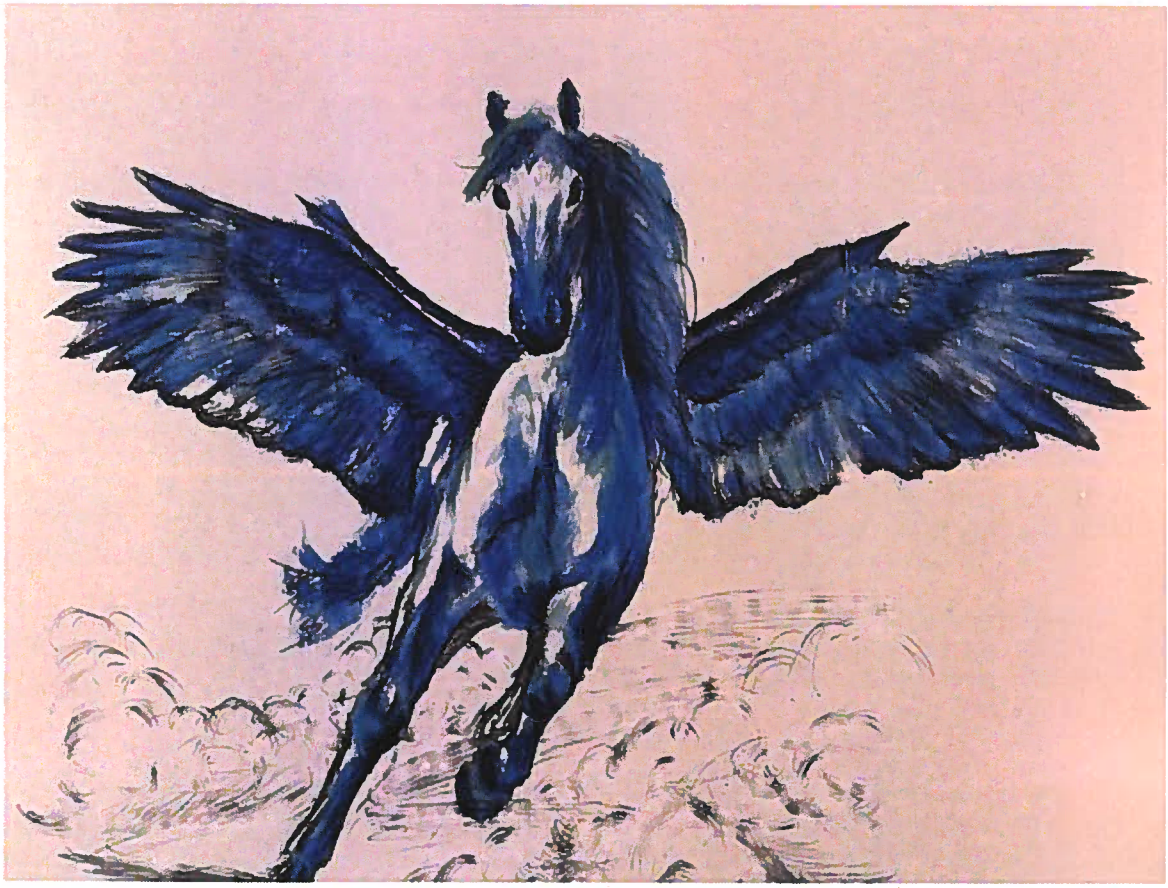

Pegasus

2016 | Issue 59

PEGASUS

The Journal of the Department of Classics and Ancient History in the University of Exeter

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Πρόλογος

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam Anni Domini MMXVI (A.U.C. 2769)

Albo signanda lapillo ante diem septimum Idus Iunias

Dixi. Ad meliora!

Isca Dumnoniorum, A.D. VII ID. IUN., MMXVI
E.G.

