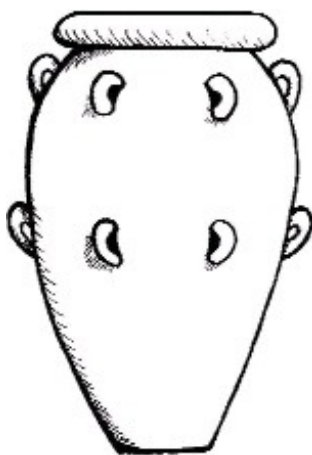


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Two Translations from Horace

by *Andrew Love*

Horace, Epistles 1.13

The Poet to his Book-bearer

Just like I tell you every time,
Vinnius: deliver these docs to Augustus sealed –
If he's fit, if he's chuffed, and if he wants the stuff.
Don't fuck it up, don't over-post, don't hashtag
Your tedious sissy-talk onto my little books.
If by chance you chafe on my heavy sack
Of papers, unhand it! before you show up looking messy,
Thrusting your fannypack and father's name
(Assman) into a laughing-stock – and you become a meme.
Save it for the slopes, stud, the streams, the mud.
Once you reach the castle, the victor on his quest,
Here's how you'll keep your job: don't tuck my little box
Of books up under your armpit, like a farmboy
His lamb, tipsy Pyrria her ball of pilfered yarn,
The good ol' frat-boy his flip-flops and his ball cap.
No subject for gossip your shoulders sweating
Under the weight of my beats, if tight they are to keep

LOVE

The eyes and ears of Caesar. Prodded by the prurient, keep moving.
Good-bye, fare-well, take care lest you trip and break your promises.

Horace, Epistles 1.20

The Poet to his Book

Hey boy, looks like you got eyes for the bookstore's stalls
Getting all tightened up, shaved smooth to go hustle,
Only the coyest little jacket on
Fussing I don't take you out, show you off enough.
You weren't raised like that. Stop prancing down there like that.
Once you come out, there ain't no coming back. "OMG!
WTF?" You'll whine, pimp-slapped and knowing then
What cage you're in – when your flaccid lover's fallen out.
But to show you there's no bad blood:
Yeah, you'll be on top in Rome...until your boyhood sags.
Then, manhandled by the mob, then you'll get grubby
And bug-bit; bound-and-gagged
You'll be trafficked to Utica or Illerda.
Unheeded, Coach will mock you: Want my jock
To get all worked-up and thrust you right on the ground
You little jack-ass? Guess you can't rape the willing, right?

LOVE

Here's what you got to look forward to: stuttering, balding,
Teaching them backstreet boys their abc's.
And when the sun has warmed around you a small crowd,
"I born of a freedman father from humble nest did spread
Wings loftier than the circumstance," do begin
And add to my character what you take from my family –
I served our generals in bivouac and boudoir
Little brother, baby daddy, tan and fit,
Hotheaded but reconcilable.
If someone should ask perhaps how old I am
Let him know I've had my fill: four rounds of eleven Decembers
When Lollius acknowledged Lepidus as his coworker.

Dionysian Mimesis: Cross-Dressing and the Symposium

by *Stephanie Polos*

In Archaic and Classical Greece, the symposium traditionally emphasized masculine fraternity and social dominance. However, this paper will argue that it also allowed men to transcend the limits of public masculinity and temporarily indulge in fantasies of otherness. The symposium served as a liminal space between binaries in a number of ways, mixing opposing ideas of public and private, control and chaos, and, most importantly for this project, male and female. The combination of masculinity and femininity, which infiltrated the symposium at many levels, created an environment where men could interact with and temporarily adopt femininity without the risk of damaging their public masculinity. Although displays of otherness could take different forms, such as mimicking eastern or other exotic traditions, this paper examines male cross-dressing at the symposium, which has not yet received full scholarly treatment, particularly due to limited literary references.¹

In Ancient Greek culture, masculinity was, in theory, rigidly structured. Gender was conceived of as a binary which set all things masculine, generally seen as adult citizen males, against all things “other,” such as youth, old age, femininity,

I *One note that I would like to make before beginning is on terminology. Many scholars use the term “transvestism” when discussing this topic. However, it is a problematic description because there is no definitive agreement on what the term means, and much debate seems to stem from this lack of definition. For this paper I will use the terms “cross-dressing” and “androgyny,” as “transvestism” has the connotation of men getting sexual pleasure from dressing as women. While there is certainly a sexual component, I do not believe that this was a main reason for sympotic cross-dressing. From my research, it seems like it was more theatrical and ritual based, and for the purpose of this project I am focusing on those aspects over sexuality.*

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and non-citizen status (Zeitlin 1996, 3-4; McNiven 2000, 83). Masculinity was largely based on self-control and courage, and deviation from this often resulted in the identification of men as effeminate (McNiven 2000, 71-76; Winkler 1990, 178). If a man had a reputation of being feminine, it could result in loss of status and rights. In Aeschines' *Against Timarchus*, the orator's accusations of femininity and attendant prostitution certainly had a bearing on the public perception of Timarchus' masculinity: "The man is Hegesandros, that one now a man", he said, "and before the same man was the woman of Leodamos; and the woman is Timarchus himself." (Aeschin. In Tim. 1.111).² Aeschines' case threatened Timarchus with a loss of political rights, which was a severe punishment for an Athenian male citizen. However, as John J. Winkler points out, restrictions on masculinity were "selectively applied and rarely enforced," and femininity and deviance were subjective based on different social factors like wealth and status (Winkler 1990, 197; Davies 1981, 290). Strictly enforcing the definitions and boundaries of masculinity and femininity was a difficult task.

Cross-dressing was a particular form of this social deviance into femininity. Outside of certain ritual and religious contexts, particularly festivals and ceremonies pertaining to Dionysus, Greeks considered men dressing in women's clothing (or vice versa) a serious betrayal of traditional gender structures. Androgyny and cross-dressing meant that a man (or a woman, as in Ar. Eccl.) was situated outside of the masculine-feminine binary and could not be easily distinguished as either. These men lacked self-control, making them more feminine, but because they were still men they were unable to be controlled. The inability to define a man or woman's place clearly was a threat to functional society,

² ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν Ἡγήσανδρος ἐκεῖνος γυνὴ, ἔφη, ἴπρωτερον δ' ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς Λεωδάμαντος γυνή: ἡ δὲ γυνὴ Τίμαρχος οὐτοισί.

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and could not be tolerated in political and civic society.

The symposium was an ideal place for men to indulge temporarily in the “otherness” of femininity. Symptotic guidelines generally emphasized self-control and moderation, as seen at Plato’s ideal symposium where the men agree “to drink only as much as each man wishes, and for no one to be compelled otherwise” (Pl. Symp. 176e).³ However, the presence of wine and Dionysus, a god who brought with him indulgence and chaos, meant that symposia could also be an event where participants could be released from social norms. Michael Jameson notes that Dionysian cults and myths involve the liberation of men and women from the social and sexual controls of the polis (Jameson 1993, 63). The symposium, as a Dionysian ritual, follows this pattern. Burkhard Fehr proposes a “my-own-pleasure view” of the symposium, where a symposiast enjoyed the time away from social norms and indulged in indecent behavior, including “men wearing female or barbarian headgear” (Fehr 2003, 26-27). If the symposium was indeed an “experimental space for patterns of behaviour excluded from or unknown in ordinary life,” as Fehr suggests, so too it was an ideal space for activities involving cross-dressing (Fehr 2003, 29). Following these views, the symposium was a space of controlled chaos, which could include indulgences under supervised circumstances.

It is significant that some patron figures of the symposium have a history of cross dressing, specifically Dionysus and Herakles.⁴ Dionysus, as the god of wine, is naturally the principal patron of the symposium. He also has a reputation of effeminacy,

³ *πίνειν ὅσον ἂν ἕκαστος βούληται, ἐπάναγκες δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι.*

⁴ *Fehr (2003) points out that Achilles, another popular symptotic figure, also has cross-dressing history and a role in symposia, but for the purpose of this paper I have chosen to focus on Dionysus and Herakles as they have clearer connections to symptotic activities.*

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perched on the boundary between masculine and feminine. Aristophanes describes the god as wearing a “saffron gown” (κροκωτῶ, Ar. Ran. 46), a term that the playwright commonly used in association with women and femininity (Ar. Lys.; Ar. Eccl.). Euripides’ Pentheus characterizes him as womanly-shaped and pale, both markers of femininity (Eur. Bacch. 453-459). According to Jameson and Nicole Loraux, the cult and festivals of Dionysus were some of the few contexts where cross-dressing was condoned (Jameson 1993, 44; Loraux 1990, 37-38). Since the symposium was itself a Dionysian ritual, it makes sense for the event and its activities to be on the boundary between masculine and feminine.

Herakles is another popular figure associated with symposia, appearing on many sympotic vessels. Nicole Loraux suggests that his popularity was due to his hyper-masculinity, with his great power and strength translating to virility. In short, Herakles was the ultimate example of manliness (Loraux 1990, 23). However, the hero also underwent feminization on at least two occasions. Diodorus Siculus briefly describes Athena giving Herakles a peplos, a typically feminine garment (Diod. Sic. 4.14.3).⁵ This gesture is not obviously feminizing, but represents a moment of contact with femininity for the hero. More famously, though, Herakles was feminized at the court of Omphale in Lydia, where he spun wool “while wearing a purple dress and being struck by Omphale with a golden slipper” (Luc. Dial. D. 13.2).⁶ Although Lucian is a late source, Suhr maintains that this story was well known in and before the Hellenistic period (Suhr 1953, 257). Loraux emphasizes that Herakles’ brushes with feminization ultimately highlight the hero’s virility (Loraux 1990, 38). Indeed,

5 *Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν πέπλω.*

6 *.....οὔτε ἐδούλευσα ὥσπερ σὺ οὔτε ἔζαινον ἔρια ἐν Λυδία πορφυρίδα ἐνδεδικώς καὶ παιόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς Ὀμφάλης χρυσῶ σανδάλω; a similar version of this story appears in Latin in Seneca’s Phaedra 317-324.*

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the story has a reflexive implication for symposia. The fact that Herakles could be feminized and still retain his status of hyper-masculinity implies that symposiasts could do the same.

Cross-dressing was well-known in the polis outside of mythology, but it was only acceptable under strictly controlled circumstances. The best-known examples of public cross-dressing are from Classical Athenian drama, where female roles were performed by men in women's clothing (Renshaw 2015, 339). Greek theater mirrored the polis in that both equated femininity with chaos and irrationality, two characteristics associated with Dionysus, the patron god of drama as well as symposia (Zeitlin 1996, 344). However, men who appeared in feminine clothing on the stage generally were not at risk of becoming associated with these transgressive features. Cross-dressing on the stage was not grounds for losing one's masculinity because it was inappropriate for women to appear in public (Bullough 1976, 116). If women were going to be portrayed in drama, it could only be by men, and could not come with consequences to their masculinity.

Drama also frequently reproduced social ideas of transgressive cross-dressing as a plot device. Aristophanes in particular seems fond of this theme, playing on themes of gender transgressions in the polis in many of his plays, including the *Ecclesiazusae*, *Thesmophoriazusae*, and *Frogs*. Representations of male femininity in drama could be negative and positive, depending on the context. In Euripides' *Bacchae*, Dionysus' femininity is the source of his power, while the feminization of Pentheus causes his emasculation and death at the hands of women (Eur. *Bacch.*; Zeitlin 1996, 341). Aristophanes' comedies play on the theme of cross-dressing as a sign of deficient masculinity. The *Thesmophoriazusae* centers around the attempt of Mnesilochus, a kinsman of playwright Euripides, blending in with a group of

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women at the Thesmophoria. More than fifty lines are dedicated to his transition from masculine to feminine, including shaving his beard, plucking his hair, and putting him in a saffron gown and women's slippers (Ar. Thesm. 212-267). Mnesilochus' transformation is a farce; he is losing his masculinity in the process of gaining femininity, and when he is caught in the end he is without either. This reflects the great fear of cross-dressing, that it would reduce men to someone that is neither masculine nor feminine, and therefore has no worth.

The cross-dressing incidents of Pentheus and Mnesilochus hint at a broader theme of Dionysiac cross-dressing. Both are feminized in order to infiltrate mysterious female rituals. Zeitlin suggests that cross-dressing in drama "invests the wearer with the power of appropriation, of a supplement to what one already has" (Zeitlin 1996, 385). Like Dionysus, these men are trying to take on feminine identity in addition to their masculinity to gain something, although ultimately both fail at their attempt to pass as women. This theme of appropriating femininity is important in the narrative of cross-dressing men, as I investigate below.

Now that we have a background to cross-dressing in ancient Greek culture, we can move on to the symposium itself and the role of cross-dressing within it. There is much debate about the nature of the symposium and its role in Greek society. Some scholars, following Oswyn Murray, present the institution as a "microcosm of Greek life" (Węcowski 2002, 338). Others, such as Nicholas R.E. Fisher and Sean Corner, represent it as a safe-haven of elites, a place isolated from the outside world of the polis where men could indulge in aristocratic activities (Fisher 1988; Corner 2011). I follow the latter view of the symposium as an elite, anti-polis institution, one that was "a space of social and political exclusivity" (Corner 2011, 60). Since public androgyny

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was socially damaging, any experimentation with femininity could only occur at a time and place where men were separated from their public persona and where cross-dressing was condoned as a ritual activity.

The physical space of the symposium itself follows a pattern of Dionysian androgyny. Like the polis outside, masculinity and femininity were strictly separated within the oikos. In Lysias' orations, Euphiletus describes how his house is separated between into male and female quarters, an arrangement that scholars generally believe to be common at the time (Lys. 1.9).⁷ The andron was a room generally located just beyond the front entrance of a house and was specifically dedicated to holding symposia (Corner 2011, 62). It's positioning set it at the boundary between the public and private life. Due to the social restrictions on women, respectable housewives would not appear in the masculine social areas like the andron, since the events that took place inside it were considered semi-public and inappropriate for reputable women. However, despite the absence of citizen women, there is a clear mixing of masculinity and femininity in this space. While the oikos was male-owned, it was the domain of women. The andron was the space where the masculine world of the polis met the feminine world of the oikos. Adding in Dionysian aspects such as wine and theatricality made the andron an appropriate space for the Dionysian ritual of the symposium.

Within the symposium, men could cross the gender divide physically and metaphorically. Physically cross-dressing meant that men dressed in women's clothing. There are a few literary references to this, but most of the evidence is from the so-called "Anacreontic" vases, which I discuss below. Metaphorically cross-dressing meant that symposiasts took on feminine attributes

⁷ οἰκίδιον ἔστι μοι διπλοῦν, ἴσα ἔχον τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω κατὰ τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρωνῖτιν.

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without changing their appearance. Both of these had the same result of appropriating femininity without ultimately diminishing the symposiasts' masculinity. In fact, as Zeitlin suggested earlier regarding drama, cross-dressing at the symposium supplemented masculinity with femininity, thereby allowing for a heightened, more Dionysian experience.

The most notable example of metaphorical cross-dressing at the symposium comes from Plato's *Symposium*.⁸ In the philosophical tract Socrates invokes the character of Diotima, whose presence allows Socrates to appropriate femininity in order to become more understanding of the nature of eros (Pl. *Symp.* 201d1-212a7). The *Symposium* is not the only time Socrates adopted feminine attributes. In the *Theaetetus*, Socrates describes himself as a midwife, assisting men's souls in giving birth, rather than women's bodies (Pl. *Tht.* 150b-c).⁹ This Socratic femininity is part of a larger theme in Plato's dialogue of an appropriation of female ability for the betterment of masculinity.

Although the theme continued in the *Theaetetus*, Plato had already taken Socrates' appropriation of femininity to its peak in the *Symposium*. In the dialogue, the philosopher creates the character of Diotima to teach him, and by extension his followers, about eros as the male pursuit and procreation of knowledge. David Halperin suggests that such a narrative of procreation cannot come from a man, but needs a feminine creator to have any authority (Halperin 1990, 277). If all men are pregnant and

8 *It can be argued that homosexuality and pederasty are an example of men becoming feminized at symposia, but I have chosen not to use these as they are very complex issues and this paper focuses on cross-dressing as a way of experimenting with femininity in more ritualistic and nonsexual contexts.*

9 *τῇ δέ γ' ἐμῇ τέχνῃ τῆς μαιεύσεως τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὑπάρχει ὅσα ἐκείναις, διαφέρει δὲ τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ γυναικῶν μαιεύεσθαι καὶ τῶν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν τικτούσας ἐπισκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ τὰ σώματα.*

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desire to give birth, as Diotima and Socrates say, then they must have a woman to teach them how to do so (Pl. Symp. 206c).¹⁰ The act of appropriating femininity in Plato's Symposium is best described, oddly enough, in a quote from Agathon in Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazousae, as he explains Euripides and Mnesilochus: "the things which we have not acquired [by nature], we must strive for with imitation" (Ar. Thesm. 155-156).¹¹ The appropriation of pregnancy reflects men's long-standing fears about the power of women and their fertility. By taking these abilities for themselves in some way, they can "transcend the feminine influence" (Zeitlin 1996, 373). They take an important aspect of female authority and use it to create in themselves an asexual being capable of harnessing the power of the masculine and the feminine, not unlike Dionysus himself.

Agathon's appearance in the Thesmophoriazousae brings us back to physical cross-dressing. In surviving descriptions of the poet, such as Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazousae and Plato's Symposium, Agathon is depicted as a notably effeminate man. Mnesilochus' reaction to seeing the poet gives us a sense of his feminine look and the kind of response it might elicit:

Where is this womanish man from? What is his fatherland?
What is his dress? What is the confusion in his life? Why
does he chatter like a barbiton in a saffron robe? Why like
a lyre in a hair-net? Why an oil flask and a breast band?
It is not suitable. What can a mirror and sword have in
common? What are you, child? Were you raised a man?
Then where is your member? Where is your cloak? Where
are your shoes? But surely you are a woman; then where

10 *κοῦδσιν γάρ, ἔφη, ὃ Σώκρατες, πάντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἐν τινὶ ἡλικίᾳ γένωνται, τίκτειν ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡμῶν ἢ φύσις.*

11 *ἂ δ' οὐ κεκτῆμεθα μίμησις ἤδη ταῦτα συνθηρέεται.*

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are your breasts? (Ar. Thesm. 136-143).¹²

Even though Mnesilochus knows that Agathon is male, his cross-dressing and adoption of feminine accessories causes his masculinity to be combined with femininity, and consequently his gender is unidentifiable. His appearance defies categorization, causing confusion among those who have not been initiated into his ritual.

