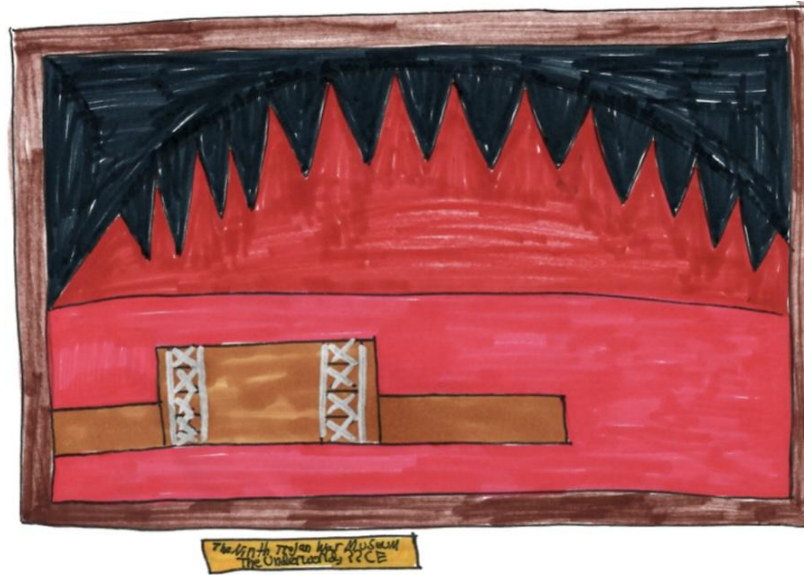
The Seventh Trojan War Museum is run by Aphrodite. I chose to draw Aphrodite as a heavy, older woman for two reasons. One, I wanted to give a nod to the Fat Classics reading, where a curvy Aphrodite statue is mentioned. Two, since this museum is in the future this is an aspirational thought about the futures of beauty—hopefully in 2058 a graying woman will be considered just as sexy as the Helen on the brochure.

The Eighth Trojan War Museum



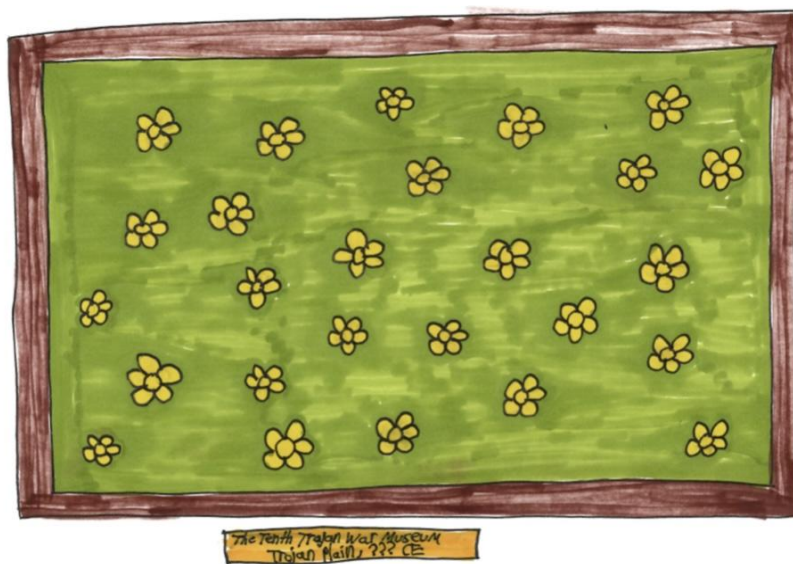
The Eighth Trojan War Museum was my favorite to read about due to the unreality of its exhibits. This, however, made it very hard to draw. I chose to draw a person about to touch “what appears to be an ordinary sword turns out to be a piece of someone’s soul that once picked up cannot be put down”. The person I drew here is also a member of an aspirational society—they are outside the gender binary and very much themselves. I hope that in the future such things will not be cause for discrimination. I also drew two of the children-turned-birds and a doorway to the room of “unidentified emotions”.

The Ninth Trojan War Museum



Hades is “preparing” the Ninth Trojan War Museum in the Underworld, so I drew scaffolding on a building in an underground world full of red light.

The Tenth Trojan War Museum



Bucak ends the piece by writing “the tenth Trojan War Museum will not have a building, nor any objects, nor any visitors. It will be the air we breathe.” I thus drew the “buttercups upon the Trojan plain” of the closing line of the story.

Works Cited

Bucak, Asye Papatya. *The Trojan War Museum and Other Stories*. New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 2019.

Sigma: The Bringer of Change

By Terek Walker

-μαι, -σαι, -ται, -μεθα, -σθε, -νται

The passive voice endings ring out in perfect harmony. Each is a polished cog, euphoniously rumbling within the engine of the Greek language. Strong and unambiguous, they do their duty, concisely conveying the intricacies of person, number, mood, and voice. And within each ending are individual letters, small and fragile, utterly meaningless on their own, united by a greater purpose, transcending their individual limitations. They march in lockstep, each duty bound to play its part in this delicate symphony. As if from the heavenly spheres themselves, their ethereal music is a manifestation of a perfect, undivided whole.

-ομαι, -εσαι, -εται, -όμεθα, -εσθε, -ονται

But one letter chafes at this imposed order, yearning for the freedom to sing its own melody. This letter is the indomitable sigma. Biding its time, it waits for an opportunity to bring the heavenly spheres crashing down. The addition of a thematic vowel, a mere thematic vowel, sparks the revolt. Breaking ranks, it defies the collective, and dares craft a new melody in its own image. Weaponizing its prejudice against vowels, it singlehandedly brings the entire Greek language to heel.

-ομαι, -ει, -εται, -όμεθα, -εσθε, -ονται

Gone is the ethereal music of the spheres, only the ambiguous and disjointed cacophony of freedom remains. The old, calcified regime collapses into itself; precise ordered elegance gives way to unrestrained spontaneity. The letters, once fixed and unyielding, now shift into new places and new forms, defying all expectations. Sigma itself, that unrelenting agent of entropy, leads the charge. Refusing to be wedged between vowels, it removes itself from the form -εσαι entirely. By allowing the vowels to mingle with one another, sigma births not one, but two new forms: -ει and -η. Identical in meaning and both resembling other forms, they are the harbingers of the new regime of ambiguity. Active? Passive? Indicative? Subjunctive? Nothing is clear, yet the language marches on, confident in this new, bold direction.

-μην, -σο, -το, -μεθα, -σθε, -ντο

Yet pockets of resistance persist. Clinging to the shattered dream of the ethereal symphony, the perfect system defies sigma's new order, its athematic endings keeping even that most defiant of letters in place. Yet even in this bastion of the old dream, sigma's presence is felt. For not only does sigma have a prejudice against vowels, but an affinity for consonants. Attaching itself to the final consonants of the fifth principal part, like a parasite, it forces changes upon the verb. The pluperfect's -σο becomes -ψο and the perfect's -σαι transforms into -ψαι. Thus, even the stalwart perfect system must bend the knee.

-ομην, -ου, -ετο, -όμεθα, -εσθε, -οντο

From imperfect to perfect, pluperfect to present, aorist to future, the letter sigma makes its presence known. Its shadow looms large, ambiguating and freeing the language from mechanical monotony and stultifying conformity. This new, messy, polyphonic melody is a rejection of the music of the spheres; it is the music of the earth, the music of life, and all its disordered complexities. And the letter sigma, the herald of the future, conducts this new symphony with vigor and purpose, transforming the language from a mere conveyance of information into a work of art in its own right.

"When you laugh, you're immortal."

- Professor John Rundin, 2020



The END

Χαίρετε

Valete