Editorial

This academic year sparked off some exceptional research projects in our department, and a one-of-a-kind scenario since I happened to be the sole PhD student commencing in September 2015. Despite the unconventional start, I was very warmly welcomed to Exeter's flourishing classical research community, and the legacy of Pegasus was soon handed down to me. Considering this sword of Damocles hanging over my head, I am all the more grateful that Pegasus and I could rely on the precious help of a fantastic collaborative team which took care with me of this current edition from its infancy. Accordingly, I would like to thank five outstanding MA students whose names you will find also as author's signatures inside this 2016 edition: Hanna Burke-Tomlinson, Amy Down, Kirsty Harrod, Alexander Roberts. A special thanks is also due to Elaine Sanderson for being the artistic creator of this year's high-flying front cover. Furthermore, I owe a debt of gratitude to two former editors of Pegasus, Taylor FitzGerald for her guidelines, and Sam Hayes for his generous engagement and for being a true *comes*, and to our departmental administrator Charlie Rushforth, for her reliable help also in very busy times.

This 59th issue is meant to be a picture of the thriving departmental life in Exeter in 2015-2016. Quoting Virgil: here *fervet opus* (Georg. IV, 169; Aen. I, 436). As you will find in the Department and Postgraduate News alike, I am proud to say that the House of Pegasus is the home of a resourceful community which truly celebrates the very original meaning of ἱστορία, *historia* with the every-day work of its staff, and with its various social and academic opportunities. The members of the department's commitment to Classics has been well acknowledged by both their teaching and their endeavour to draw on ancient ideas for addressing modern issues.

What is more, the sporting news by A. Roberts clearly shows that students of Classics and Ancient History in Exeter live Juvenal's motto *mens sana in corpore sano.*

Inside the journal you will discover the sections commenting on past conferences (by Paul Martin) and advertising upcoming events. More information about past and scheduled conferences can be found on our website: www.humanities.exeter.ac.uk./classics/research/conferences. In addition, I am plaesed to offer two articles by Irene Calà, postdoctoral researcher at the CNRS-UMR 8167 'Orient et Méditerranée'; and by Taylor FitzGerald, a second-year PhD candidate in our department. Dr Paola Bassino with Andrea Argenti, Sam Hayes and Paul Martin talk about their extra-curricular seminar on textual criticism. Amy Down reviewed for us two theatrical productions of the *Odyssey.* Dr. Fiona Cox, as a seminal expert on Classical reception at the Department of Modern Languages in Exeter, reviewed the latest publication of Prof. Rebecca Langlands, member of our Department, and Prof. Kate Fisher, from the History Department in Exeter, providing us with a seminal scholarly standpoint along with MA student H. Burke-Tomlison's review of the same book. The literary versatile talent of our young generations of students is best showcased by the winning entries of this year's Lawrence Shenfied Prize and Creative Corner. *Dulcis in fundo*, I am delighted, and indeed very grateful, to salute John Wilkins' long and fruitful commitment to the department with a brief *mémoire* of his years in Exeter.

I would like to take this opportunity to extend to all authors who have contributed to create this 2016 edition my sincerest thanks and deep appreciation.

Pegaus 59 bids farewell to its readers with an ode to the freedom of thought, *Die Gedanken sind frei*, already expressed by Cicero: *liberae sunt* [..] *nostrae cogitationes* (*Pro Milone, XXIX,* 79), which is as much needed as enjoyable in this very historical period of ours.

Exeter, 7th of June, 2016
Elisa Groff
Chief Editor, 2015-2016

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Exeter, 7th of June, 2016
Elisa Groff
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From the Head of the Department

Ex Cathedra

The 2015/16 year has seen much change in the department. John Wilkins and David Braund both retired over the summer. They represented the last of the heroic generation that, building on Peter Wiseman's achievements, brought our department to greatness and to international standing. They, their learning and their guidance are sorely missed.

Happier to report on is the influx of new blood. At the beginning of the academic year four new younger colleagues joined us on a fixed-term basis, Chris Siwicki, Paola Bassino, Nicolò D'Alconzo and Michael Hanaghan: we salute the commitment they have all given to their teaching and to the department. Since then we have been able to welcome a further three new colleagues on a permanent basis. Katharine Earnshaw, a Latin Literature specialist, joined us from Oxford with the New Year. Over the next summer we will be joined by Katherine McDonald from Cambridge, a Comparative Philology specialist. It is a rare and thrilling thing for us to be able to appoint a new chair from outside the department, and we are delighted that over next summer also the distinguished Neville Morley will be coming to us from Bristol, where he is already a professor of several years' standing. He has diverse specialisms in the Roman economy and the reception of Thucydides.