Although Agathon is not at a symposium, his cross-dressing does occur under similar circumstances: he is partaking in a ritual activity (albeit not to Dionysus) in a private setting. According to most surviving descriptions of the poet, Agathon had a feminine persona, which had social repercussions. However, in this type of situation, like the symposium, cross-dressing was not a failing of masculinity but an indulgence in ritual activity. Furthermore, Agathon defends his feminine appearance by appealing to the reputations of the Archaic lyric sympotic poets Ibycus, Anacreon, and Alcaeus, who “wore the mitra” (ἐμτροφόρου) and were effeminate (Ἰωνικῶς; Ar. Thesm. 160-163; LSJ).¹³ This is significant because it indicates that some well-known sympotic poets were associated with cross-dressing.

The mention of the poet Anacreon in particular introduces an interesting debate about cross-dressing. Specifically, one of his poems connects cross-dressing to the sympotic world. The

12 ποδαπὸς ὁ γύνυις; τίς πάτρα; τίς ἡ στολή; τίς ἡ τάραξις τοῦ βίου; τί βάρβιτος λαλεῖ κροκατωῶ; τί δὲ λύρα κεκρυφάλῳ; τί λήκυθος καὶ στρόφιον; ὡς οὐ ζῦμφορον. τίς δαὶ κατόπτερον καὶ ζίφους κοινωνία; τίς δ' αὐτὸς ὦ παῖ; πότερον ὡς ἀνὴρ τρέφει; καὶ ποῦ πέος; ποῦ χλαῖνα; ποῦ Λακωνικαί; ἀλλ' ὡς γυνὴ δῆτ': εἶτα ποῦ τὰ τιθία;

13 σκέψαι δ' ὅτι Ἴβυκος ἐκεῖνος κάνακρέων ὁ Τήσιος κάλκαϊος, οἱ περὶ ἀρμονίαν ἐχύμισαν, ἐμτροφόρου τε καὶ διεκλῶντ' Ἰωνικῶς.

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poet describes a man named Artemon, who was formerly a low-class criminal, “but now goes about in a chariot, wearing golden earrings...and he carries an ivory parasol like women do” (Anac. 388; Ath. 533f-534b).¹⁴ While there is debate over the tone and whether it is gentle teasing or genuine criticism of deficient masculinity, Aristophanes’ suggestion that sympotic poets were known cross-dressers and this poem’s reference to the practice indicate that the sight of men dressed in women’s clothing was not uncommon at symposia.

This is the extent of literary evidence for the cross-dressing at the Archaic and Classical symposium.¹⁵ The remaining evidence is from material culture, consisting of a series of “Anacreontic” vases from the late sixth and early fifth centuries BCE. Most of these vases show symposiasts on a komos, a post-sympotic parade through the streets of the polis. According to Jameson, the komos was a common celebration in Dionysian cults, featuring wine, men, song, indulgence, and crossing social boundaries (Jameson 1993, 60). The combination of these three rituals of Dionysus (symposium, komos, and cross-dressing) resulted in the unique event that was the “Anacreontic” komos.

14 νῦν δ’ ἐπιβαίνει σατινέων, χρύσεια φορέων καθέρματα, πᾶσις Κύκης, καὶ σκιαδίσκην ἐλεφαντίνην φορεῖ γυναιξίν αὐτως.

15 *There are also a few Hellenistic references to the tradition of cross-dressing at symposia. Athenaeus’ Deipnosophistae references two incidents in particular. In the first, he describes Douris of Samos at a symposium “dancing while he was clothed in a saffron robe and wore women’s slippers” (καὶ ἐνδύμενον αὐτὸν κροκατὸν καὶ ὑποδύμενον Σικυώνια διατελεῖν ὀρχούμενον, Ath. 155c). Once again, the saffron gown (κροκατός) is a marker of femininity, and here the slippers (Σικυώνια) can be interpreted specifically as women’s shoes. In the second passage, Athenaeus describes Polystratus the Athenian, who “used to put on the clothes of the flute girls” (ὅτι τῶν αὐλητρίδων τὰ ἱμάτια περιέδυνε, Ath. 607f). Both of these passages, along with some later Roman period references from Plutarch, indicate the continuation of an earlier tradition of cross-dressing at symposia.*

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The “Anacreontic” vases so-named because of a vase bearing the name Anacreon and because of the poet’s description of Artemon as a cross-dresser (Anac. 338), show bearded komasts who appear to be wearing women’s clothing and often carry sympotic and feminine objects.¹⁶ The komasts generally, but not always, wear a long chiton and a himation as well as a mitra (a wrapped headdress) or a sakkos (a type of cap). They often carry drinking cups, musical instruments, and parasols, and some wear earrings. These komasts follow the same patterns of traditional komastic vase paintings, but add elements of femininity. Since the komos was directly connected to the symposium, the way the painters depicted the komasts has a direct bearing on sympotic traditions.

At first glance it may appear that these vases obviously portray cross-dressing men. However, there has been much debate over the paintings and what they show. Some scholars, such as Christopher Brown, Malcom Davies, and John Boardman, argue that all of these “feminine” features are part of a trend of easternization, not feminization, which took place in Attica in the sixth century, especially connected to the arrival of Anacreon (Brown 1983; Davies 1981; Kurtz & Boardman 1986). These scholars, especially Boardman, particularly focus on the chiton being a symbol of aristocracy in the Archaic period, the use of the mitra by men in Eastern Greece, the use of the parasol by elite men in Anatolia, and the presence of men with pierced ears in eastern art. They argue that these features point to the adoption of eastern styles in mainland Greece, not deliberate feminization.

Other scholars, such as W.J. Slater, John Beazley, and Margaret Miller, contend that the “Anacreontic” vases do
16 *The best published corpus of “Anacreontic” vases is in Kurtz and Boardman’s “Booners.” See appendix for a list of vases used for this paper; the “original Anacreontic” vase, bearing the poet’s name, is BAD 201684.*

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in fact show men dressed in feminine clothing (Slater 1978; Beazley 1954; Miller 1992; 1999). They argue that during the late Archaic and early Classical periods, these features became distinctly feminine and were generally associated with women and femininity, with the exception of these vases. Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux and François Lissarrague situate themselves in between the two sides, saying that individually the elements may not be feminine, but when they are put together there is an implication of feminization (Frontisi-Ducroux & Lissarrague 1990). In her later article, Miller concedes a bit to the easternizers, suggesting that not all of the vases can be definitively identified as such, but many unambiguously depict cross-dressing men (Miller 1999).

When compared to vase paintings depicting a conventional komos, the “Anacreontic” vases follow a basic komastic pattern of men, and occasionally women, on a post-sympotic procession, but they also contain marked differences. Vases picturing conventional komoi depicted the participants as a mixture of adult bearded men and beardless youths, each of whom were commonly naked or had himation draped over their shoulders.¹⁷ The men on the “Anacreontic” vases, with two exceptions, are all fully clothed.¹⁸ Boardman notes the full chiton seen on men on the “Anacreontic” vases was generally reserved for women, Dionysus, and older men in other paintings depicting Greek life and mythology (Kurtz & Boardman 1986, 58). This is a main point of the argument of the easternizing side, which argues that if the men were attempting to look like women, they were doing a very bad job of it. Boardman argues that if the painters intended to portray komasts who were trying to disguise themselves as women, they would have

17 *BAD 5158, 152, 8835.*

18 *The exceptions are BAD 9426 is a symposium scene, not a komos, which includes an “Anacreontic” man and a youth in a himation. The tondo of BAD 205178 is a komos scene showing an “Anacreontic” man with another adult man in a himation.*

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portrayed them in more strictly feminine clothing such as the peplos (Kurtz & Boardman 1986, 58). However, as Miller points out, there is no indication that the komasts are trying to hide their masculinity: they have full beards, masculine stances, and often carry walking sticks in addition to their feminine accessories (Miller 1999, 147).¹⁹ All of these are strictly masculine markers on vase paintings. Far from hiding their gender, the vases emphasize that these are men in feminine clothing.

Fortunately, the feminizing and easternizing camps can be reconciled. Frontisi-Ducroux, Lissarrague, and Davies all note that, in most Greek minds, concepts of what was feminine and what was eastern overlapped significantly (Frontisi-Ducroux & Lissarrague 1990, 219-220; Davies 1981, 290). We have already seen this in Agathon's description of lyric sympotic poets as Ἴωνικῶς, which can mean both Ionian, or eastern, and effeminate (LSJ). In addition, in Euripides' *Bacchae*, Dionysus tells Pentheus that he comes from Lydia, which Boardman identifies as a possible source of the easternizing trend (Eur. *Bacch.* 464; Kurtz & Boardman 1986).²⁰ There appears to be a link between easternization and feminization, meaning that the two interpretations do not have to be mutually exclusive. This shows that cross-dressing at symposia may have had dual significance by combining traditional Greek masculinity with ideas of easternness and femininity, bringing symposiasts more in line with the personality of the patron god Dionysus.

From this perspective, it is clear that these vases are significant for the subject of sympotic cross-dressing. Compared to the common images of the symposium and komos, there are clear differences in the representations on the "Anacreontic" vases.

¹⁹ *BAD 11533, and the tondo paintings of BAD 204066, 204067, 205178, 205275.*

²⁰ *Λυδία δέ μοι πατρίς.*

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In the samples of vases which I have gathered, there are three essential visual elements shared between vases showing “normal” komoi and “Anacreontic” komoi: the komos procession itself, the presence of musical instruments, and the presence of drinking vessels.²¹ Appropriately for the symposium and komos, where wine and music were integral, there are at least eight drinking vessels carried by “Anacreontic” symposiasts, as well as eleven musical instruments, in most cases a lyre.²² Two cases for auloi also appear, indicating the presence of music nearby.²³ Generally, this is where the overlap ends. These “Anacreontic” vases are unique in featuring twenty-five komasts and symposiasts who are clearly identifiable as adult bearded men wearing women’s clothing, seven of whom also carry parasols.²⁴ The men on these vases are clearly imitating femininity.

This leads us to wonder why vase painters depicted men in this way. Why would they portray adult men, as indicated by their beards, taking on a feminine persona, an act that could be socially damaging if done in public, as the komos was? Why were the symposium and the komos exceptions to this social rule? I suggest that the reason comes back to Dionysus and the ritual and theatrical aspect of the symposium. The god’s androgynous figure meant that in his divinity he could be both masculine and feminine, harnessing the power of men and women. Since the symposium was largely a Dionysian ritual, the god’s presence brought with it an implicit acceptance of cross-dressing. Theatricality, another link

21 *The komos is portrayed on BAD 201684, 11009, 14506, 11533, 202565, 202714, 205178, 206434, 206479, 206457, and the tondos of BAD 204066, 204067, 204512, and 205275.*

22 *Drinking cups: BAD 9426, 9514, 202714, 205178, 205275, 206434, 206547. Musical instruments: BAD 201684, 9514, 11009, 14506, 11533, 202565, 202714, 204512, 206434, 206479, 206457.*

23 *BAD 205178, 205275.*

24 *BAD 9514, 202714, 204067, 206434.*

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to Dionysus, was also a known component of the symposium, and performance and recitation were common forms of entertainment at the event. It makes sense that the Dionysian theatrics in the symposium included aspects of femininity. The interconnections between different features of Dionysus, such as theatricality, femininity, and symposia, all seem to culminate in these examples of sympotic cross-dressing.

These vases likely show the role of cross-dressing at the symposium. There is obviously some significance in the act of men putting on women's clothes and parading around in them. One important part of the "Anacreontic" komos is that it took sympotic cross-dressing out of the andron and into the polis. As noted before, public cross-dressing was a dangerous activity if not done correctly. The fact that these vases show men in women's clothing in the public sphere shows that the practice was socially acceptable for a komos, and therefore must have been socially acceptable at the symposium.

The question of why men cross-dressed at symposia still remains. From the evidence it seems clear that it had some ritual significance. Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague note that during the Archaic and the Classical periods, Dionysus generally only appears on vase paintings in the company of women and satyrs. They take this as an indication that symposiasts cross-dressed in order to become feminine and thereby be worthy of joining the company of the god (Frontisi-Ducroux & Lissarrague 1990, 231). While the theory is not necessarily unsupported, it neglects to acknowledge the fact that the symposiasts pictured on the vases do not seem to be trying to disguise themselves convincingly as women, but are clearly identifiable as bearded men. If they were truly trying to pass as women to join the company of Dionysus, they would have failed in the fashion of Mnesilochus and Pentheus. Thus the theme

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of unidentifiable androgyny cannot persuasively be applied to the “Anacreontic” vase paintings.

However, there is another theme that incorporates both of these factors: that of men appropriating femininity as a way of attaining the authority of women and combining masculine and feminine experience to create a higher asexual figure within themselves. We have seen this most strikingly in Plato’s *Symposium* with Socrates and Diotima, although it can also be applied to Mnesilochus in Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazusae* and Pentheus in Euripides’ *Bacchae*, even though the latter two failed in their attempts. This does not necessarily contradict the idea that symposiasts cross-dressed to join Dionysus’s revelries, as Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague suggested. Instead, we can interpret it as a need to become temporarily feminine to act out Dionysian rituals, but also the need to retain their masculinity in order to control their experimentation with femininity. The symposiasts had to balance masculinity and femininity carefully to be closer to the androgynous god and perform rituals in his honor. Their ability to achieve this balance also had the effect of fortifying their masculinity in the style of Herakles, as they could venture into femininity without losing control or damaging their masculinity.

It should be noted that scholars on Greek symposia often consider sympotic vases to be reflexive, showing entertaining images of what a symposium should be, but not necessarily showing what actually happened at one (Sutton 2000, 182; Lissarrague 1990). Even if these vases cannot prove that men regularly engaged in cross-dressing at symposia, they still demonstrate the existence of the practice and the importance of the idea of masculine experimentation with and appropriation of femininity.

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We can never be absolutely certain about the relationship of cross-dressing and symposia due to a lack of definitive evidence in literary and material sources. However, there are many hints that cross-dressing was known at the symposium, even if it may not have been particularly widespread. If we can get past the debate over iconography, the “Anacreontic” vases that show cross-dressing men at symposia and on komoi support the meager references in poetry, drama, and prose to suggest that cross-dressing had some connection to the symposium. Its role can be traced back to Dionysus and his androgynous persona, although whether or not symposiasts were trying specifically to emulate him in appearance is unclear. The most likely explanation seems to be that men appropriated feminine characteristics to have access to the natural endowments that came with femininity, including pregnancy (Pl. *Symp.*) and access to mystery and ritual (Ar. *Thesm.*; Eur. *Bacch.*). The symposium was an ideal place to act out this appropriation because of its relationship to Dionysus and its private and indulgent nature. Experiments in masculinity and femininity, even when condoned by their ritual context, were best done out of the public eye.

If the vase paintings are portraying idea that the symposium and komos provided the opportunity to experiment with femininity, then we can see the symposiasts’ emphasized masculine traits as a sign that cross-dressing had no negative effect on masculinity. Since this cross-dressing occurred at the male-dominated symposium, definitions of masculinity and femininity were interwoven into the practice. It was essential to preserve one’s masculinity while venturing into the world of femininity. As in the case of Herakles, the ability to become feminized and retain one’s masculinity was an attestation to a man’s self-control and strength. Cross-dressing at symposia also allowed men elevate

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their perspective and experience by combining masculinity and femininity, thereby becoming closer to the god Dionysus. At the same time, they fortified their reputation as citizen men by proving that their masculinity was without question, since they were strong enough to compromise it with femininity and suffer no negative consequences. Ultimately, sympotic cross-dressing was an experiment in androgyny and a way of experiencing aspects of femininity which were unavailable to men in order to reaffirm Archaic and Classical masculinity. To paraphrase Agathon in *Thesmophoriazusae*, under the supervision of Dionysus and his rituals, the cross-dressing symposiasts were experiencing things they did not have access to naturally by means of imitation (μίμησις).

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Who is Hagesichora?
Animal Imagery in the Interpretation of Aleman's
Partheneion I
by Kathleen Narayan

The interpretation of Alcman's *Partheneion I*, important for augmenting modern understanding of Archaic Spartan society in the mid-seventh century BCE, is fiercely debated due to the poem's fragmentary state and unclear context. While it is clear that the poem involves a chorus of maidens in a religious setting, the majority of the poem presents major problems for interpretation. Much of the debate surrounding *Partheneion I* is focused on three key cruces, which center around the words: δευτέρα in line 58, the Πεληάδες in lines 60, and τειρεῖ in line 77. All three, which are primarily to do with the chorus leaders, Agido and Hagesichora, are interrelated. One method which can assist in their interpretation is to increase focus on the animal imagery and textual structures in adjacent lines. Agido's and Hagesichora's preeminent positions compared to the rest of the chorus, as evidenced by the animals to which the girls are respectively compared, lead to the conclusions that Agido is δευτέρα, second to Hagesichora; that the two are the Πεληάδες in playful competition with the rest of the chorus; and thus that Hagesichora τειρεῖ, "wears down" everyone else.

In order to begin to clarify who is "δευτέρα" (second) in lines 58-59, I look back to the first horse image in the poem in lines 47-49, the "ἐν βοτοῖς στάσειεν ἵππον / παγὸν ἀθλοφόρον καναχάποδα / τῶν ὑποπετριδίων ὄνειρων" (a horse stood among the herd / sturdy, prize-bearing, loud-hooved / a horse of under-rock dreams). This horse, an outstanding specimen, is the animal to which the χοραγός in line 44 is being compared. Clear identification of which girl is the χοραγός, represented by this preeminent horse, offers some insight as to who is δευτέρα in line 58. The ἄ in line 44 refers to the χοραγός. Because ἄ is generally used as a pronoun, many scholars have taken the ἄ in line 44 as

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referential to Agido, who has just been mentioned in line 42. This reading is unsteady for two reasons. The most convincing reason that Agido cannot be the χοραγός is that the *viv* (her) in line 44 is “never used reflexively” according to its entry in LSJ’s lexicon.¹ Agido cannot be the χοραγός because *viv* cannot mean “herself.” In addition, the *δ*’ in line 43 can serve to contrast the subject of the following sentence with the subject of the previous sentence, Agido. It follows, then, that *ἀ* does not refer to Agido. Several scholars, convinced by this, at least, believe that the χοραγός is some unnamed third person.² It does not make contextual sense, however, to assume a third unnamed person in a situation wherein the most eminent members of the chorus are being compared. A third leader of the chorus would not be considered worthy of mention and yet unworthy of a name. Therefore the χοραγός, and thus the preeminent ἵππος in line 47, can only reasonably refer to Hagesichora.

Once it has been accepted that Hagesichora, as χοραγός, is also the ἵππος, the sense of *ἀ δὲ δευτέρα πεδ’ Ἀγιδῶ τὸ φεῖδος / ἵππος Ἰβηνῶι Κολαξαῖος δραμήται*, becomes clearer. The *πεδ’ Ἀγιδῶ* in line 58 would normally mean “after Agido,” but because this contradicts the sense of the rest of the poem, it has long been disputed whether Agido, Hagesichora, or some third person is “second in beauty.” These lines especially, therefore, benefit from a broader contextual reading of the animal imagery associated with them. Identification of the horse-breed to which the girls are compared can help to extract the basic sense of lines 58-59 despite the confusing grammar. First, much attention has been paid to the precise attributes of the Enetian, Ibenian, and Kolaxian horses mentioned in lines 51 and 59. However, because of how little is known about these horses, all have failed to come to a definitive conclusion about which breed is valued more, and thus about which girl is the winner of this contest. Ferrari contends

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that the chief difference between the breeds is the horses' colors,³ which have to do with Agido's and Hagesichora's symbolic roles and the light imagery surrounding them, rather than their ranking. Devereux concludes that "Alkman's Enetian racer is the Paphlagonian,"⁴ and that the Kolaxian horse is a "Turanian racer."⁵ The only thing that remains clear is that the Enetian, Ibenian, and Kolaxian horse breeds are prized and exotic.