The department is also changing in terms of the ways it organises itself for research purposes. This year has seen the vigorous launches of two new Research Centres: the Centre for Connectivity in the Roman World, under the directorship of Martin Pitts, and the Centre for Knowledge in Culture in Antiquity and Beyond, under the directorship of Rebecca Langlands. Both centres draw in significant numbers of us (including our new colleagues) and promise to serve as platforms for much exciting collaborative research.

The life of the department has been enriched by international visitors. Our ever-strengthening relationship with Brown (the Ivy League institution in Providence, R.I.) has been realised in week-long visits from two distinguished members of its Classics Dept., John Bodel and Johanna Hanink. Two Australia-based scholars, Sarah Lawrence of UNE and Kit Morrell of Sydney, came to share their work on Valerius Maximus with us. Dámaris Romero of Cordoba worked with us for several months on her 'Ghosts in Plutarch' project.

Some fine PhD theses have been completed in the department over the last twelve months. Over the last summer our new colleague Chris Siwicki completed his thesis on 'Architectural Restoration and the Concept of Built Heritage in Imperial Rome'; Matt Skuse, now doing great things at the British School at Athens, completed his on 'Greek Interactions with Egyptian Material Culture during the Archaic Period'; and Jasmine Hunter-Evans completed hers on 'David Jones and Rome: reimagining the decline of western civilisation.' In recent months we have seen the completion of two theses on the afterlife of Alexander the Great: Christian Djurslev wrote on 'The Christian Alexander - The Uses of Alexander the Great in Early Christian Literature', whilst Haila Manteghi wrote on 'The *Alexander Romance* in Persian Tradition: Its Influence on Persian History, Epic and Storytelling.' There has been notable success for one of our earlier PhD graduates too: I am very happy to report that Gillian Ramsey (who took her PhD with us in 2009) has secured a permanent job at the University of Regina in Canada.

Once again we did very well in the Guild's annual Teaching Awards. The department as a whole was runner-up for 'Best Research Community', Rebecca Langlands was nominated for 'Best Feedback Provider', Sam Hayes was runner-up for 'Best GTA' and Chris Farrell won in the category of 'Most Supportive Staff Member.' Well done all.

Finally, congratulations to two of our colleagues for winning prestigious fellowships for next year: Claire Holleran has a Leverhulme Research Fellowship to pursue her project 'Mapping Migration in Roman Iberia' (we congratulate her too on her promotion to Senior Lecturer), whilst Filipo Carlà has won a fellowship in the 'Internationales Kolleg Morphomata: Genese, Dynamik und Medialität kultureller Figurationen' at the University of Cologne to pursue his project 'A Cultural History of Capital Punishment in Graeco-Roman Antiquity.'

Daniel Ogden
Head of Department

Postgraduate News

This year has been another vibrant one for our postgraduate community, which I am glad to say is still thriving both academically and socially. At home our Latin/Greek reading group has analysed texts from varying authors in prose and verse, and recently we began extended readings of both Ovid's *Ibis* and a recension of the anonymous Greek *Life of Aesop*. This year's postgraduate research seminar series, co-chaired by myself and Taylor Fitzgerald and rebranded under the acronym "ExeWiP" (Exeter Work-in-Progress), has offered all of our current PhD students a chance to share their research, as well as including a few MA sessions to further involve our Postgraduate Taught students. We were also lucky enough to make a successful bid for a combined fund split between the College of Humanities and our Department to invite three visiting postgraduate speakers over the course of the year: Kate Cook from Reading, Miriam Hay from Warwick, and Guy Kirkham-Smith from Birmingham. Our overall aim is to develop ExeWiP as a platform for PhD students from across the country (especially the South-West) to showcase their developing research. Two of our third year PhD students, Maria Kneafsey and Paul Martin, also presented their research as part of the larger departmental seminar series.

But Exeter's postgraduates are not content to stay in Devon all year round! As well as attending numerous conferences around the world (Madeira, Madrid, Zürich, and Dublin are but four places to have accepted papers from our cohort this year), we also sent a strong contingent of speakers to the annual Classical Association conference in Edinburgh: Maria Gisella Gianone, Sam Hayes, Paul Martin, and Andrew Worley all presented their current research. Visiting Germany also seems to be a trend for PhD students at Exeter at the moment, and three of our body have elected to spend time this summer at various leading

institutions. As I write Christian Djurslev is at Kiel, Taylor FitzGerald is at Frankfurt, and Paul Martin is about to spend a few months at Freiburg to take part in the Greek Comedy project there. All in all this has been another fantastic year for the postgraduate community, which is one of the many factors that makes the University of Exeter a wonderful institution to study Classics.