However, due to the preeminence the surrounding horse imagery suggests, a firm establishment of Hagesichora as the χοραγός renders specific knowledge of the breeds unnecessary. Hagesichora, described as a "horse standing among the herd," is evidently the outstanding beauty of the chorus, above Agido and the rest of the girls. Agido, although very beautiful herself, is shown to be slightly inferior to Hagesichora. This is supported by the μὲν/δὲ structure in 50-54, "ὁ μὲν κέλης / Ἐνητικός· ἅ δὲ χαίτα / τᾶς ἐμᾶς ἀνεψιῶς / Ἀγησιχόρας ἐπανθεῖ / χρυσὸς [ὦ]ς ἀκήρατος" (While the former [Agido] is an Enetian charger, the mane of my cousin, Hagesichora, blooms like unmixed gold). Here the Enetian charger is clearly a prize-worthy horse but, as emphasized by the contrasting δὲ, Hagesichora's 'mane' outshines that of even the choicest stallion. The first-century scholion on the matter, though fragmentary, further supports the view that Agido is second, explaining that the Ibenian is the better breed with "περὶ δὲ τοῦ γένους τῶν [ἵππων] Ἀρίσταρχος ο[ὕτως ἱστορ]εῖ· ἀμ[φότερ] α ταῦτα γένη ἵπ[πων] ἐξωτικὰ, λέ[γεται] δὲ ἀμφοτέρω[ν] διαπρε[πώντων] [προφ]έρειν τὸν [Ι]βην[όν]" (concerning the breed of the horses, Aristarchos says this: on both sides the breed of the horses is exotic, and it is said that, while both are excellent, the Ibenian stands out). The scholiast's conclusion is consistent with my reading, that Agido is "δευτέρα κατὰ τὸ εἶδος" (second in respect to beauty).⁶ It is more than reasonable to conclude, therefore, that Agido is δευτέρα in respect to Hagesichora. Once again, it makes

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little sense for the $\acute{\alpha}$ in line 58 to refer to some unnamed third χοραγός, second in beauty to Agido but third overall. Therefore, it must be assumed to mean “But Agido, as second in beauty / runs as a Kolaxian horse against an Ibenian.”

The three prevailing theories concerning the Πεληάδες in line 60 are that 1) Πεληάδες refers to the Pleiades constellation, 2) Πεληάδες refers to some rival choir, or 3) Πεληάδες refers to “doves,” namely Agido and Hagesichora. A full discussion of the archaeo-astronomical interpretations of this poem is a topic for another paper, but I will first briefly address my concerns about the prevailing scholarly arguments for interpreting Πεληάδες as the constellation. Given the abundance of astronomical imagery in the poem, it is possible that Alcman means Πεληάδες to refer to the constellation. The Pleiades and Sirius in the sky together can refer to a time of year. Elaborating on Burnett’s hypothesis, Ferrari’s argues that, taken with the reference to σήριον ἄστρον in lines 63-64, Πεληάδες must refer to the constellation. However, Ferrari’s conclusion differs from Burnett’s as to what time of year these stars must appear. Burnett believes the time is the Pleiades’ “heliacal rising in mid-May”⁷ while Ferrari, taking Sirius into account, suggests, “the beginning of winter, marked by the cosmical setting of the Pleiades and the Hyades, which occurs... just before sunrise, at the time when Sirius is most visible in the sky.”⁸ That these two scholars come to such different conclusions with the same evidence does not inspire initial confidence that the Πεληάδες should be taken as stars.

Although it is believable that Alcman is indeed referring to the time of year during which this *partheneion* is being performed, Ferrari’s argument is lacking when she attempts to account for the notably missing astronomical bodies – the Hyades. She asserts, during this time of year, that the Hyades must also be present for the Pleiades to “fight against,” μάχονται,⁹ but Alcman makes no

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mention of this star cluster in the extant poem. To compensate for this, Ferrari asserts that, “The chorus impersonates the star cluster of the Hyades,”¹⁰ and that in this way Alcman refers to their presence without calling them by name. When one takes Alcman’s noted attention to chorus’ precise numbers into account, however, it becomes clear that this cannot be the case. The number of chorus members has been taken as anywhere between 8 and 13, but none of these align with the number of Hyades. While it is possible that the chorus as a collective could represent the 5 Hyades, it is not probable given the specific attention Alcman gives to the number of girls in the chorus. Numbers are too important in Alcman to be lightly discarded. In lines 98-99, Alcman specifies the number of chorus members, if we are to accept the emendation, as, “ἀντ[ὶ δ’ ἔνδεκα / παίδων δεκ[ὰς ἄδ’ ἀείδ]ει” or “ten who sing as well as (better than, or against) 11 girls.” The precise translation of this fragmentary line does not matter here as much as the numbers. Whether the chorus is 10, or, as some have asserted, 11, they are still more than the star cluster of the Hyades, which consists of precisely 5 stars. If Alcman is, as Ferrari says, taking pains to represent the chorus as the Hyades, it makes no sense for the chorus to number as 10. In lines 70-76, the names of 8 girls are mentioned: Nanno, Areta, Sylakis, Kleesisera, Astaphis, Philylla, Demareta, and Vianthemis. Even if, as Ferrari contends, only these girls are meant, and Agido and Hagesichora are not included in the number, there are still too many for the girls to reasonably represent the 5-star Hyades. The interpretation of the chorus as representative of the Hyades becomes even less plausible when the parallel structure of the poem is taken into account. Robbins counts the chorus as 11, including, along with the named 8, the “three unnamed girls, referred to obliquely by elements of their costume – purple robes, an intricate brooch of solid gold, a Lydian mitre.”¹¹ The interpretation of the chorus as 11 neatly parallels the

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11 names of fallen warriors given at the fragmentary beginning of the poem. Robbins further argues that, “this list of eleven, given through disavowal, shows similarity to the list of the eleven of the choir,”¹² which is also given in disavowal. All of this supports the conclusion that Agido and Hagesichora, as two separate but equally eminent leaders of an 11-girl choir, are parallel to Castor and Polydeukes and the 11 fallen men. If the girls do indeed number 11 (13 including Agido and Hagesichora), they cannot possibly be meant to represent the 5 Hyades with whom the Pleiades fight. Even if they are not 11, regardless of which of the possible numbers for the chorus is correct, it seems a stretch that they would represent the 5-star cluster of the Hyades. Without this to support Ferrari’s argument, it is far less believable that the Πελιάδες in the poem represent the constellation.

Many major scholars agree with the second interpretation, that the Pleiades are a rival choir. This interpretation, established by Campbell’s Loeb edition, has stood largely unquestioned for decades. I argue, however, that there is an alternative and less complicated reading of the poem’s context. There is evident agonistic language within the poem, especially μάχονται in line 63, upon which Campbell bases his claim of a rival choir. However, given the context provided by animal imagery, the chorus can be shown to rival Agido and Hagesichora, not an unspecified “other.”

The first example of the chorus comparing itself directly with one of its two choir leaders is in lines 41-43, ὄνπερ ἄμιν / Ἀγιδῶ μαρτύρεται / φαίνην” (which Agido testifies to shine for us). Here the chorus sets Agido apart, and above themselves, “as the sun.”¹³ The contrast elicits an initial sense of competition between the chorus and their leaders. This continues as they begin to describe Hagesichora as “ἄ κλεννὰ χοραγὸς,”¹⁴ who is so far distinguished above the choir that she has the authority to instruct them, as the choir sings “οὐδ’ ἄμῶς ἐῆι” (she would not permit

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us). Even in these early lines, the chorus emphasizes their internal rivalry.

The most convincing evidence within the text that the chorus is competing with their leaders and not an outside chorus, however, is the ἐν βοτοῖς στάσειεν ἵππον in line 47. Here Hagesichora, the chorus leader, is compared to a “horse standing among the herd.” She clearly stands out among the rest of the chorus. This image of a prize-horse standing among sheep, goats, or cattle may be vivid enough to illustrate just how stark the difference is between Hagesichora and the rest of the chorus, but to make it clear that Alcman means to paint the chorus in a comparatively negative light, one must only look at his other extant fragments. While horses were valuable creatures in Alcman’s world, sheep, by comparison, were not. In Alcman’s fragment 2A, he writes a priamel ending in “οὐδὲ ποιμήν, / ἀλλὰ Σαρδίων ἀπ’ ἀκρῶν”¹⁵ (nor are you a herdsman, but from the heights of Sardis). A herdsman here is directly compared to an urbane man from Sardis, which was the capital of Lydia in Alcman’s time. While association with a herd is not a bad thing in itself, it certainly is not considered a desirable or noble state of being. The comparison of the choir to Hagesichora in line 47 acts in exactly the same manner, and emphasizes the competitive nature of their relationship. The chorus is the herd next to the horse, or the herdsman next to the cultured man from the highest (and therefore wealthiest) areas of Sardis. From the start, Alcman makes it clear that Agido and Hagesichora are in competition with the rest of the chorus, not an outside choir.

Moreover, these comparisons of the girls to horses would, to an ancient viewer, set Agido and Hagesichora above the rest of the chorus. Horses are frequently attested in ancient texts as symbols of wealth and beauty. In Homer’s *Iliad*, with which Alcman would have been familiar, horses are put alongside

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intricate armor as valuable objects, “ἵπποι ἀερσίποδες καὶ ποικίλα τεύχε’.”¹⁶ Likewise, many revered men are given the epithet “horseman,” such as “ἵππότης Νέστωρ” (horseman Nestor) or the “Τρωῶδες θ’ ἵπποδάμους” (horse-taming Trojans). In this particular poem, however, horses are of distinct relevance. Robbins, in his “Alcman’s Partheneion: Legend and Choral Ceremony,” convincingly argues that the subject of the fragmentary myth at the beginning of the poem is to do with Castor and Polydeukes. By his enumeration, Castor and Polydeukes, along with what appears to be a list of precisely 11 fallen warriors, directly parallel Agido and Hagesichora, with their 11 chorus members.¹⁷ Regardless of whether one accepts Robbins’ appealing interpretation of the poem’s parallel structure, the fact remains that Polydeukes is mentioned explicitly in line 1 of the extant fragment. Castor and Polydeukes, divinities of special significance in Sparta, are noted for their association with horses. Homer mentions “Κάστορα θ’ ἵππόδαμον” (horse-tamer Castor),¹⁸ and in another fragment by Alcman, they are referred to as, “Κάστορ τε πῶλων ὠκέων δαμάντορ’ ἵππότης σοφῶ / καὶ Πολλυδεύκης κυδρῆ”¹⁹ (You, Kastor – both tamers of swift horses and skilled horsemen – and you, vigorous Polydeukes). If Agido and Hagesichora are meant to represent, or are even somewhat related to, these two warriors, it would be natural to interpret them as standing above the rest of the chorus just as the Dioscuri stand above the fallen men. The internal competition between the chorus leaders and their chorus is heavily evidenced by the various levels of horse imagery throughout the poem and elsewhere.

These agonistic comparisons between the chorus leaders and their chorus are easily established, but still the most disputed aspect of the “fighting words” must be addressed. Many scholars are uncomfortable with the γὰρ in line 60, unsure how it could be meant that “but Agido as second in beauty / runs like a Kolaxian

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horse against an Ibenian, *for* the Pleiades...fight against us.” The logic of this seems inscrutable. Why would a race between the two chorus leaders result in their fight against the rest of the chorus? I would encourage readers, however, to examine line 60 as a separate whole for a moment: “ταὶ Πεληάδες γὰρ ἄμν.” On one side, there are “the Pleiades.” On the other, “us.” Just in this line there is a clear sense of delineation between the Pleiades and the chorus. Although we have established that Agido is slightly inferior to Hagesichora in the preceding race, all previous context suggests that both girls are far superior to the choir. Even as the preeminent leaders contend between themselves, they contend against the rest of the chorus. The γὰρ takes the emphasis off the battle between Agido and Hagesichora, and places it on their battle with the rest of the chorus. The lack of modern knowledge about the two horse breeds in line 59 clutters the sense of the statement but, disregarding them, I take it to mean something like, “But even as second in beauty, Agido runs like a horse of breeding with a different horse of equal breeding, *for indeed* the Pleiades...fight against *us*.” In other words, the γὰρ in line 60 serves to shift from a long description of Hagesichora’s superiority to Agido, back to recognizing both leaders as outstanding among, and therefore in competition with, the rest of the chorus. There is no need nor logical reason, therefore, to interpolate some outside chorus. There is quite enough competitive energy within the choir itself, as the leaders compete victoriously against the other girls. With ταὶ Πεληάδες established as neither a constellation nor a rival chorus, it seems clear from the text that they are in direct reference to Agido and Hagesichora. Moreover, because there is no other definition for ταὶ Πεληάδες, it is simple to resolve why it must be translated as “doves.” There are two scholiastic testimonies on this passage, both dating to the first century CE, which support different interpretations of Πεληάδες. The first, at

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the bottom of column two of the Louvre Partheneion papyrus, reads, “ Ἄριστο(φάνης) ὀρθίαι. φᾶρος· Σωσιφάνης ἄροτρον. ὅτι τὴν [Ἄγι]ζῶ καὶ Ἄγησιχόραν περιστεραῖς εἰκάζουσι” (Aristophanes: orthiai. Pharos: Sosiphanes: plough. Since they represent Agido and Hagesichora as doves).²⁰ These are incomplete sentences scribbled in the margin of our text by a scholar from the first century, but they clearly state that Agido and Hagesichora are the doves. A second, more fragmentary, scholion found on the Oxyrhynchus papyrus states, “ τὰς [δὲ Πλειάδας Πελειάδας φη] σὶν... ἐὰν [. . .] οὕτως ἀκοῦσα[ι ἢ τε Ἄγησιχό]ρα καὶ ἡ Ἄγιδῶ. [] οὔσαι τὸ τοῦ σιρ[ίου ἄστρον] μαχόμενα πε[] πλειάδων τὸ α[] γὰρ ὡς πελει[άδες]...” (He calls the Pleiads “Doves”...if...in this way [it is] to be understood, Hagesichora and Agido...being the star of Sirius, fighting...of the Pleiads the...for just as the Doves...).²¹ This goes on for several more fragmentary sentences, mentioning Sirius and the “ambrosial night,” but otherwise remains just as unclear. Segal and Campbell interpret this text as supporting the “constellation” theory for Πεληάδες, but I find the commentary too fragmentary to be conclusive. This text could just as easily be twisted to support the idea that Πεληάδες means “doves.” If either of these ancient opinions holds any weight, it is that Agido and Hagesichora as the Πεληάδες in line 60 are “doves” who contend with the rest of the chorus.

Indeed, there are numerous examples in the historical and archaeological record of ritual occasions wherein girls are referred to as birds. Lawler, in her “The Dance of the Holy Birds,” mentions that “[at] Pelasgian Dodona, in connection with the oldest oracle in Greece, prophecies are said to have been uttered by three priestesses called Peleiades.”²² In addition, at a site of Artemis πότνια θηρῶν in Corcyra, there have been found many archaic figurines which “show the goddess holding doves.”²³ Monica Cyrino suggests that, if the goddess of the rite

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is Aphrodite instead of Artemis, a dove interpretation would still be fitting “since doves were ‘considered in antiquity the birds of Aphrodite *par excellence*.’”²⁴ That Agido and Hagesichora would be compared to doves, then, is not only plausible but well-attested in the archaeological record.

If Agido and Hagesichora can be understood as two excellent “doves” who are contending with the rest of the chorus, we can begin to interpret the final crux in the poem, *τείρει*.²⁵ The agonistic language thus far establishes the meaning of *τείρει* as “wears down.” Campbell famously emended *τείρει* to *τηρεῖ* (guards), assuming that if nothing listed in the priamel in lines 64-72 was “κόρος ὥστ’ ἀμύναι” (sufficient to protect), Hagesichora, as chorus leader, must be. While this is not an unreasonable inference given the agonistic atmosphere of the poem, and given the “ἐξ Ἀγησιχόρ[ας] δὲ νεάνιδες / ἰρήνας ἐρατ[ᾶ]ς ἐπέβαν” (But from Hagesichora the maidens walk in lovely peace) in lines 90-91, it is irresponsible to needlessly emend undamaged text (as little as there is on this papyrus). In addition, Campbell’s interpretation relies on the Pleiades’ identification as a rival chorus against whom Hagesichora might protect her girls, which I have shown to be improbable. In response to Campbell’s claim, there has been a growing movement in recent years to stick with the original text while highlighting the erotic overtones of *τείρει* as “wears down” in the context of lovesickness.²⁶ My interpretation, which takes into consideration the erotic nature of the competition itself, lies somewhere in between.

First, it must be noted that the ancient scholia on this matter reads “*τείρ[ει]*,”²⁷ the same spelling as on the Louvre Papyrus, and not *τηρεῖ*. That the text is commented upon with this same spelling in an ancient source weakens the support for Campbell’s emendation significantly. It is subsequently less possible that some “drunken monk” copying out the papyrus simply made an

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isolated spelling mistake. When placed in the context of the poem, *τείρει* is the better fit. It is unclear whether the girls are speaking for themselves or in the voice of the person they refer to in the second person (*φασεῖς*) in line 73 when they say “But Hagesichora wears me down.” The second interpretation supports the newest popular reading of *τείρει* over *τηρεῖ*. In this case, the chorus is still speaking from an imaginary lover’s point of view, and is putting “Hagesichora wears me down” into her mouth. As is common in Greek poetry, the erotic and agonistic imagery combine and play off one another. Love is, after all, *λυσιμελής*, a “loosener of limbs,” a common epithet which is used by Sappho,²⁸ who may be nearly contemporary with Alcman, and Hesiod, who predates him.²⁹ Hagesichora may simultaneously be fighting against her chorus and defeating her lover in a battle of beauty. The dual meaning of eroticism and battle here is rich and deserves its own thorough exploration, but whatever conclusions are reached, *τηρεῖ* cannot be among them.

If the correct reading is the first option, as I believe, the girls end their priamel by admitting defeat next to the beauty of Hagesichora. It has already been established that Hagesichora is in rivalry with the rest of the choir. Just before the priamel leading to *τείρει*, Agido and Hagesichora have been *μάχονται* “fighting” against the chorus. It seems sudden that Hagesichora would now be portrayed as *τηρεῖ*, “guarding” the chorus if one accepts that there is some sort of competition between them. It is much more consistent to view her as “wearing down” her rivals in beauty. Agido and Hagesichora have thus far been portrayed as racehorses outstripping the choir³⁰ and doves rising up against them, but the true nature of this “fight” is a beauty contest. Agido shines “like the sun”³¹ and Hagesichora outstrips even her because “*ἀ δὲ χ αίτα...ἐπανθεῖ χρυσὸς [ὠ]ς ἀκήρατος / τό τ’ ἀργύριον πρόσωπον*” (her hair...blooms unmixed gold and her face silver).³²

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These descriptions of the girls emphasize their physical beauty in contest with the others. The playful beauty contest does not cease, therefore, in lines 64-70, with “οὔτε γάρ τι πορφύρας / τόσσοι κόροι ὥστ’ ἀμύναι, / οὔτε ποικίλος δράκων / παγχρῦσιος, οὐδὲ μίτρα / Λυδία, νεανίδων / ἰανογ[λ]εφάρων ἄγαλμα, / οὐδὲ ταὶ Ναννῶς κόμαι” (for abundance of purple is not sufficient to protect us, nor is an intricate serpent, all of gold, nor a Lydian headband, pride of violet-eyed girls). Here, the physical attributes and decorations of the girls are no match for Hagesichora’s beauty as they “fight” against her. The animal imagery here again supports an interpretation of internal combat. Nanno’s hair, κόμαι, cannot compete with Hagesichora’s golden “mane”, χαίτα, in line 51. A mere human girl is no match for an eminent racehorse, and thus Hagesichora τείρει, “wears her down.” The δράκων in line 66, although a powerful apotropaic symbol with roots back to the myth of Apollo and Python, is also unable to protect its wearer against Hagesichora’s beauty. While it is παγχρῦσιος, the girl wearing it is “worn down” by her rival whose very hair is χρυσὸς ἀκήρατος, and whose face is ἀργύριον.³³ Hagesichora defeats the rest of her choir because she herself is more beautiful than the beautiful objects they wear. The note of vain contention throughout lines 64-78 render τείρει as the only viable reading.

The animal imagery in the last lines of the poem, though fraught with its own academic disputes, also supports this contextual interpretation of τείρει. The chorus refers to itself, saying “For I, but a girl, screech vainly from the rafters, like an owl,” [ἐ] γὼν μὲν αὐτὰ / παρσένος μάταν ἀπὸ θράνω λέλακα / γλαύξ.³⁴ In contrast, they describe Hagesichora as beautiful in voice and in body, with φθέγγεται δ’ [ἄρ’] ὅ[τ’ ἐπὶ] Ξάνθω ῥοαῖσι / κύκνος· ἃ δ’ ἐπιμέρωι ξανθαῖ κομίσκαι “but she sings like a swan on the streams of Xanthus; and her lovely yellow hair...”³⁵ The γλαύξ, a common little owl, would be no comparison to

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Hagesichora's big, beautiful and rare κύκνος, which adds sense to the reading, "wears down." At minimum, an owl is annoying. Aristophanes calls attention to this when one of the women in *Lysistrata* says, "ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν γλαυκῶν γε τάλαιν' ἀπόλλυμαι / ταῖς ἀγρυπνίαισι κακκαβαζουσῶν ἀεῖ"³⁶ (But I, suffering, am destroyed in wakefulness because of those owls hooting all night). And the owl can even be downright vicious, as in *Birds* when Pisthetairos suggests that they hold up stew-pots for protection, explaining, "γλαῦξ μὲν οὐ πρόσεισι νῶν"³⁷ (so the owl will not attack us). Although Aristophanes is far predated by Alcman, their descriptions of the owl are consistent with each other. The owl's negative connotations for the Greeks are clear. Swans, on the other hand, are considered beautiful and musical. Homer calls them κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων "long-necked swans,"³⁸ and they are associated with Apollo, god of music. Perhaps more relevant for Alcman was that swans took part in the story of Spartan Helen, the most beautiful woman in the world. Leda, having been impregnated by Zeus in swan form, not only produced beautiful Helen, but the twins Castor and Polydeukes, to whom Agido and Hagesichora are perhaps being compared. That Hagesichora is likened to a swan recalls these numerous connotations of beauty and preeminence, and further emphasizes Hagesichora as the winner of the chorus' internal beauty contest. The chorus, defeated by her superior beauty and musicality, must admit, "Ἀγησιχόρα με τηρεῖ," "Hagesichora wears me down."³⁹

The abundance of animal imagery in *Partheneion I* helps to disentangle the meanings of disputed lines by placing them in their context. Detailing Alcman's comparisons of the chorus girls to horses and birds outlines the competitive nature of their relationships with each other, and thus serves to establish Hagesichora as the eminent leader who contends with Agido and the rest of the chorus. With this relationship in mind, it becomes

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a brief task to decipher the meanings of δευτέρα, Πεληάδες, and τειρεῖ, three of the most debated problems in the text. A broader contextual approach, such as this review of animal symbology, is an invaluable tool which contributes not just to accurate translation, but to an understanding of the overall sense of the poem.

NOTES

- 1 Liddell, Henry G., et al. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University Press, 1996. Print.
- 2 Ferrari, Gloria. *Alcman and the Cosmos of Sparta*. University of Chicago Press, 2008, pp. 71
- 3 Ferrari
- 4 Devereux, George. "The Enetian Horse of Alcman's *Partheneion*." *Hermes*, vol. 94, no. 2, 1966, pp. 134., www.jstor.org/stable/4475397.
- 5 Devereux, George. "The Kolaxaian Horse of Alcman's *Partheneion*." *The Classical Quarterly*, vol. 15, no. 2, 1965, pp. 184., www.jstor.org/stable/637910.
- 6 (Schol.B (P. Oxy. 2389) fr. 6 col. i (v.58s.)).
- 7 Burnett, Anne Pippin. "The Race with the Pleiades." *Classical Philology*, vol. 59, no. 1, 1964, pp. 31. www.jstor.org/stable/266701.
- 8 Ferrari, 87.
- 9 Ferrari, 63.
- 10 Ferrari, 89.
- 11 Robbins, E. "Alcman's *Partheneion*: Legend and Choral Ceremony." *The Classical Quarterly*, vol. 44, no. 1, 1994, pp. 10., www.jstor.org/stable/638868.
- 12 Robbins, 11.
- 13 Line 41
- 14 Line 44
- 15 Alcman, Fragment 2A.

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- 16 Homer, *Iliad* 3.327.
17 Robbins 1994
18 Homer, *Iliad* 3.237.
19 Alcman, Fragment 2B.
20 Scholia A, ad loc.
21 Scholia B, Oxyrhynchus, 2389. fr. 6 col. ii (v. 60ss.).
22 Lawler, Lillian B. "The Dance of the Holy Birds." *The Classical Journal*, vol. 37, no. 6, 1942, pp. 352., www.jstor.org/stable/3292318.
23 Lawler, 353.
- 24 Cyrino, Monica Silveira. "The Identity of the Goddess in Alcman's Louvre 'Partheneion' (PMG 1)." *The Classical Journal*, vol. 100, no. 1, 2004, pp. 36., www.jstor.org/stable/4133004.
25 Line 77
26 Cf. Cyrino 2004.
27 Scholia B. (P.Oxy.2389) fr. 7 col. i (a) (v. 73ss.)
28 Sappho, Fragment 130.
29 Hesiod, *Theogony*, 121.
30 Line 59
31 Line 41
32 Lines 51-55
33 Lines 54-55
34 Lines 85-87
35 Lines 100-101
36 Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 760-761.
37 Aristophanes, *Birds*, 357.
38 Homer, *Iliad*, 2.460.
39 Line 77

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**The IMPetuous Sea:
Storm and Sea Imagery in Ovid's *Tristia* 1.2 and Pliny 2.17**
by *Victoria Hodges*

“The more precise, the more open we are to interpretation.”

Lynn Marie Kirby

Studying the Latin epistolary corpus, we grasp at and even cling to the idea that through a seemingly very personal and private medium, we grow intimate and foster connections with individual authors, who are separated by many centuries and necessarily by cultural customs. Peering through an ostensibly transparent window in the hopes that we might glimpse the private lives of those celebrated authors, we become not only voyeurs to their carefully manicured performance of self but also integral characters to their enactment and its subsequent analysis. Exploiting the inherent private and spontaneous nature within this medium, many authors, like Pliny the Younger and Ovid, embrace the opportunity to control and manipulate their own public personas and to even perhaps alter the perceptions of others, while still remaining discreet and retaining impartiality. Unable or unwilling to openly discuss their internal emotions, both Pliny and Ovid employ similar machinations and literary techniques to communicate their troubles, despite coming from different generations and literary circles.¹ As both were incredibly inspired and driven by the immortal heavyweights of the classical epics,

I In fact, it might seem interesting as to why I have juxtaposed them together like this. I believe, as will show in this paper, that the two of them could have a lot of overlap in their overall meaning. It is interesting further to note that both of them are supposed to have lived out their lives on the Black Sea, Ovid due to his exile in Tomis and Pliny due to his praetorship in Bithynia! Their similarities are made more profound by the idea that while they were both sentenced to the shores of the Black Sea, one was as punishment and the other was as reward.

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the two men seem exceedingly concerned with the posterity of their work and the credibility of their name. The internal anxiety of the two authors, reflected and embodied in their epistolary corpus, portrays a wavering and fragile posterity that is under the immediate threat of the impetuous and overwhelming power of the emperors, most specifically Augustus and Domitian. Taking refuge from this turbulent, imperial threat, Ovid and Pliny create physical structures within their letters which can be seen as direct correlatives to the authors themselves and like their authors, these structures are subject to a tempestuous force which whips and crashes against their barriers, threatening destruction. Through the use of the natural imagery of storms, waves, and the wind, both Pliny and Ovid relate their internal emotion, be it anxiety or peace, to the reader and suggest that, just like the impulsive powers of the sea and sky rage against each author's physical structures, the domineering power of the emperors represents a looming, ever-present threat to the posterity of each author's name.

In this paper, by juxtaposing and comparing two letters of Ovid and Pliny, *Tristia* 1.2 and 2.1, respectively, I demonstrate how the application of storm and sea imagery allows for a subversive, yet subtle discussion of these authors' fragile, external social and political situations as well as a discussion of their internal emotions and anxieties, be they performative or genuine. These letters, Pliny 2.17, concerning his Laurentian estate, and *Tristia* 1.2, concerning Ovid's journey into exile at Tomis, detail how physical structures and the environments that they are situated relate to the author's presentation of self.² I will also look at how the use of water and wave imagery, the control of light and its absence, and the description of winds and movement of air demonstrate the author's ability to both control the reader's movement through

² *Note: all translations used in this paper are my own, be they from the Latin or Greek.*

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and experience of that carefully constructed physical space. Finally, I hope to also demonstrate how the author himself, despite calculated construction, loses control of his own movement.

To begin, it is important to understand the history of storm and sea imagery in classical literature so that we will be able to understand the full implication of its use in these two letters. The sea itself has been described and manipulated throughout ancient literature for a variety of different purposes and designs. Known as the “wine-dark sea,” this natural element features heavily in ancient mythology. Often used as a violent, uncontrolled contrast to the stoic, measured mind of the author, storm imagery is prolific throughout many different genres, including epic and philosophy. Its use must necessarily begin, however, in the epic Homer’s epic, *The Odyssey*.³ Settled within a larger discussion of Odysseus’s fatefully agonizing journey homeward, the storm and sea described in book 5 not only represent physical, uncontrollable barriers between the hero and his lover, Penelope, but also stand in as personifications for the ire of certain deities. By adding a natural level to the hero’s journey homeward, Homer allows for Odysseus to seem at the mercy of these wild, impulsive deities who seem just as unchanging as the wind and waves that represent them. Using the ancient Greek word for “never resting” or “unyielding” to describe the sea in book five, Homer implies that there is a certain chaotic, unrelenting rage within this natural element that is unavoidable and inevitable.⁴ Furthermore, the sea, in its anxiety and violence, reflects the internal agitation, perhaps even erotic desire, that Odysseus, himself, harbors in his fervor to return to

3 *Bate (2004) and Kenney (1986) in his notes on the story of Ceyx and Alcyone within the Metamorphoses.*

4 *Hom. Od. 5. 158. There seems to be some discussion on whether the original Greek word was ἀπρόγετος: “barren” or if it was ἄπτωτος: “unwearied.” For my purposes, I will use the word for “unwearied.”*

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his homeland and his lover.⁵ Immortalized by Homer and his tormented characters, the use of storm and sea imagery proliferated throughout the ancient literary sources. Taken up by Virgil in his *Georgics* and later by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, specifically in *Metamorphoses* 1, the sea and the violence of the storms seemed to dominate the epic retelling of many myths and stories concerned with heroic journeys and separated lovers. Throughout the *Aeneid*, as well, storms, the sea, and weather are used to represent the justice and inevitability of the divine power and rage of different deities. This metaphor is by no means limited to the ancient authors, for we see the imagery further replicated in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.

The use of natural imagery to represent inner turmoil and divine power was prolific throughout the literary tradition and would have been familiar not only to Ovid, as we see in his *Metamorphoses*, but also to Pliny the Younger about a century later. In the case of Ovid, he not only adopts the usage of storm imagery in the *Tristia* 1.2, but also intensifies and manipulates the tradition in order to show his own mastery of as well as his victimization by the epic genre as a whole.⁶ In the *Tristia*, the reader is meant to compare Ovid with those tortured heroes of the epics and empathize with the surmounting wrongs dealt to him by various divine forces. In *Pliny* 2.17, we see a different yet not altogether dissimilar exploitation of the literary device. Through his discussion of his Laurentian villa's relationship to the waves of the sea, the reader is inclined to recall the sea metaphors and the

5 *Bate (2004): Bate discusses the use of storm imagery within the Odyssey, the Georgics, and the Aeneid. He further references A.H.F. Griffin and his Ovid Tristia 1.2 and the Tradition of Literary Sea Storms, though this is unfortunately very difficult to find. I will not be referencing the Heroides in this paper, but for further reading on the evidence for storms and the sea in that work, see Bate (2004).*

6 *Kenney (1986)*

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fluidity of character and nature used by those titans of the earlier times that Pliny labored over in his education. It is worth noting that with sea and storm imagery there comes a violent juxtaposition between control and disorder. At times, the main character seems fully in control of their situation only to realize that they are at the mercy of an impetuous force beyond their control. This fluidity of control even penetrates the relationship between author, text and reader. For the majority of the time, in these two letters specifically, it seems that both authors are in complete, continuous control of the movements and emotions of the reader as we move through their carefully constructed space. However, at times it seems that despite measured planning, both authors lose the autocratic authority of their letter and become subject, rather than author, experiencing the same imperious force of the “sea” within their metaphor. In the rest of this paper, I will demonstrate how both authors manipulate sea imagery to reflect their own internal emotions and how both men retreat to their physical structures and ultimately direct the reader through that space.

Though perhaps the two authors exploit the imagery to different degrees, both include elements which portray the sea, and by extension its waves, as a corrupting force and a consistently, looming threat. In *Tristia* 1.2, on his journey to Tomis after being exiled by Augustus for the immorality of his previous poetry, Ovid describes the sea as overwhelming, heavy and immense which comes in sharp contrast to the mortality and fragility of his own persona and that of the ship, meant as an extension of that persona. For example, in lines 12-16, Ovid describes, in a very weighty and rich passage, his own powerlessness when faced with the constant onslaught of waves:

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Quis vetat irato numen adesse deo?
Verba miser frustra non proficientia perdo.
Ipsa graves spargunt ora loquentis aquae
Terribilisque Notus iactat mea dicta, precesque
Ad quos mittuntur, non sinit ire deos.⁷

Who refuses their approval to be present against the angry god?
Wretched, I waste words not accomplished to no avail.
Heavy waters overwhelm my mouth itself which speaks
And the Terrible North Wind throws my words, and my prayers
It does not allow to go to which gods they are sent.

Situated after a lengthy discussion of the gods and how one deity provides aid to any mortal whenever they are persecuted by another deity, this Ovid's question, "who refuses that their approval is present against this angry god," is interesting because it implies that he has been mistreated by some other deity, whose name we, as readers, are left to wonder and has not been given support of another. In the context of Ovid's disgrace and subsequent banishment, we might suppose that this mysterious deity who has persecuted Ovid is, in fact, the Emperor Augustus himself. Invoking the epic stories of the Trojans and the Greeks, with their respective deities, Ovid situates himself as the persecuted,

7 *Ov. Trist. 1.2.12-16*

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epic hero and the Emperor as the powerful, yet impulsive deity. This allusion is made more profound by the fact that because Ovid considers himself in the “military camp,” so to speak, of Venus and Cupid, we may assume that due of his love poetry and subsequent exile, Ovid has been rejected by the two gods who were previously on his side, adding more to the pity and empathy the reader is supposed to feel towards him, as he does not receive the help that every other hero in the epics would. This picture of an uncontrollable, deified emperor is made manifest in Ovid’s description of the “heavy waters” which “splash the mouth that speaks” as Ovid “wastes the unaccomplished words to no avail.” The heavy, impetuous water that poses such a threat to Ovid’s words, reminds the reader of the crashing sea from the earlier epics which represented the anger and impetus of the deity. Here, it is possible to suggest that by invoking this epic tradition, Ovid uses the sea to personify the anger of the emperor so eager to drown out his words. In fact, the *ora* is placed in the center of the line, within the words *graves* and *aquae*, effectively surrounding his mouth not only in idea, but within the structure of the letter itself. It is in this excerpt that we see Ovid asserting his carefully constructed control over the reader’s experience of the letter as he describes a heavy situation, which is mimicked not only in the meter of *graves spargunt ora*, but also in the architecture of the sentence. The subsequent line which suggests that the wind gods have thrown our character’s words and prayers to the winds, brings to mind Catullus 70, in which Catullus criticizes the untrustworthiness and fragility of the spoken words of women.⁸ As his words are cast off into the winds, we might then think that Ovid, after his poetry was banished from Rome, has too been stripped of his immortality and his trustworthiness in the eyes of Rome, similarly to the women referenced by Catullus. By denying him the perpetuity of the

8 *Cat. 70: “What a woman says to her lover ought to be written in the wind and running water.”*

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written word, Augustus has figuratively “emasculated” Ovid and left him with nothing but spoken prayers. The portrayal of the emperor as a turbulent, violent force and a force which attempts to silence the voice and speech of an author, as well as the portrayal of the author as a subject within a larger epic tradition, are literary machinations which will be explored further in this paper.

As we progress through Ovid’s experience of the unyielding, stormy sea and, by extension, our own, we are met with montes aequarum that churn and threaten to overwhelm the craft that Ovid so precariously floats on. In line 24, with *fluctibus hic tumidus, nubibus ille minax*, again the reader is led to believe that the emperor, the unpredictable force, is swollen with waves and threatening with clouds, and Ovid on his *ratis* is left to his mercy. Furthermore, it is interesting that Ovid chooses the word *ratis* to describe the vessel he is on as this word literally means “raft,” or “logs tied together,” further delineating the precariousness of his physical situation as well as the situation of the posterity of his name. As his desperation heightens, Ovid writes, in lines 31-36:

Rector in incerto est nec quid fugiatve petatve

Invenit: ambiguus ars stupet ipsa malis.