Sam A. Hayes

New PhD Projects

Elisa Groff (eg371@exeter.ac.uk)

This project arises out of my academic background and my training in sexual and reproductive health (WHO). The idea that came to me, since I am an ancient historian and a human osteologist, was to put the issue of sexual and reproductive health (SRH) into an historical perspective. Hence, the project seeks to explore what impact the social and moral changes brought about by the arrival of Christianity had on medical approaches to female sexuality in Antiquity by engaging in a nuanced dialogue of medical, hagiographical and legal texts. It applies a comparative approach by looking at late antique attitudes to SRH in relation to classical Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. It aims in particular to explore the conceptualization of the female sexual and reproductive body, and the medical as well as religious responses to functions and dysfunctions of the female reproductive system.

Fertility, sterility, sexual rights are all key issues resonating with modern public debates of all sorts: they affect today different parts of the world and different gender categories. This piece of research aims to lend new perspectives to the history of ancient SRH, likewise its evolution in later times by developing a new understanding of this phenomenon. This will unfold new paths for seminal research and teaching, and it will open more discussion to explore these themes with non-academic groups as well.

Antonio Leonardis (al498@exeter.ac.uk)

My research focuses on settlements dating to the pre-Roman period found in south-east Italy, in the modern region of Puglia. I am interested in the development of these settlements, some dating to the Bronze Age continuing into the Iron Age, through the Archaic and Classical eras and then flourishing in the Hellenistic period. The time frame for my research is from approximately 700-400 BC, during which it is unclear who or what kind of people lived in these settlements during this time. The settlements are found in the Salento region of modern Puglia, in the vicinity of the cities Brindisi, Lecce and Taranto. I am focusing on selected settlements from the north, central and southern regions of the Salento including Cavallino, Roca Vecchia in the central region, Oria and Muro Tenente to the north and Muro Leccese and Vaste to the south. I am currently in the process of studying particular elements of the settlement of Cavallino, focusing on burials in relation to the habitation areas and

fortification walls of the settlement. I will then continue with a similar approach at Muro Leccese and Roca Vecchia. My research explores the nature of the Greek influence on these settlements, and the extent to which any patterns emerge revealing specific elements of any aspect of the pre-Roman, or Italic culture expressed in the material studied. I am exploring whether there is any evidence for connections between these settlements, possibly revealing a wider, common culture, unified by language, as well as social, political and sacred or ritual practice.

MA Theses 2014-2015

Jack Atkins	Developments in the art of political invective; the lasting legacy of Cicero throughout the changing political and legal climate/scene of the 1st Century AD into Late Antiquity. A tradition that inevitably resists deviation?
Caitlin Austin	Elitism in the Plays and Fragments of Old Comedy.
Annable Barr	Personal Safety in the Late Republic.
Leon Cauchois	Maidens and Monsters: Identifying Classical Receptions in the Independent works of Gustave Dore
Hannah Crane	A Transformative Narrative: The Intersection of Religion and Philosophy in Apuleius' Metamorphoses and C.S.Lewis' Till We Have Faces.
Philip Diaz-Lewis	To What Extent Did Ancient Precepts Influence the Performance Aspect of Oratory between 1600 and 1800.
Natasha Furey	The use of senses within the poetry of Sappho and Catullus
Eleanor Jesson	The 'Ideal' Novel and Lovesickness: A study of Chariton, Achilles Tatius, and Longus.
James Lloyd	Cult Musicians and Cult Musicking in Archaic and Classical Greece: Slaves or Citizens? A Study of the Visual Evidence.
Jessica Ramsey	Galen and Gastronomy: an Analytic Study into Ancient Concepts of Nutrition and the Importance of Diet in a Modern Context.
Joanna Smart	Water and Otium: the extent of their relationship in Ancient Rome.