Scilicet occidimus, nec spes est ulla salutis,

Dumque loquor, vultus obruit unda meos.

Opprimet hanc animam fluctus, frustra que precanti

The Helmsman is in uncertainty whether he should flee or seek

He finds: his art is confused by ambiguous evils.

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Certainly, we die, there is no other hope of salvation,

While I speak, too, a wave drowns my face.

Ore necaturas accipiemus aquas.⁹

The wave will press this spirit, and I will accept

The deathly waters with a mouth praying in vain.

In these lines, Ovid generates an overwhelming sense of uncertainty both on the side of the “sea” and the “storm,” or the emperor, and on the side of this mysterious rector. Within these lines, Ovid employs polyptoton in his repetition of -ve, so that just as the rector, or “helmsman,” searches place after place for a safe place to land, so the reader experiences this endless search within the structure of the sentence. With the ambiguous application of the word rector, Ovid transcends the boundary between character and author and becomes the helmsman, uncertain not only of what physical place to turn to, now that Rome has been denied to him, but also of what literary space, or genre, to turn to, now that even love poetry has been denied to him. This metaphor is emphasized with Ovid’s use of the word ars. Loaded and particularly difficult to understand, the word ars is more generally applied to the art of creating and learning, rather than the art/skill of navigating a watercraft and thus, through its intentional ambiguity, might further suggest that Ovid is indeed the uncertain pilot of his own literary ship being attacked on all sides by imperial anger.¹⁰ Proceeding further through the murky, ambiguous waters of letter, Ovid writes that the wave, while he is speaking, drowns his face and presses

9 *Ov. Trist. 1.2.31-36.*

10 *Though navigating a watercraft is difficult and can be understood as an art, considering the larger context of the ambiguity and fluidity in the sentence, I believe that Ovid is being intentionally confusing and manipulative.*

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down upon his life, forcing him to consume the deadly waters.¹¹ Ovid repeats his earlier theme of the threatening water drowning out his speech and exaggerates it further, here, suggesting that not only has he been overwhelmed by the emperor's anger, but has accepted it, though it may destroy his persona and his posterity. Furthermore, he reinforces the fact that he believes that spoken word is wasted effort as it is neither powerful enough to overcome the anger of the emperor, nor is it secure enough to record Ovid's name in history.

Despite traditionally being considered as a devout imperial supporter, if we continue this theme of the emperor as impetuous sea and writer as built structure, Pliny becomes a more subversive character than originally supposed, if less so than our controversial Ovid. A public, political figure under the turbulent reign of Domitian, Pliny was not stranger to political intrigue and fear of persecution, as in fact many of his associates were well-known dissidents during the years of Domitian.¹² As his many letters are intentionally arranged by Pliny, himself, to be without any chronological order, so that he might at least partially conceal his relationship with each of the emperors, it is relatively impossible to concretely determine the emperor under which each letter was written.¹³ As a part of a larger, carefully crafted assemblage of his letter, letter 2.17 is placed, by most, during the stressful regime

11 *It is worth mentioning that there is a difference in the words unda and fluctus. According to the Handbook for Latin Synonyms, an unda is a wave that crashes independently of external forces. A fluctus, on the other hand, is a wave which is caused by an outside force, like a storm, and is perhaps more violent in action than an unda.*

12 *Strunk (2013)*

13 *Strunk (2013) provides a counter opinion to Syme's view on Pliny's involvement with the illicit activities of Domitian, which suggests that Pliny was more victim, like other authors, than conspirator.*

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of Domitian.¹⁴ In this architectural epistolary assemblage, Pliny carves the intricate persona he wishes to transmit to the reader and to the public at large, whether it be genuine or performative. In his letter 2.17 written to his friend, Gallus, Pliny outlines the general architectural layout of his Laurentian villa, which must have been only recently acquired. Though his villa is made extravagant with the addition of porticoes, a bath suite, a library, dining rooms with spectacular, sweeping views, a gymnasium, and many bedrooms with private, withdrawn spaces, it strikes an oddly empty and unwelcoming tone without the inclusion of any furniture or decoration, beyond a single couch. As the reader moves through the words of the letter detailing the structure, they are also subsequently moving through the physical space of the villa as dictated by Pliny. Asserting control of the movement and experience of the reader, Pliny has carefully designed our progression through the villa from the large public reception areas to the inner, more private alcoves and bedrooms providing just enough information for a visual experience, but withholding just enough to retain subtlety. However, his villa is far from being simply a stoic, isolated domestic structure. It also represents the dynamic network of Pliny's inner anxieties and sureties that are made manifest in the description of the villa's relationship to the natural elements surrounding it.

Like the waves endured by Ovid's ratis discussed earlier, Pliny's villa is subject to the endless ocean spray and the battling winds of the imperial rage from the Tristia, though perhaps to a different extreme. While adopting Ovid's sea and storm imagery, Pliny assures the reader that his structure, unlike Ovid's, provides a generally safe repose from the turbulent effects of the sea, even

14 *Strunk provides an interesting synthesis of the larger debate concerning Pliny's involvement with emperor Domitian. Terming the selected letters as a "highly crafted epistolary mosaic."*

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to the point of suggesting that his villa, in certain places, receives only a gentle spray from the weakening waves on the shore. In section 4, Pliny writes: *Egregium hac adversus tempestates receptaculum: nam specularibus ac multo magis imminentibus tectis muniuntur.*¹⁵ Here, in this courtyard, Pliny provides the reader a place of refuge, safety and privacy from a threatening storm.¹⁶ Constructed with “glazed windows” or *specularis* and an over-hanging protective roof, the inner courtyard seems to be sheltered not only from any elements of the storm attempting to infiltrate the structure, but from any unwanted, external voyeurs trying peek in at any illicit activity.¹⁷ Progressing through the villa, yet remaining within same larger complex as the courtyard, Pliny goes on to write, within section 5:

Est contra medias cavaedium hilare, mox triclinium
satis pulcrum,

quod in litus excurrit ac si quando Africo mare
impulsum est,

fractis iam et novissimis flucitibus leviter alluitur.
Undique valvas aut fenestras

non minores valvis habet atque ita a lateribus a
fronte quasi tria maria

15 *Plin. Ep. 2.17.4.*

16 *Plin. Ep. 2.17.4. Earlier in his description of this courtyard, Pliny mentions that the porticus is shaped in the likeness of the letter ‘D.’ Could this perhaps be a diagnostic marker for Emperor Domitian?*

17 *Carlson (2017). Specularis: windows that are fashioned from mica or another type of opaque stone that protects the house from the elements, yet still allows filtered light through. Specularis is used in juxtaposition later in the letter to the synonym fenestra, which suggests an opening rather than a window covering. The use of this type of window would expose the room to the wild elements, but would provide air circulation that a specularis would not.*

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prospectat: a tergo cavaedium porticum aream
porticum rursus,

mox atrium silvas et longinquos respicit montes.¹⁸

Opposite the middle is a cheerful inner court, soon a triclinium beautiful enough, which extends to the beach and if whenever it is struck by the African sea, now it is lightly washed with new and broken waves. And on both sides the folding doors and windows, it has no less window than doors and thus from the sides and from the front, one looks out as if there are three seas: from the back an inner court, a portico, an open courtyard and again a portico, then, the atrium looks on the trees and the distant mountains.

In these lines, Pliny directs the reader's attention to a triclinium that extends from the courtyard out onto the shore. This passage seems directly provocative in that Pliny stretches his inner space all the way up to the sea, or the personified emperor, yet there remains a physical and social barrier between them. Pliny, through the imagery conjured up with his description of the triclinium, at once, reinforces his importance in the workings of the government, and distances himself from the potential backlash of associating with Domitian. Furthermore, Pliny continues to write that even when the sea is impulsive and pushes into the structure, the space is only just washed or bathed with the dying, broken waves. Here, Pliny implies that even when the emperor breaks through his artfully constructed fortress, the only rage that survives entry is weak and at the end of its power, perhaps even suggesting that Pliny himself has more authority, further fueling the immaculate

18 *Plin. Ep. 2.17.5*

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persona crafted to perfection for public consumption.¹⁹

As a part of the larger “epistolary mosaic,” this letter must have been heavily edited and combed prior to publication that the information might enhance the public persona of Pliny, rather than damage it. There is evidence, in my view, for this editing process within the passage cited earlier as Pliny moves to discuss the view of the sea from one of his triclinia. With the use of windows and folding-doors, Pliny not only controls the reader’s movement through the space, but also is able to manipulate the sightline of the reader during their guided tour. A major theme throughout this letter, the manipulation of sight and views feature heavily in the reader’s overall experience of the villa and institutes another layer of control. Looking out the three windows, the reader is able to view the sea just as if there were three different bodies of water. This might suggest, that despite being initially written during the reign of Domitian, this letter underwent a thorough editing and culling process, as these “three seas” could imply the three reigns of emperors during which Pliny was active.²⁰

Moving through Pliny’s structure, the reader approaches the bath complex, which is situated in the heart of the villa secreted within its private quarters. Here, Pliny provides the reader with a detailed description of a series of rooms that have the sole function of controlling the movement of water:

Inde balinei cella frigidaria spatiosa et effuse,
cuius in contrariis parietibus duo baptisteria velut
eiecta sinuantur,

19 *It is interesting that the verb used to mean ‘to wash’ or ‘to bathe’ is used by Ovid to mean ‘to suffer a punishment of exile’ in his Metamorphoses.*

20 *Though Pliny was alive from the reign of Nero until Trajan, he was only politically active during the reigns of Domitian, Nerva and Trajan.*

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abunde capacia si mare in proximo cogites.

Adiacet unctorium, hypocauston, adiacet
propnigeon balinei,

mox duae cellae magis elegantes quam sumptuosae:

cohaeret calida piscina mirifica, ex qua natantes
mare aspiciunt.²¹

From there a bathroom, a spacious and wide frigidaria, in which two dipping-pools are curved as if having been thrown on opposite sides, it holds abundant water if you know the sea is near. An anointing room lies near, then a hypocaust, then a hot bathroom lies near, soon two rooms more elegant than sumptuous: the hot pool lies admired, from which swimmers view the sea.

Within his description of the bath complex Pliny directs his reader to the view of the sea that can be had from within one of the pools. By pitting the two forms of water, the kinetic and the stagnant, against one another, Pliny provides a poignant antithesis to the unpredictable sea just outside the villa: the bath complex. Complete with a frigidarium, hot pools and a sauna, this bath suite is extravagant but not too sumptuous as remind the reader of the opulence within the imperial baths.²² Furthermore, Pliny discusses the sea and the water within the pools as openly at odds with

21 *Plin. Ep. 2.17.11*

22 *Magis elegantes quam sumptuosae: Across multiple historical biographical sources, including Suetonius and Plutarch, the 'bad' emperors are often seen to have the same general characteristics of incest, impetuosity and opulence, as if this became the typecast for a so-called bad emperor. As opulence and extravagance would have been generally looked down upon, perhaps Pliny reassures the reader here that he is just perfectly sumptuous without displaying too much.*

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and in competition with one another. Nestled within the larger metaphor of the sea representing the emperor and the villa, and by extension the baths, representing Pliny, the juxtaposition of the two bodies of water seem violent in their contrast. By describing the amount of water within the two plunge pools as quite more than abundant “if you know that the sea is in proximity,” Pliny implies that the authority he did have under Emperor Domitian, though it might appear slight, was in fact, quite enough considering the impulsive, corrupting nature of the emperor, himself. We then transition into the rooms attached to the overall bathing complex, in the description of which Pliny writes *quod turbati maris non nisi fragorem et sonum patitur, eumque iam languidam ac desinentem*.²³ Here the inner bedroom is protected even during stormy seas, when the thunder and lightning crash and rage, it only penetrates his fortress in languid and dying murmurs, suggesting that Pliny’s innermost chamber provides not only a challenging aquatic structure, but protection against the marine force even when it is at its most powerful.²⁴

Within this same section of the villa, there lies a garden which overlooks the sea. Described in particular detail, down to a description of the individual plant species, this garden is filled with many different herbs and trees that all have subtle meanings, that can be teased out with the application of a bit of herbology. Considering that the uncle who raised him and educated him wrote heavily on the natural history of the Mediterranean, we might not, at first, be suspicious with Pliny’s heavy emphasis on the individual species and their health, but when we consider the overall metaphor as a whole, we realize that to disregard the detailed description of the garden would be doing the letter or

23 *Plin. Ep. 2.17.13.*

24 *Strunk (2013) and his discussion of the Emperor as lightning bolt.*

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Pliny, himself, an injustice.²⁵ In passage 14, Pliny writes:

Gestatio buxo aut rore marino, ubi deficit buxus,
ambitur;

nam buxus, qua parte defenditur tectis, abunde viret;

aperto caelo apertoque vento et quamquam

longinqua aspergine maris inarescit.²⁶

Hortum morus et ficus frequens vestit,

quarum arborum illa vel maxime ferax terra est,

malignior ceteris.²⁷

Bearing boxwood or rosemary, it is surrounded, where the boxwood lacks; for the boxwood, in which part it is defended by buildings, it grows abundantly; in open sky and open wind and although in the distance the boxwood dries up in the spraying sea.

Mulberry and a frequent fig tree clothe the garden, of which trees that is a wild land for the former, for the later it is harmful.

Directly mentioning the boxwood tree/box tree/box (*buxus*), rosemary (*rors marinus*), and later in the second passage cited, the fig tree (*ficus*) and the black mulberry tree (*morus*), Pliny weaves an interesting metaphor concerning the relationship of the natural

25 *Plin. N.H. 15. 19-20. In this, he describes different mythical stories that surround the fig tree and its practical uses.*

26 *Plin. Ep. 2.17.14*

27 *Plin. Ep. 2.17.15. This is a continuation of the previous passage concerning the plants within the garden.*

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environment to the villa and its garden. In the first excerpt, Pliny writes that the garden is surrounded by the boxwood tree, which is only replaced by rosemary when the spray of the sea and the strong winds cause the box to shrivel and wither in the face of the onslaught, as it is, according to Pliny, more comfortable when completely sheltered. This is made profound if we understand that the boxwood was generally considered a tough, resilient evergreen that could outlast many seasons and storms. Due to the pliant, moldable nature of its wood in conjunction with its strength and durability, the wood from a box tree was most widely used to create the backing for writing tablets. If we consider the nature of the boxwood in relation to its apparent lack of durability in the face of the imperial tempest, the metaphor becomes more profound. Employing synecdoche, Pliny uses the boxwood to mean the general group authors and orators, who, during the reign of Domitian, faced a particularly tempestuous emperor seemingly at war with their literary freedom.²⁸ Furthermore, when the boxwood collapses under the weight of the torrent of imperial pressure, Pliny replaces it with rosemary. Known in ancient Rome as the herb of memory and love, rosemary, in this instance, can be used as a symbol for those authors that were then absent from the Roman environment.²⁹

Within the second passage, Pliny discusses the constitution of two different trees, the fig tree and the black mulberry. The inclusion of these two trees is significant considering the heavy mythological presence of these two species. Here, Pliny writes that the mulberry flourishes in the chalky, crumbly soil within his garden and the fig tree, in contrast, does not fare as well. The

²⁸ Smith (2014). *Domitian expelled all the Stoic philosophers from Italy and executed many in 95 CE, which must have had a direct effect on Pliny and his security in the Roman government.*

²⁹ Bredemeyer and D'Andrea (1989).

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mulberry features heavily in the myth of Pyramus and Thisbe, which incidentally, is recorded by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*.³⁰ With a possible, direct invocation of the Ovid's work, Pliny suggests that his villa, and with synecdoche Pliny himself, is welcoming to those literary titans who have been maltreated by the emperor and his tempestuous wrath. Furthermore, the fig tree has a poignant, direct connection with Rome itself. The fig tree, according to myth, sheltered Romulus and Remus while they were suckled by the wolf at the founding of Rome. In order to commemorate this moment, the Romans built a shrine around the tree, which came to be known as the Lupercal. The Romans also had another shrine to this particular fig tree in the Forum Romanum.³¹ If we continue the previous metaphor, we might assume that here in this particular space, Pliny rejects the Roman government and the corruption that it had begun to emulate while at the same time opening his arms to all those who suffered at the hands of the corrupting force.

Though at times these authors seem dynamically different, both Pliny the Younger and Ovid dealt with the overwhelming wrath of a Roman emperor and the reconciliation of Republican ideals with an Imperial government in a similar way. Turning to the foundations of epic myth and the traditional imagery used to discuss the attack of vengeful deities on an unwitting hero, Ovid and Pliny inscribe their name in stone and insure their eternal posterity. I hope that through this, albeit, short analysis of the two letters, we might see that through a deeper understanding of the environmental descriptions within these larger literary works, we

30 *Ov. Met. 4.55. The story of the origin of the black mulberry tree is woven within the tragic story of Pyramus and Thisbe.*

31 *Platner and Ashby (1929): A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome. The tree, originally in the Lupercal, is called the Ficus Ruminalis. The monument in the Forum is spoken of in Pliny's Natural History.*

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can tease out the internal anxieties, emotions, and desires of our authors and even discover that they might not have been as secure in their sociopolitical situation as originally thought.³²

32 *Ovid and Pliny agree: Nature is cool.*

Hodges

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Roman Urban Investments

by Sarah Mabie

My initial question was how on earth Cicero purchased his house on the Palatine for 3.5 million sesterces? This, in turn, led my interest to question how the Roman housing market functioned. In this paper, I focus on elite Romans and their urban investments in the Late Republic and Early Empire and more specifically on Cicero himself.

The Roman housing market and, by further extension, the economy itself cannot not be precisely proved by archaeology, and thus has to rely heavily upon literary texts. It seems to me that the majority of scholars became interested in the Roman elite housing market by wondering, similar to myself, just how Cicero purchased his Palatine home, and in addition, everyone imagines and presents the same scenario of some of Cicero's slaves leading a wheelbarrow, or perhaps even a few, filled with 3.5 million sesterces in coin up the Palatine to pay for the house. However archaeologically, based on found coin hoards, it seems that no one person ever had that much money in coinage at one time. Which begs the question, if not by coin, which is the supposed primary monetary system, then how did he pay?

Before diving into the workings of the real estate market, first, I will briefly discuss how the Roman economic system functioned. From there, I will deconstruct the various professions that are involved within these financial transactions. Using Cicero as an example, I will investigate his income and his sources therefrom, in order to grasp a better understanding of the day to day occurrences of a Roman elite's fiscal awareness.¹ I will argue

I *Andreau details the role of Cicero's correspondences in our understanding of the Roman economic state in the first century BC. (Andreau, 1999, 10)*

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that the Roman elite's role in the real estate market within the Roman economy, revolves around the intention of a strong return on investment and a consistent source of income, which is paid for, not in coin, but in a kind of conceptual or documentary monetary system.

Multiple economic scholars begin by critiquing the previous, yet commonly accepted, economic understanding of the money supply, put simply: coinage. They urge to expand beyond quantitative numismatics, that is strictly in considering coinage as the only monetary system. They base their critiques on the fact that coinage simply could not satisfy the expanding economic needs of the Roman elites, in the Late Republic and Early Empire.

Some proponents of a strict coinage economic system argue that the silver and gold coins were minted primarily to fulfil these expanding needs. However, let us return to the visual of the Ciceronian slaves driving the wheelbarrow full of coins up the Palatine; there would still have to be an enormous amount of silver and gold coins to amount to 3.5 million sesterces. And again, archaeologically, there has not been a discovery of an accumulation of that many silver and gold coins.

A shortcoming in scholarship that I have discovered in my research of Roman economic systems, is, despite the ability to categorize and provide precise terminology for various divisions and professions, scholars fail to elaborate upon the practical aspects of the economy. For instance, where do the Romans store their wealth, especially the elite Romans whose annual income would rival the elites of modern times? How would they transport payments?

In the article, A revisionist view of Roman Money, Harris suggests that the economy functioned with both coin and paper

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money, pecunia and nomina. This concept of nomina, or paper money, was the basis for the credit and debt system that developed with the expanding economy in the Late Republic and Early Empire. In response to the purchase of the Palatine house, he claims that without too much doubt, real estate purchases were, at least for the most part, paper, or rather documentary financial transactions, and “the crucial documents will have been waxed tablets.”² They also might have been paid in installments, which were either coin or paper or perhaps even a mixture of both. I will be adopting his premise of ‘paper’ money henceforth in my argument. Ovid supports this theory, by revealing, in the *Ars Amatoria*, that there was no use in saying that you happened to be out of cash as simply— a ‘littera’, or a letter was enough, in reference to nomina, or paper money.³

In the economic sense, the Roman world’s money supply has to include both coinage and the developed forms of paper money involved with credit. Harris argues that the Greek word for money, χρήματα, is similar to the Roman word, pecunia, in the sense that neither satisfy the modern understanding or economic definition of money, and thus makes it less likely that the Roman money consisted exclusively of coinage.

The day to day dealings with Roman money are known through an understanding of the professions that would interact with both the money supply economically but also as intermediaries to the community. I will attempt to succinctly detail the various professions, which spread across socio-economic barriers, that are involved in the economic process of the Roman credit and debt system. In the aristocratic sphere, “politics, social matters, and culture are always closely intermingled with

2 *Harris, 2011*

3 *Harris, 2011*

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patrimonial and economic preoccupations.”⁴ Although almost all elite members of society lent money, which carried social and political significance, some lent much more than others, with a goal of a high return on investment. These elite men, who were lenders of interest-bearing loans with an aim for profit, were known as feneratores. However, they never associated personally with that title, but were labelled such by others as it carried a specialized and even pejorative sense.⁵

These feneratores did not exclusively lend their own funds, but acted as intermediaries for other elites who entrusted to them some amount of money. These financial transactions between both creditors and lenders, or rather “both passive investors seeking to place their money and also intermediaries arranging credit, who were experts at investing money,” would be found in the Janus medius, or an arched or vaulted passageway, typically lining the basilica in the forum.⁶ It is not known whether these feneratores could receive deposits and advance credits, similar to that of any modern deposit bank. It is also unclear just how both the passive lender and intermediary handled the financial risk of the loan. That is to say, who was held responsible for a bad investment?

The credit system had to include banks, moneylenders, and interest rates, all of which scholars only know bits and pieces from literary sources, primarily in epistolary forms. This form of the Roman economic system would have required a number of moving parts, and thus the need of multiple institutions, professions, and agreed practices.

We are informed of banks, mainly from literary sources. According to Polybius, Scipio Amilianus deposited 1.2 million

4 *Andreau, 1999, 14*

5 *Andreau, 1999, 15*

6 *Andreau, 1999, 16*

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sesterces into a bank. With that money, the bankers turned around and paid other Romans on Scipio's behalf to whom he was indebted.⁷ In the eyes of the jurist, a bank's duty was to receive deposits and advance credit. According to Andreau, the banker lent, not his own money, but some of the money that he had received from his clients. After the client deposited the money to the bank, they could come back at any time and make withdrawals, or they could instruct the banker to make payments with it, as is the case with the prior example.⁸ There were two types of deposits: sealed and unsealed. As the banker was unable to loan or invest a sealed deposit in order to make a profit, they would remain untouched until the client chose to withdraw. This may suggest that the Roman elites stored their wealth with a banker, either with the intent of the banker investing for a profit on behalf of the client, or simply for storage. However, it is still unknown which monetary form these deposits take, pecunia or nomina. This relationship between client and banker is essential to the credit and debt system, and acts as further evidence of nomina, or 'paper' money. These ancient financial transactions function similar to modern transactions, in which monetary exchanges act as theoretical tally marks in a column on a spreadsheet that are constantly fluctuating indicating fiscal operations.

A moneylender, or argentarius, in addition to their role as deposit bankers, functioned as living credit cards according to Harris. They would stand and vouch for the purchaser, providing the nomina, or documentary currency. This type of transaction was exceedingly common at auction houses in the Late Republic and Early Empire. The argentarii would pay sellers and offer short term loans to the buyers. These exchanges, however, did not eliminate the need for the coactor, as I will elaborate below.

7 *Harris, 2011*

8 *Andreau, 1999, 39*

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During the time of Augustus, the nummularii, who previously limited themselves to assaying coins and changing money, adopted the practice of deposit-bankers, similar to the argentarii, though they never participated in auctions.⁹ When the elites had some sort of financial use for the services of the nummularii, they also must have called upon their slave-financiers, the arcarii, or cashiers, and the dispensatores, or treasurers, who would probably have handled the day to day transactions of the elite. Although we have a record of some slaves and freedmen acting as nummularii and argentarii, to our knowledge, there is no record of a woman acting as a banker, and according to Callistratus, the profession of argentarius was officially banned to women.¹⁰

Another profession emerges in the first century BC known as, coactores argentarii, who were receivers and money-changers/bankers.¹¹ In their role as a receiver, they would keep a record on the amounts that they held for their clients. The coactores played an indispensable role at auctions. They could charge a commission for receiving money from the buyer and then pass the payment on to the seller, after having deducted his dues. The coactor was, “officially responsible for keeping detailed registers relating to these auctions, in which he would note down dates, detailed descriptions of the objects sold, prices, and the names of the sellers and buyers.”¹²

These assayers or money-changers assumed the various roles situated under this broad umbrella of a profession. They worked as a type of intermediary between the mints of the state and shop owners in order to change the money into smaller value

9 *Andreau, 1999, 31*

10 *Andreau, 1999, 31*

11 *Andreau, 1999, 31*

12 *Andreau, 1999, 39*

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coins. These banking professionals were able to charge a five-percent commission upon these transactions.¹³ Although scholars know that they worked out of small shops or perhaps on trestle tables, we do not fully understand the practical side of their money-changing operations and moreover the full extent of their relationship with the Public Treasury.

To some significance, the profession of *argentarius*, *nummularius*, and *coactores*, receive little to no attention in the literary sphere, similar to the treatment of shopkeepers, artisans, and traders.¹⁴ Despite the elite Romans working closely and often with these professionals, they nevertheless are treated as far inferior. Mary Beard sums it up perfectly with the statement: “it became a cliché of Roman moralizing that a true gentleman was supported by the profits of his estates, not by wage labor, which was inherently dishonorable.”¹⁵ Andreau presents the notion that, “on the one hand, professional bankers were part of the professional world and so were ranked socially far below the aristocracy. On the other hand, they alone were entrusted with banking responsibilities, and the ancients recognized that this made their position exceptional, as is shown by the texts of the jurists.”¹⁶ In essence, professional bankers are in a constant state of social status fluidity, which naturally affects their daily life and interactions with the elite members of society.

During the times which the elite men were away from their estates, they would establish a procurator, or private manager, to take management of lending and borrowing, and of large purchases and payments. This role was to be filled with someone of high enough status in order to be capable of such a responsibility.

13 *Andreau, 1999, 37*

14 *Andreau, 1999, 34*

15 *Beard, 2015, 441*

16 *Andreau, 1999, 46*

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In regards to public monetary dealings, rather than the private ones that were previously discussed, the transaction that Cicero called a *publica permutatio*, was a transfer of public funds. For instance, he “entrusted to the tax collectors the 2,200,000 sesterces that he had earned in the course of his proconsulship in Cilicia.”¹⁷ These tax collectors, an institution known as the *publicam*, were a body of men who were recognized by the State for their role in the financial activities of the government, and who functioned similar to that of a bank. These tax collectors were able to coordinate long distance transfers, relieving the state of that concern. If their concerns did not associate with public funds or the funds of those in the political spotlight, the individual was forced to arrange the transfer himself, mostly by relying a network of mutual friends and calling upon their credits and debts to each other.

Crucial to the credit and debt system were the interest rates placed onto loans. Beginning with Tacitus and the twelve tables, lending at interest rates higher than an annual rate of eight and a third percent was prohibited. Jumping forward a few hundred years to 88 BC, the *lex Cornelia Pompeia* legalized interest-bearing loans and fixed the rate at twelve percent per annum.¹⁸ This developed into the Roman custom of *centesimae usurae*, which was a maximum of twelve per cent, or one per cent per month. We have mention in a letter to Atticus that Cicero typically only charged 6% for his tenants. Cicero also experienced being the debtor and thus subject to the lender’s interest rates. As Andreau details, in December of 62, Cicero had just purchased his Palatine home, and he wrote, “money at 6 per cent could easily be found and that, in any case, he was a *bonum nomen* in the eyes of moneylenders.”

17 *Andreau, 1999, 20*

18 *Andreau thoroughly details the history of interest-bearing loans in chapter 8. (1999, 91)*

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However, in January of 61, Cicero wrote, “that Quintus Caecilius was not advancing loans at less than 12 per cent, even to those close to him.”¹⁹ Generally, in regards to interest, the size of the loan and its duration also were under consideration when determining the rates.

Frederiksen raises the point that moral obligation played a large role in the concept of credit. This moralizing nature effected even the rates on interest-bearing loans. A money-lender would be severely criticized for being usurious if he charged the maximum rate. On the other end of the deal, a Roman would have been ostracized for not fulfilling his debts. The indebted Roman would have his properties repossessed and distributed to his creditors in order to fulfil his debt. Typically, the creditor would hold an auction for the debtor’s possessions in order to recoup the loan.

According to Andreau, “alongside the practice of simply advancing interest-bearing loans, which all elite members tended to consider as a customary source of income, aristocratic finance included a whole series of operations that were more or less widespread, more or less specialized, but hard to classify as they were marked by great fluidity.”²⁰ Within this economic system, Tenny Frank²¹ lists out possible sources of income in the Roman Republic: commerce and trading, provincial investment, managing and enlarging an inheritance, dealing in real-estate, the legal profession and legacies, acting, and provincial government. Cicero personally is estimated to have had an average annual income of 780,000 sesterces.²² This was from a combination of legacies and real-estate return on investment. Legacies—in the legal profession was “the accepted procedure in paying advocates in Rome that

19 *Andreau, 1999, 95; Cic. ad Fam. 5.6.2, Cic. ad Att. 1.12.1*

20 *Andreau, 1999, 14*

21 *Smutny, 1951*

22 *Smutny, 1951*

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seems to have been to include a clause in one's will in favor of the advocate."²³ This brings us to a consideration of legacies being undoubtedly the largest single source of Cicero's income, according to Smutny.²⁴

Rent, on the other hand, from his various properties generated Cicero's steadiest, although not the largest, form of income. The Roman housing market provided a stable source of income amidst the other somewhat unpredictable founts, primarily moneylending. Andreau presents two economic strategies: "the strategy of security, which was designed to cope with possible setbacks and was centered on real estate, because the land ensured a minimum of economic security, which in turn preserved one's social standing, and the strategy of profit."²⁵ The latter involves investing and lending with the intention of recouping as much money as possible, with the end goal either to enable an extravagant lifestyle, or to maintain or improve one's social standing. Typically the most financially adept person would adopt some combination of the two strategies, since moneylending and acquired interest would provide an opportunity to expand their patrimony, but also to diversify their sources of income, protecting themselves from a potential fall in the real-estate market.²⁶

Cicero was a man who employed both of the economic strategies, previously outlined by Andreau. He owned houses in the Argiletum and on the Aventine, as well as villas in Tusculum and Fabiae, but his most profitable and steadiest source were the shops at Puteoli, which he was bequeathed in a will in the form of a legacy. He talks about renovating them in a letter to Atticus in order to increase profit of 20,000 sesterces. Smutny estimates that

23 *Smutny, 1951*

24 *Smutny, 1951*

25 *Andreau, 1999, 24*

26 *Andreau, 1999, 25*

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Cicero earned 100,000 sesterces annually from the combined rents of all his properties. Cicero's fiscal awareness and apparent want to increase profit, acts as evidence for these strategies in action. Most elites had a collection of properties already in their possession and, according to Andreau, all of their economic strategies were founded upon the management of those possessions.²⁷ He goes on to say that, "money was thus never regarded as capital, as a value introduced into the economic process in order to create new wealth, but rather it was seen either as a component of their patrimony, a substitute for land, houses, and slaves, or as an income provided by the patrimony."²⁸

Included in their patrimony, Roman elites typically owned multiple properties and various different types. Every type of domestic architecture that is known by name—domus, insula, cenaculum, taberna, and villa—has record of it being rented both to members of the elite social class and also to those in severe poverty. According to Rosenstein, "investment in urban property and other commercial concerns likely represented a much larger portion of elite Roman incomes than did the production of crops on rural estates."²⁹ In the wake of fire damage or property loss, having a mix of rural and urban properties helped to mitigate the financial loss. Also, in times of financial crisis, Roman elites would sell countryside villas rather than city insulae to pay their debts, as the insulae were a greater source of income. Mary Beard states, "insulae provided rented accommodations at a high density, which is how such a large population managed to cram into a relatively small area in the city of Rome."³⁰ They were attractive investment opportunities for their owners and provided jobs for the ruthless

27 *Andreau, 1999, 24*

28 *Andreau, 1999, 24*

29 *Rosenstein, 2008*

30 *Beard, 2015, 447*

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rent collectors. I will return to my speculation of the professional role that these rent collectors had within the context of the Roman real estate market.

There developed a relationship between landlords and tenants that was not social but economic after the Social War.³¹ This raises questions concerning the extent of the interactions that were had between, to employ some modern terminology, the elite property owner, the landlord, and the renter of a lower socio-economic class, the tenant. I will also return to this thought.

In a letter to Atticus, Cicero mentions how he used *nomina*, loans, in order to be able to afford the Palatine house. With the growing tendency to afford more lavish properties by the use of *nomina* and the credit system, Craver states that “urban property became a vehicle for personal aggrandizement among political elites who viewed it as a necessary commodity. Consequently, the urban property market was greatly stimulated. Prices rose with ambitions and rivals vied to make their mark on the limited city scape.”³² The fast pace of buying and selling *domus* demonstrates that they were perceived as commodities, as does the frequency with which they served as rental units. Outside the city, “the desire to own a maritime villa and the location of the villa itself resulted in part from the prospect of reselling the estate at a profit.”³³ This fast paced market turnover further suggests that the Romans consistently used a documentary monetary system, primarily controlled and monitored by bankers.

Especially in neighborhoods like on the Palatine, the great disparity in housing prices, during the Late Republic and Early Empire, was attributable not only to the cost of materials but also

31 *Craver, 2010*

32 *Harris, 2010, 144*

33 *Marzano, 2007, 76*

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to the varying scale of ever-expanding construction. There were laws and customs that dictated the method of purchasing property. In purchasing *insulae*, Roman investors could not own simply a floor of a building, like a modern condo concept, but had to purchase the ground on which it was built.³⁴ There was also the approach to invest in a large property in order to parcel it and re-sell it individually at a high profit.³⁵

There was a complex network that was deeply involved in Roman urban investment. According to Harris, “high status Romans were aided in their real-estate dealings by the network of bankers, contractors and agents who comprised the human apparatus of the market.”³⁶ Specifically, elites employed the various intermediaries in order to purchase property. These intermediaries would include the banker who would facilitate the transaction between the previous owner and the purchaser, and the coactor who would perhaps act as the receiver of the rent money between the tenant and owner.

Let us return to the question I raised previously concerning the financial and social relationship between the landlord and tenant. The owner, as I already established, rented to almost all levels of the social sphere. Did the relationship vary depending on a villa tenant, presumably a member of the upper class, versus an *insula* tenant, presumably lower in societal standing? How much contact would there have been? Or would a slave, perhaps the treasurer, act as the intermediary to collect the rent? Some speculation still exists on how often rent was collected, however

34 *Saliou argues against this concept. She posits that the individual floors were able to be sold, similar to the modern concept of condos.*

35 *Marzano, 2007, 77*

36 *Harris, 2010*

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the generally accepted estimate is on an annual basis. If it was indeed collected annually, the sum would be greater than if monthly, therefore, rendering it less likely that the rent was paid in coin, considering the large amounts of accumulated payments. If not coin, then what sort of nomina? Especially for the insulae, whose lower class tenants would not have had an abundance of coin for rent, how did they pay? As there is scanty information on how the elites paid their rent, there is almost no evidence for the invisible voices of the lower class.

Elite property owners would rent their villas and even a domus to other elites. In this case, would the owner have face to face interactions with that tenant? Would it be considered a client relationship? Their rent was most likely due annually, and I speculate that it was paid through a documentary transaction facilitated by a banker, thus suggesting a social distance between the property owner and the tenant.

Elite owners of insula would rent their bottom floors, which were typically larger and more stable, to members of the upper to middle status. Here, it is reasonable to posit that there were less personal interactions between the owner and the tenant. However, a respectable coactor would probably receive the rent either monthly, or more likely, annually. This payment could be either in nomina, paper, or pecunia, coin.

Lastly, the top most floor of the insula was the smallest and least stable within the structure. It would be rented out to someone in severe poverty. I would wager that there was almost never any physical interaction between the elite property owner and the lowest class renter. Here we might even see the slave arcarii, cashiers, or dispensatores, treasurers, who managed the day to day budgets of the household, come and act as a receiver for the rent. This rent was most likely due every month, and typically

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completely in coin.

When Cicero was being exiled, all of his assets were appraised, and according to the accessors, Cicero's villa at Tusculum was valued at 500,000 sesterces and at Formiae for 250,000 HS.³⁷ Andreau talks about the bankers acting as these accessors, as they had the record of the elite's financial holdings through the transactions facilitated through the bank of credit and debt.