Staff News

Paola Bassino (p.bassino@exeter.ac.uk)

This year in Exeter has been very exciting and productive. The volume I am co-editing (*Conflict and Consensus in Early Greek Hexameter Poetry*) is now completed, and will be published in the next few months by Cambridge University Press. I have also made good progress on my monograph on the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, and I expect to get it published by next year with DeGruyter. I presented my research to various audiences. I gave a paper in Oxford on the tradition of the contest between Homer and Hesiod, one here in Exeter on a manuscript witness of the *Certamen* I recently discovered, and one in Bologna on the ancient exegesis to Hesiod's *Works and Days*. In March, I had the exciting opportunity to lead a series of graduate seminars on textual criticism here in Exeter, which allowed me to get to know more about the fantastic research activity that our PhD students are carrying out. Finally, again in March I discussed the Homeric biographical tradition with a committed group of sixth-formers at St Anne's Calne.

Barbara E Borg (b.e.borg@exeter.ac.uk)

Last year, my Blackwell Companion to Roman Art (Wiley-Blackwell 2015) has finally come out. Over the year, I have continued my research on Roman tombs and burial customs. I have submitted three papers to edited volumes on key issues of how to interpret images from funerary contexts, and almost finished a monograph that is based on my Carl Newell Jackson Lectures at Harvard in April 2015. It focusses on four themes around second-century funerary customs: senatorial mortuary customs, the change from incineration to inhumation, the importance of the *gens* and the family/*familia* in the use of tombs, and divine associations. I have also started on a new project, generously funded by a three-year Leverhulme Major Research fellowship, "Mapping the social history of Rome: a micro-historical approach to the Roman suburbium." This project will hopefully break new ground by making a substantial contribution to the social history of Rome through a novel approach: a micro-history of an area roughly covering four square miles along the first part of the via Appia (first century BC to fourth century AD). By exploring the varied, closely interconnected, and changing uses of land in a key area of the suburbium of the ancient mega-city of Rome, it aims at a better understanding of the changing activities and interactions between different social, economic, ethnic, and religious groups, not only in this area but in Roman society more generally.

Filippo Carlà (F.F.Carla@exeter.ac.uk)

My research is currently focusing mostly on the reception of the ancient world in modern popular culture. In particular, I concentrate on the one side on the use of Antiquity in creating national identities in the 19th – 21st century and in political discourse, on the other side on the presence of the Greek and Roman world in modern (and postmodern) entertainment industry. I published articles and book chapters on the uses of history, and particularly of ancient history, in theme parks, and I am currently writing a book on Ancient Greece in Theme Parks, which

will appear for Bloomsbury. In November I also organized an impact event with the Exeter Library: in the context of the Being Human Festival we "simulated" a theme park inspired by Roman Exeter, the IscaPark, and we had over 700 visitors! In parallel, I did not abandon my more "traditional" research in the field of ancient history: I just finished editing a collective volume on cross-dressing in Antiquity, which will be published by Routledge by the end of the year, and I am developing a big project on death penalty in the Greek and Roman world – with this project I could get a research grant of the Morphomata Kolleg at the University of Cologne, which allows me to have a research leave for the academic year 2016-2017 and to start developing this exciting new project!

Richard Flower (R.Flower@exeter.ac.uk)

During the last year, I have been on research leave, working on my AHRC-funded project entitled Cataloguing Damnation, which looks at the growth of late-antique Christian heresiology. The bulk of my time has been spent on writing a monograph on this subject, which explores how heresiologists engaged with the conventions of ancient technical literature in order to present both themselves and their writings as reliable and authoritative. Starting in the late fourth century with the monumental Panarion of Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis on Cyprus, I am then also tracing the ways in which different authors engaged with the works of their predecessors and contemporaries to produce their own idiosyncratic conceptions of the form and function of heresiology. During my period of leave, I have also been travelling quite a lot to give conference and seminar papers in a variety of different locations, including Oxford, Cambridge, Bristol, Leeds, Ghent, Chicago, Iowa and Kyoto. I have enjoyed having the opportunity to present my work and discuss it with so many different and interesting groups of people, but I am also looking forward to settling back into the rhythm of teaching when I return from leave in September 2016.