In elite housing, at this time of increasing competition in the Late Republic and Early Empire, neighborhoods like the one on the Palatine developed a "Keeping up with the Jones" mentality. A trend emerged in which public architectural forms were replicated in private settings. Marble columns became a symbol of wealth in the domus. According to Cicero, marble columns costs about 20,000 sesterces each and there were typically four around the implivium. Craver writes that the cost of the marble columns was about one percent of the total construction costs of Cicero's Palatine house.³⁸ Construction costs were higher at sites like Tusculum and Fabiae than at Rome because they were farther away from the Tiber and coast line. The transport of materials would incur the costs of man and beast hours among other costs. According to Marzano, elite roman villas, similar to the elite domus, were equipped with the latest conveniences in order to sell at a large profit. Further, competition of this kind greatly increased the prices of villas.³⁹ This constant state of economic competition was exclusive to that of the Roman elites. "This self-sufficiency of the elite as a group helped to ensure its ability to control everything and profit from everything, and was no doubt also the very thing

37 *Craver, 2010*

38 *Craver, 2010*

39 *Marzano, 2007, 76*

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that imposed limits upon the Roman economy.”⁴⁰

In this Roman real estate market, we can see the emergence of the original HGTV stars, such as Crassus, who would stand outside burning buildings and offer to buy them at a reduced rate, to then turn around and construct a new property to sell at a profit.⁴¹ He starred as the original house flipper. Similarly, there is the example of Corneilia, Sulla’s daughter, who purchased a villa at Capo Miseno for 300,000 sesterces, which she then sold, sometime later, to L. Licinius Lucullus for 10 million sesterces! She had wisely purchased the villa during the time of the proscriptions, which caused a drop in the prices of the housing market.⁴²

There was also Amoenus, a friend of Martial, who would purchase a house that was struggling to sell for below the asking price, and then fill the property with beautiful and expensive furniture, in order to sell it for double what he purchased, starring as the original house stager. “Lavish furnishings could not only be a delight for the owner, and a matter of self-representation in society, but they could also improve the market value of the property.”⁴³ Marzano mentions that Roman landowner, Domitius Tullus, “who left to his wife amoenissimas villas, had innumerable ancient works of art in his storehouses, ready to be used for furnishing the gardens of newly bought villas.”⁴⁴ The forethought of stock piling elaborate decoration indicates the pace in which

40 *Andreau, 1999, 29*

41 *Craver, 2010*

42 *Marzano, 2007, 77*

43 *Marzano, 2007, 77*

44 *Marzano also cites Vesuvian area evidence of elite furnishings stashed in a courtyard which she posits may be have been in the process of being moved to another estate or being sold, but then caveats that point by saying that the evidence caused by Vesuvius may be exceptional.*

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properties were being bought and sold, and the fiscal awareness of purchasing these items at auction and wholesale.

In conclusion, the credit system of the economy using nomina allowed the real estate market for the Roman elites in the late Republic and Early Empire to become a profitable source of investment. The real estate market evolved and expanded with the competition that developed within the Roman senatorial class. This economic expansion would not have been possible without the documentary monetary system that developed from the credit and debt system, especially in its function in the real estate market.

Finally, I leave you with my unanswered questions regarding the Roman real estate market. Were there rental protection laws in place to prevent or at the very least discourage landlords from exploiting their tenants? What was the procedure when something was in need of repair, was it the responsibility of the tenant or the landlord? Especially in the case of insulae, in which the highest stories were made of wicker work and severely unstable, one would think that the danger of damages would be a constant threat. How did the process of eviction work? Were there any time restraints on, what we would modernly term, a lease? Unfortunately, there is little to no archaeological evidence to enlighten these questions, and even less so pertains to lower class housing.

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**Roman Imperial Funeral:
The Emperor's Final Triumph**
by *Karissa Hurzeler*

Much is known about the Roman Empire; the monuments they have left behind continue to awe and inspire modern scholarship. However, one aspect of Roman imperial life still remains unknown: the Roman imperial funeral. We know from literary sources, such as Cassius Dio, Herodian, and Tacitus that the Roman imperial funeral was a spectacle that consisted of processions, orations, and the burning of a grand funerary pyre. Due to the destructive nature of these spectacles, little has been left in the material record. In this paper, I will attempt to interpret the given evidence to reconstruct the processional route of the Roman imperial funeral and present a model of a Roman imperial funerary pyre. Furthermore, using the reconstructed evidence, I will show that the Roman imperial funeral was a cultural spectacle designed to venerate the late emperor and validate the authority of his successor.

The primary sources on imperial funerals are Cassius Dio's Roman History, Herodian's *Historia Augusta*, and Tacitus' *Annales*. These three historical accounts provide the most facts we know of any of the imperial funerals. Cassius Dio recounts the funerals of Augustus (Roman History 56.34-42) and Pertinax put on by Septimius Severus (Roman History 75.4-5), Herodian details the funeral of Septimius Severus (*Historia Augusta* 4.2.1-11), and Tacitus provides an uneven account of the funeral of Augustus (*Annales* 1.8). These will be the primary sources used to recreate the imperial funeral. Additionally, numismatic evidence will be used to create a model of an imperial funerary pyre. Ancient coins, especially in the late empire, often depicted the funerary pyre of the recently deceased emperor. This iconography appears as late as 270 CE and briefly from 310-313 CE (Morris 1992). By cross-

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referencing the iconography with the historical literary evidence, it is seen that the coins portray a small, but accurate picture of an imperial funerary pyre; a basic picture of the Roman imperial funeral can be pieced together.

What was the *pompa funebris*, or Roman imperial funeral? In most cases the imperial funeral was actually a “second funeral;” it was the funeral for the people of Rome, the public, to honor the recently deceased emperor and to see and be seen. The imperial funeral was a tradition that grew and continued over time, even as Roman culture and society changed. Due to this aspect of the imperial funeral, the emperor’s body, except Augustus’, was not present, but instead a wax effigy, an *imago* or *eidolon*, was used to represent the absent body. Herodian notes this tradition in his record of Septimius Severus’ funeral: “After a costly funeral, the body of the emperor is interred in the customary fashion. But then a wax image is fashioned in the exact likeness of the corpse and placed on a large, high couch... This wax figure lies on the couch like a sick man, pale and wan,” (4.2.2). This practice aligned with the Roman ancestral cult of the *imagines* (Arce 312, Johnson 11). The invocation of the *imagines* demonstrates the intention of the funeral to establish the imperial line, regardless of the true ancestry of the new emperor, which is seen in the funeral for Pertinax put on by Septimius Severus, which will be discussed later in the paper.

There are a variety of reasons why an effigy would be used as opposed to the body of the emperor. Possibilities include the emperor dying abroad and his body being cremated prior to transfer back to Rome or the body being inhumed instead of cremated (Johnson 11). These are the most favorable explanations given the minimal resources on the subject and the trend towards inhumation during the middle to late Roman Empire. Ian Morris attributes this cultural change to the rise of “Greek” customs in

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ancient Rome, and the later rise and spread of Christianity. He suggests that inhumation became the common practice between 140-180 CE, taking only one generation to transition. The primary evidence he references comes from “Xiphilinus’ summary of Dio, which says (69.2.3) that Trajan was cremated in 117, but only that Hadrian was buried, *etaphe*, in 138 (69.23.1)...But when Septimius Severus died in 211, it seems that he was cremated. [Of his two sons] Geta was probably inhumed, and Caracalla cremated in 217,” (54). Both Morris’ and Johnson’s interpretations highlight an important point in interpreting the nature of the imperial funeral; that the personal beliefs and customs of the emperor was not relevant to the tradition and practice of the *pompa funebris*. While the actual burials, the “first funerals”, of the emperors changed over time, the *pompa funebris* remained a consistent event.

The tradition of the *pompa funebris* was established by Augustus, the first emperor to receive a public funeral and to establish a monumental family tomb, now called the Mausoleum of Augustus (Favro and Johanson 30). Augustus’ funeral was recorded by Tacitus and Cassius Dio. However, these records are brief and provide an overview rather than detailed account of his funeral, which we see with later emperors. First was a lying-in-state of the emperor’s body, or effigy, at the palace. If an emperor had died abroad, he was still treated as if he were alive until the ashes or body was interred in the tomb in Rome (Johnson 11). During the lying-in-state, there were doctors and attendants tending to the effigy to carry on the notion that the emperor was still alive. This is noted by both Cassius Dio and Herodian. Cassius Dio recounts:

“Upon this [couch] rested an effigy of Pertinax in wax, laid out in triumphal garb; and a comely youth was keeping the flies away from it with peacock feathers, as though it

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were really a person sleeping. While the body lay in state, Severus, as well as we senators and our wives approached, wearing mourning; the women sat in the porticos, and we men under the open sky,” (Cassius Dio, Roman History 75.4.4).

Herodian notes,

“During most of the day people sit on each side of the couch; on the left is the entire Senate, clad in black; on the right are all the women...None of these women wear gold ornaments or necklaces; each affects the plain white garments associated with mourning. The various ceremonies above continue for seven days. Every day physicians come and visit the couch; after pretending to examine the sick man, they announce daily that his condition is growing steadily worse,” (Historia Augusta 4.2.2-3).

Both of these accounts record similar stories of the lying-in, suggesting that there was a common tradition established, at least by Septimius Severus, who put on Pertinax’s funeral and possibly left plans for his own. Both accounts demonstrate the extent to which these cultural traditions were an exhibition for the people, as they occurred during or after the “first funeral.”

Following the pronouncement of the emperor’s death, the effigy on the bier was carried from the palace to the Roman Forum and displayed on the Rostra or on a platform constructed next to the Rostra. The procession consisted of the emperor’s successor, the late emperor’s wife and family, senators and wives, imagines,

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musicians, dancers, choruses of boys and women, soldiers and equestrians, race-horses, and funeral offerings from around the empire (Johnson 13). The imagines featured in the imperial funeral procession were the imperial ancestors starting with Aeneas and Romulus followed by representations of renowned people from Rome's history. There were also representations of conquered peoples and cities (Johnson 13). Representations of the conquered peoples gave the impression of the entire empire's population participating in the funeral, as well as displayed the scope of the Roman Empire (Arce 317). The procession created an display of the Roman Empire in all of its glory from antiquity to the contemporary present, transcending time and space. This would have demonstrated the power of the emperors, both old and new, as well as the might of the empire.

Next came the *laudatio*, or eulogy, which was delivered by the emperor's successor from the Rostra. The Rostra, being altered by Julius Caesar during the final years of the Republic, further entwined the imperial funeral with the traditions and culture of the Roman Empire. Once the *laudatio* was completed, the procession was re-started with participants preceding the bier. The emperor (in effigy form) was carried to the Campus Martius, where the pyre was already constructed. The procession revolved around the pyre, slowly moving towards it with each revolution, until the emperor's body reached the pyre. The bier was then placed inside the pyre's second tier and set ablaze, once all senators and viewers were settled in a safe viewing area, and the emperor left the world for the final time (Arce 318). There are records to suggest that, in some cases, an eagle was caged atop the pyre; and once the pyre was lit, the eagle was released to carry the emperor's soul to the heavens and join him with the gods (Johnson 13). However, Cassius Dio is the only author to note this event, meaning there is little evidence whether or not this was an actual occurrence.

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However, the existence of the story suggests the nature of the imperial funeral as a spectacle and the portrayal of the Roman emperor as the Princeps of Rome. The imagery, even if only written, of the eagle, a symbol associated with Jupiter, soaring from the flames of the pyre associates the emperor further with the gods and portrays him as a god. This story shows that myths developed regarding the deification of these emperors, which further emphasized their position in Roman society and culture and validated their power.

The Roman imperial funeral was a spectacle and a mode for the emperors to assure their power and status. This is best seen in the funeral for Pertinax, who ruled for less than a year in 193 CE, organized by Septimius Severus, who seized power after Pertinax's assassination. Pertinax's body had been disposed of long before the funeral procession (Favro and Johanson 25-26). Still, Severus had a complete imperial funeral put on for Pertinax, and he performed the *laudatio* as the primary successor, or claimant, to the position of emperor. Following this example, Septimius Severus' own imperial funeral was extremely lavish (Favro and Johanson 25-26). Both of these funerals, especially that of Pertinax, reveal the intention of the imperial funeral as a spectacle for the people of Rome and a part of Roman culture. These spectacles were successful in their political aim to authenticate the power of the emperor among the Roman people. In particular, Pertinax's funeral is the epitome because he was not related by blood to Septimius Severus, nor had he been emperor for very long. Yet, in putting on his funeral, Septimius Severus was able to portray himself as Pertinax's successor and secure his position as emperor.

The route chosen for the procession further supported this intention, as it invoked and reversed the triumphal route; moving from the palace on the Palatine Hill through the Roman Forum to

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the Campus Martius. Not only was the *pompa funebris* a spectacle and a funeral, but it was also the emperor's final triumph. This aspect was established by Augustus' funeral, as noted in Tacitus' *Annales*: "The procession was to be conducted through 'the gate of triumph,' on the motion of Gallus Asinius; the titles of the laws passed, the names of the nations conquered by Augustus were to be borne in front, on that of Lucius Arruntius," (1.8). Not only does Tacitus note the movement of the parade through "the Gate of Triumph," but he also provides an account of the decision to include the conquered nations in the processional parade. Although literary evidence should not be taken as absolute fact, Tacitus' mention of this decision establishes it in history and literature. Literary sources and their recollections provide, in a way, a spectator's perspective of these events, as well as evidence that there were cultural traditions being born, such as the Roman imperial funeral.

The details of the funeral itself further support that it mimics and reverses the Roman triumphal parade. The inclusion of the conquered peoples would serve to demonstrate the entire empire mourning the emperor and be an additional reminder to spectators of the military might of Rome, similar to how they were paraded in the Roman triumphal parade (Östenberg 7). Furthermore, the bier and pyre demonstrated the emperor's wealth, similar to the display of conquered treasures. Cassius Dio observes the lavishness of the bier or shrine:

"In the Roman Forum a wooden platform was constructed hard by the marble rostra, upon which was set a shrine without walls, but surrounded by columns, cunningly wrought of both ivory and gold. In it there was placed a bier of the same materials, surrounded by heads of both land and sea animals and adorned with coverlets of purple

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and gold,” (Roman History 75.4.2-3).

Finally, the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus could be seen from the Roman Forum, and included through gestures during the *laudatio*, which would imply the emperor’s relationship to Jupiter and foreshadow the upcoming deification of the emperor (Favro and Johanson 26). Considering this evidence, it is clear that there were similarities between the triumphal parade and the funerary procession. This correlation suggests a cultural connection between the two events; both were spectacles for the people of Rome, as well as a means to venerate the emperor. This is significant, as the triumph was one of Rome’s most historical rituals (Beard 288). The funerary processions referenced these historic rituals of Rome, which further incorporated the emperors into historical and cultural tradition.

Finally, a look at the triumphal route, confirms that there was an idea of the imperial funeral reversing this route, and in so doing, acted as the emperor’s final triumph out of the city. Based on the accounts of Tacitus, Cassius Dio, and Herodian along with articles by Diane Favro and Christopher Johanson and Mark J. Johnson, the imperial funerary route can be assumed to have moved from the Palatine to the Roman Forum and then on to the Campus Martius, where the burning of the pyre took place. Contrary, the triumphal route began at the Campus Martius, proceeded through the “Triumphal Gate” through the Forum to conclude on the Capitoline Hill (Beard 81). Although it is impossible to know the exact route of either procession, which changed with each event, this is the basic outline of the routes. It is clear that there was a basic structure to both routes, and that the structure of the Triumphal Route was reversed with the Palatine Hill (home of the emperors) being exchanged with the Capitoline Hill (home of the gods). Considering this correlation, the funeral

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acted as the emperor's final triumph through the city of Rome.

The culmination of the Roman imperial funeral was the grand funerary pyre. Based on literary sources, it is gleaned that these pyres were monuments in size and display. However, Roman imperial funerary pyres are perhaps the most difficult monuments to recreate or reimagine, as they were all destroyed as part of the funerary rites and traditions. Our primary evidence is from numismatic iconography, where are illustrated. In addition to these depictions, there is detailed literary evidence regarding the appearance of these monuments. In the case of Septimius Severus, Herodian's account of his pyre matches the depiction of his pyre on coinage issued by his successors, Caracalla and Geta.

“The couch is then carried out of the city to the Field of Mars, where, in the widest part of the plain, a square building has been construct entirely of huge wooden beams in the shape of a house...Upon this structure rests a smaller second story...and there is a third and a fourth story, each smaller than the one beneath it; finally, the smallest story of all tops this structure,” (4.2.6-7).

Below is an image (Fig. 1) of a bronze or brass sestertius issued by Caracalla and Geta in 211 CE from the British Museum's coin collection.



Figure 1: Bronze Coin, the British Museum (museum number R.15919)

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The obverse side depicts the head of the deified Septimius Severus



Figure 2: Gold Coin, British Museum (museum number G3,RIG.223)

This coin (Fig. 2) is a gold aureus issued by Marcus Aurelius in 161 CE. The obverse depicts head of Antoninus Pius with the inscription, “DIVUS ANTONINUS” (“the divine Antoninus”); the reverse depicts a four-tiered pyre topped with a quadriga with the inscription, “CONSECRATIO” (“consecrated for”) (British Museum 2017b). This coin, also issued by a succeeding emperor in honor of the late emperor, shows that the iconography of coins was specific to each emperor commemorated. Using this coin, I will present a 3D model of a Roman funerary pyre.

In wrapping up this paper, a model of a funerary pyre with approximate decorations and scale will be presented. I decided to create this model in order to provide a visual reference of this aspect of an imperial funeral. The model was created using numismatic and literary evidence previously provided. Cassius

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Dio's Roman History and Herodian's Historia Augusta were the primary sources referenced for this model. The model was created using the program, Trimble SketchUp. It is modelled after the pyre of Antoninus Pius as seen on the previously presented gold coin (Fig. 2), and the decorations depicted were based on literary references and the author's limited skill with Trimble SketchUp. It should be noted that this is a model, not a reconstruction of a Roman funerary pyre, as defined by Diane Favro and Christopher Johanson, "[a model is] a knowledge representation of the current evidence more often textual than material and can approximate only one of many interpretations" (17). The image below is a screenshot of the model created in Trimble SketchUp.

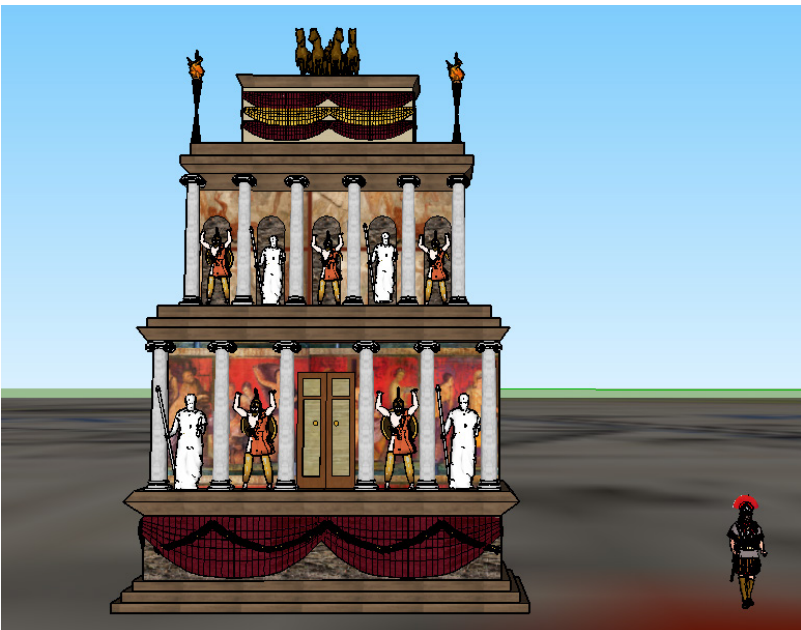


Figure 3: Model of Roman Imperial Funerary Pyre

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This model¹ is a four-tiered funerary pyre topped with a Roman quadriga. The proportions used reference the gold coin provided above, a Roman centurion standing at approximately 1.7 meters has been added as a size reference. The size of the pyre was based on the estimated size of the quadriga that sat on top and the size of the second tier. This was done using Cassius Dio's description of Pertinax's funeral pyre: "The pyre had been built in the form of a tower having three stories and adorned with ivory and gold as well as a number of statues, while on its very summit was placed a gilded chariot that Pertinax had been wont to drive" (Roman History 75.3). Based on this account, it can be assumed that the quadriga was life-size because it was the emperor's own chariot. The additional supporting evidence for the approximate size was from Herodian's account of Septimius Severus' funeral, where he states the bier went into the second story of the pyre (Historia Augusta 4.2.8). This means that the effigy had to fit in the second story of the pyre (D'Ambra 305). Unfortunately, there is no account as to the actual size of the pyre and this model's proportions are based on numismatic evidence. There is also limited accounts of imperial funerals, and each funeral could have varied in scope. Furthermore, numismatic evidence shows varying proportions for funerary pyres, which therefore suggests they varied in size and shape.

The model is decorated with deep purple/indigo draping, columns, statues, and torches. A fresco texture was also applied to the walls of the pyre, which were decorated with paintings (Herodian 4.2.7). The decorative elements used by me are for reference because there is no literary evidence for the details of what type of columns, statues, or materials were included with

1 Many of the decorative elements, such as the textures, sculptures, drapings, quadriga, columns and centurion were downloaded from the 3D warehouse and were not created in the program by the author.

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the pyres. This model serves to provide a visual approximation of what a Roman imperial funerary monument looked like, at least an idea of its monumentality.

However, there was more to the pyres than just appearance. Herodian wrote:

“The whole interior of this building is filled with firewood; and on the outside it is decorated with gold-embroidered hangings, ivory figures, colored paintings. Upon this structure rests a smaller second story, similar in shape and decoration, with open windows and doors... They add every kind of perfume and incense the earth provides, together with all fruits, herbs, and juices that are gathered for their fragrance,” (Historia Augusta 4.2.7-8).

According to Herodian, the pyre was not just richly decorated, but it was filled with aromatic materials and gifts. The funerary pyre created an experience for spectators beyond the experience provided by the procession. It was an experience for all five human senses (D’Ambra 304).

Once the funerary pyre was lit, it was a unique experience for the viewers. First, sight; before and during burning, the monumental structure was an incredible sight, as demonstrated by the provided model. Second, the smell of the pyre, as the wood and aromatics burned would hit the viewers. Third, the taste of the smoke eventually reached the viewers and they would taste the burning materials. Fourth, the large fire would be felt. Finally, the sound of the burning pyre, as the wood crackled and each level began to collapse as it was eventually engulfed in flames would have provided an array of sounds. This would have been the entire experience of the Roman funerary pyre and the proper send off for

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the immortal emperor. D'Ambra notes "That such devices went up in smoke rendered them unforgettable, and perhaps, etched them in memory even more sharply than the familiar scenery of one's neighborhood" (289-290). D'Ambra sums up the spectacular nature of the imperial funerary pyre, and the finale of the Roman imperial funeral. It would have been an unforgettable, historical event and one that absolutely validated the authority of the Roman emperors.

The burning was perhaps one reason why the pyres were built and burned in the Campus Martius. The pyres would have been built over a shallow pit to allow for air circulation below it and would probably have burned for over a day" (D'Ambra 301). This would have required open space, most easily found in the Campus Martius. There are three structures in the Campus Martius that have been identified as the sites of ustrina or consecration altars located near the Parliament building at Montecitorio. It is believed the central spaces of these structures may have been the sites of funerary pyres for Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, although there is no consensus on this use (D'Ambra 307).

In conclusion, by analyzing and recreating the Roman imperial funeral from start to finish, it can be seen that it was a spectacle and cultural tradition more than a funeral for the late emperor. The symbolism of reversing the triumphal route combined with the burning of a monumental pyre established the immortality of the recently deceased emperor. It also invoked the historicity of the triumphal route, blending the Imperial traditions with those of the Republic. The event also was the first event under the new emperor, establishing his position and power in the empire.

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**The Papyrus Containing
the Second Story of Khaemwaset Setne (or Setne II)**
by *Hamed Eghbal*

Part I: Introduction and Object Description:

The writing on the papyrus dates to the second half of the 2nd century A.D., during the Roman rule in Egypt¹. The manuscript was purchased in 1885 from the Aswan region and is currently located at the British Museum as Papyrus EA10822,1. The story is written on the back of two papyri attached together, which contain a Greek text on the front. The first column of the story is missing, leaving us the remaining 7. However, there is no way to be certain how many columns have been missing since they are not numbered. The story is in prose and it is written in Demotic, which was a form of writing used from 7th century B.C. until the 5th century A.D. in Egypt, and the name was coined by Herodotus meaning “popular.” However, the Egyptian name for this form of inscription meant “letter writing,”² pointing to the different application of the text rather than its popularity. The text descended from Egyptian hieroglyphs and it is an abbreviated form of the logograms, and the writing style uses ligatures to connect various words together. This paper will look into the background and the story of the manuscript, in addition to the evolution of Egyptian literature since the Old Kingdom. The paper will also try to illustrate that even though there are some elements of Greek mythology within this story, the story at its core is very much Egyptian, and that the Greek rule over Egypt did not influence the crux of Egyptian literature and storytelling.

The story of Khaemwaset Setne is in two parts: Setne I and Setne II³. The Setne II story, written on the verso of Papyrus EA10822,1, contains two separate stories with Khaemwaset’s son, Si-Osiri, as the main character rather than Khaemwaset himself who was the

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focus in Setne

¹ Woods 2006, ² Daniels 1996, 82 ³ Lichtheim 2006c, 125-126

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I. Setne I dates back to the Ptolemaic period with 4 pages of the story surviving, and it is located at the Cairo Museum. The story is written very carefully with no misspellings or grammatical problems. However, Setne II is written very carelessly and is full of grammatical errors, misspellings, and omissions⁴. The language of Setne II is something in between New Egyptian and Coptic⁵. It is linguistically as close to the 12th century B.C. New Egyptian as it is to the Biblical Coptic of the 4th century A.D.

Khaemwaset Setne was either the 12th or the 4th son of Rameses II⁶. Khaemwaset's name is literally translated to "manifestation in Thebes"⁷. He was a scholar and the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis and one of the most well-known sons of Rameses II⁸. He is also sometimes regarded as the first Egyptologist due to his interest in restoring and conserving older Egyptian monuments. After his death, his reputation survived and he was regarded as a great magician in later mythological stories. The name Setne, or Stn, originates from the title Sm, which was used during the Old and Middle Kingdoms to refer to the role of the High Priest of Memphis⁹. In the stories Setne I and II, the title Setne is used as Khaemwaset's personal name.

The first part of the Setne II story, revolving mostly around Khaemwaset's son, Si-Osiri, tells the tale of how Si-Osiri was born¹⁰. His mother, Setne's wife, receives a dream telling her to make a melon vine into medicine, and then later consume the

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medicine with water. This would help her bear a child. After Si-Osiri's birth, his potential for becoming a great scholar is seen by Setne and he is put through school to become a scribe. One day Setne sees two dead men, one

⁴ Woods 2006, 2; Lichtheim 2006c, 125 ⁵ Griffith 1900, 70 ⁶ The confusion is due to the number of children Rameses II had from his wives. Therefore, it depends which wives are considered legitimate by which scholar. Woods (2006, 1) seems to think Khaemwaset is Rameses's 12th son, whereas Lichtheim (2006c, 125) considers him the 4th son. ⁷ Griffith 1900, 2 ⁸ Tyldesley 2001, 153-156 ⁹ Woods 2006, 1-2 ¹⁰ Lichtheim 2006c, 138-142

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poor and one rich, being taken out of the city to get buried. He assumes that the rich man would be happier in the afterlife than the poor person. However, Si-Osiri tells his father that that is far from the truth, and takes his hand and guides him to the west and into the netherworld. Setne first witnesses scenes of people being tortured in different ways. The two then enter the hall of the gods where the good and bad deeds of people entering the afterlife got weighed again each other. There, Setne sees the poor man in a rich man's clothing approaching the gods. Si-Orisi says that the poor man's good deeds have made his life in the afterlife a good one; however, the same cannot be said about the rich man since he is being tortured in the netherworld due to his misdeeds.

The second part of the Setne II story focuses on a Nubian chieftain entering Egypt and challenging the Egyptians to find a scribe who can read a sealed manuscript he was carrying without breaking the

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seal¹¹. The Pharaoh, Rameses II, summons his son Setne to find a solution to the problem. Si-Osiri hears about the problem and tells his father that he is able to read the sealed message without opening it. He is then placed in a royal court with the Nubian chieftain while the Pharaoh, Setne, and other Egyptian royals observed. Si-Osiri starts to read the manuscript. It told the story of a Nubian ruler who commands his sorcerer named Horus-son-of-a-Nubian-woman to humiliate the Egyptian Pharaoh. The sorcerer uses his magic to bring the Pharaoh to Nubia. He then uses his magic to beat the pharaoh with 500 blows of stick in public and then returns him back to Egypt. The Pharaoh summons his magician Horus-son-of-Paneshe to prevent this humiliation from happening again. After receiving a dream from Thoth, the god of magic, telling Horus-son-of-Paneshe what he needs to do, he creates a spell to protect the Pharaoh. He also uses his magic to do the same humiliation to the Nubian ruler. This forces the

¹¹ Lichtheim 2006c, 142-151

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Nubian sorcerer to travel to Egypt to confront Horus-son-of-Paneshe and the two engage in battle using their magic. Horus-son-of-a-Nubian-woman is defeated, and swears that he won't visit the land of Egypt for 1500 years. Si-Osiri then reveals to the Pharaoh and Setne that the chieftain in front of them is Horus-son-of-a-Nubian-woman who has come back to Egypt after 1500 years. He also reveals that he, Si-Osiri, is the reincarnation of Horus-son-of-Paneshe who has come back to life through Setne's wife using a melon vine in order to stop Horus-son-of-a-Nubian-woman again. He then defeats the Nubian sorcerer and disappears.

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Part II: Relation of Setne II with Past Egyptian Literature and Greek Influences:

For the majority of the Old Kingdom, the Egyptian religion had a major emphasis on the role of the pharaoh in the afterlife, which meant that people wanted to be as close to the pharaoh as possible to receive the best afterlife. Inscriptions in private tombs of Ni-sedjer-kai, Hetep-her- akhet, or Ni-hebsed-Pepy can be great examples for showing the pharaoh's importance¹². These inscriptions mention the individual's connection to the pharaoh and the fact that the pharaoh offered a tomb or sarcophagus to that individual. This shows the importance of connecting yourself to the pharaoh for a better afterlife. This importance does not survive, and by the New Kingdom everyone was able to purchase The Book of the Dead, which allowed any individual, regardless of their connection to the king, to enter the afterlife and have the ability to get resurrected¹³. However, one still needed to purchase the Book of the Dead, which meant that some sort of wealth or money to acquire it was necessary. In the first part of Setne II, however, not only the role of the king has completely vanished with regards to the afterlife, but the wealth of an individual seems not to be important at all. This further democratization of the afterlife is evident from the poor dead man's entrance to the realm of the gods based solely on his good

¹² Lichtheim 2006a, 15-18 ¹³ Lichtheim 2006b, 119-132

deeds, not because of knowing the names of the gods by reading the Book of the Dead. Also, previously, if a person had enough

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money, there was always a way for him/her to be resurrected in the afterlife; but Setne II displays a shift in that belief since the old rich man gets tortured in the netherworld. Another difference between the first part of Setne II and the Book of the Dead can be observed by the lack of weighing the heart against maat¹⁴, which was the main component of the Book of the Dead and the New Kingdom's belief system. However, it could also be interpreted that this process gave its place to the weighing of good and bad deeds against each other.

Setne II also displays some elements that have their roots in much older Egyptian beliefs, such as the belief that the afterlife is just a continuation of this world. Si-Osiri explains the torture scenes which his dad witnesses as people continuing their same lives on Earth in the afterlife¹⁵. Some of these tortured people were braiding ropes, but their ropes ended up being eaten by donkeys. Si-Osiri explained that they were people whose wives spent everything that they earned behind their backs. Other tortured individuals could not reach their food provisions that were located on top of them. This was due to a hole that was being constantly dug underneath them. Si-Osiri pointed out that these were people who had their livelihood in front of them on earth, but were cursed by the gods and could never reach them.

It should be mentioned that the torture scenes above are not known to be Egyptian, and it can be argued that they are an influence of Greek mythology¹⁶. The people who were unable to reach for their food provisions remind the reader of the story of Tantalus and how he was unable

¹⁴ “The central concept of Egyptian cosmology and ethics was personified as the goddess Maat wearing an ostrich feather on her head. The word maat can mean truth, righteousness, order,

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balance, and cosmic law. ... In the afterlife, the dead were judged on whether they had done and spoken maat.” (Pinch 2002, 159) “[J]udging of the deceased also involved ... a balance scale holding the deceased heart on one side and a feather on the other.” (Remler 2010, 112)

¹⁵ Lichtheim 2006c, 141 ¹⁶ Woods 2006, 3-4; Lichtheim 2006c, 126

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to reach the same goal. Also, the people whose newly made ropes were being eaten by donkeys is a motif from the story of Oknos, since his donkey did the same to him in the underworld. The journey of Setne to the underworld can also allude to the journey of Orpheus, since he is a living human visiting the underworld.

However, Setne II is at its core still a purely Egyptian story¹⁷. Some of the elements of Setne II can be observed in previous works of literature. One of these elements is the continuation of using “brother” and “sister” as terms of affection between lovers. In Setne II, Setne and his wife call each other by those names, which is a feature that can be observed in previous works of Egyptian literature, such as the Love Poems, which dates back to the New Kingdom¹⁸.

In the second part of the story, Horus-son-of-Paneshe and Horus-son-of-a-Nubian-woman have a magical battle which is performed in front of the Pharaoh. The performance of magic in front of a pharaoh has been done before in Egyptian literature. The Papyrus Westcar features the story of one of King Khufu’s sons presenting a magician to his father who is able to decapitate animals and

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resurrect them¹⁹. The papyrus dates back to the Hyksos period but tells an Old Kingdom tale.

One of the other main and more prominent elements of Setne II's storytelling is featured in its second part. This feature is the element of story-within-a-story. It occurs when Si-Osiri reads the Nubian sorcerer's manuscript. From there, the story shifts into another time, which is the world of 1500 years ago. This element can be found in some older pieces of Egyptian literature as well, including the aforementioned Papyrus Westcar where another son of King

¹⁷ Woods 2006, 4 ¹⁸ Lichtheim 2006b, 181-196 ¹⁹ Lichtheim 2006a, 215-222

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Khufu tells him the story of King Snefru²⁰ setting out for a boat party. However, this feature is found more famously in The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor from the Middle Kingdom, which not only includes a story-within-a-story, but also a story-within-a-story-within-a-story²¹. It tells the tale of a worthy attendant telling his story about finding the island of Ka to the crew of a ship that failed in their mission. Within his story lies the story of a snake that lived on that island, narrated by the snake itself. Si-Osiri's reading of the manuscript is similar to when the worthy attendant is telling his story. However, Si-Osiri can be observed to go in and out of storytelling mode to deliver a few insults to the Nubian sorcerer, which is one of the differences between Setne II and Shipwrecked Sailor.

It should also be mentioned that both the Shipwrecked Sailor and

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the Papyrus Westcar are tales that feature the supernatural and wondrous events²². Similarly, in Setne II, magic is viewed as a very legitimate weapon and a great force. It is a feature that can be observed in various stages of Egyptian culture²³. Certainly that aspect of the Egyptian world has not changed by the time Setne II is written. Additionally, both stories in Setne II incorporate the element of divine guidance: Setne's wife learning how to get pregnant from the first story, and Horus-son-of-Peneshe learning Thoth's magic in his dream in the second story. This element of a god speaking and guiding someone in a dream is not necessarily new and can be traced back to Thutmose IV and his dream telling him to remove the sands from the Great Phoenix²⁴. Part III: Conclusion:

²⁰ King Khufu's father ²¹ Lichtheim 2006a, 211-215 ²² Lichtheim 2006a, 211 ²³ Lichtheim 2006b, 119 ²⁴ Griffith 1900, 11

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It is apparent from studying Egyptian pieces of literature from Greco-Roman times, such as Setne II, that the core of the Egyptian culture has not been lost, and that the piece still has some resemblance to earlier works of literature; such as having a story-within-a-story structure, or magic playing a significant role in the storytelling process. It is also interesting to witness the evolution of some aspects of literary works, such as the further democratization of afterlife so that even a poor man with no one to mourn him can join the gods. Such possibilities for the afterlife were unthinkable during the Old Kingdom.

Even though the Greek influences on this piece of literature were

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not particularly significant, they were quite compelling. In previous works of literature, an individual's ba²⁵ getting devoured in the afterlife could have been considered a grim scene, but illustrating the torture of individuals was never an Egyptian thing to do. The depressing realities of the underworld had mostly been reflected in Greek mythology. This Egyptian borrowing shows how foreign rulers can have an effect on Egyptian ways of thinking, even if those ways usually tend to be quite conservative and unwilling to change. Moreover, the influence of Greek mythology could also further explain the existence of two different views of the underworld²⁶. One is the underworld in which people's earthly lives continue, and one that contains judgment and punishment.

Finally, one thing that can be learned from studying this object, is that even with a foreign influence, a significant amount of cultural change does not come easily in a short period, and it requires a significant amount of time to evolve; similar to making the afterlife more accessible, which took its long course in order to change.

²⁵ “The ba is ... [a]t times ... a part of the soul of the deceased the person's spirit—and at other times it seemed to ²⁶

be the entire soul or the essence of the deceased.” (Remler 2010, 25)

Lichtheim 2006c, 116

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