Michael Hanaghan
(M.P.Hanaghan@exeter.ac.uk)

This year I have been finishing my monograph project which applies narratology and epistolary theory to the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris. I gave papers drawn from this project at the Institute for Classical Studies in London, the 146th meeting of the Society for Classical Studies in San Francisco, and in the department seminar series. Four projects have kept me busy: an article length study on an excursus of Ammianus Marcellinus (*Hermes*), an analysis of a vignette in one of Sidonius' panegyrics (*Mnemosyne*), a reading of the temporality (or lack thereof) of Seneca's epistles (*Latomus*), and a paper on the gaze in the Constantinian panegyrics which I gave recently in St. Andrews at the *Panegyrici Latini* Project workshop "Praising Constantine." (*Forthcoming*) I also participated in an experimental Latin literature workshop at Cambridge called "The Fixed Handout."

Claire Holleran
(C.Holleran@exeter.ac.uk)

Over the course of this academic year, I have continued work on three book projects, which include a monograph on work in-the city of Rome, and two edited collections, one with Amanda Claridge, *A Companion to the City of Rome* (Wiley-

Blackwell, forthcoming) and one with Paul Erdkamp, *Diet and Nutrition in the Ancient World* (Routledge, forthcoming). In March I was awarded a Leverhulme Research Fellowship for a major new project 'Mapping Migration in Roman Iberia', exploring population movement in Roman Spain and Portugal, and building on a recently-published paper about labour migration in the region, 'Labour mobility in the Roman world: the case of the Spanish mines', in L. DeLigt and L. Tacoma (eds.), *Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire* (Brill: Leiden, 2016), 95-137. The Fellowship will begin in September 2016 and is linked to the newly-launched *Centre for Connectivity in the Roman World*, of which I am co-director. I wrote a substantial new entry on shops and shopping for the new digital edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, and in January presented at the Second North American Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy in Berkeley and attended the annual conference of the American Society for Classical Studies. I presented a series of videos on key topics such as Augustus, freedmen, working women, and Roman law for the Cambridge Schools Classics Project, filming in both the UK and Italy, and gave a paper on the rediscovery of Pompeii at the JACT Latin Summer School. In April, I was promoted to Senior Lecturer.

Elena Isayev (e.isayev@exeter.ac.uk)

Highlights have been Christopher Siwicki completing his PhD on *Architectural Restoration and the Concept of Built Heritage in Imperial Rome,* and reading Livy and Cicero on ideas of home and *patria* in refugee camps in Palestine, through *Campus in Camps*, and with refugees in Calais. Otherwise I have been investigating how to understand ancient settlements without Public spaces, with papers in Paris and Rome. Continuing my work on migration I have given a number of papers to both academic and public audiences, challenging our idea of prevailing conceptions of a natural tie to the land and a demographically settled world. I am back in Norway this year for a workshop on *The View from the Edges of the Earth,* with artists and law makers, on issues of territoriality, which will be held at the Arctic edge of the earth in Svalbard. Some publications have appeared including the chapter on Pre-Roman Italy in a volume edited by A. Cooley on *Roman Italy.* I have also begun my next project on *Between Hospitality and Asylum: from Homer to Kant and the UN.*

Daniel King (D.King@exeter.ac.uk)

This year has been something of a busy year, which has seen a number of projects move forward. After a successful conference on Diet and Health in the Roman World (held in September at the University of Exeter), Erica Rowan and I have been working on developing an edited volume from the papers. This volume will present different papers on the relationship between Greek medicine, concepts of diet, and health and their importance in the Roman world and, we hope, will be published with OUP in the near future. I have been working, as well, on completing a volume on Hellenism in the eastern Mediterranean with a former Exeter colleague, Boris Chrubasik (now at Toronto). Finally, I have been finalising my monograph, *Experiencing Pain*, which will be completed over the summer. This monograph provides a type of 'thick' cultural history of the experience of pain in

Greek culture under the Roman world, exploring how pain is understood and conceptualised in medicine, as well as literary, rhetorical, and philosophical contexts.

Rebecca Langlands
(r.langlands@exeter.ac.uk)

This year saw the publication of *Sex, Knowledge and Receptions of the Past* (OUP), an interdisciplinary volume that I co-edited with my long-term partner-in-crime, Kate Fisher from the History department, (which included our article "Bestiality in the Bay of Naples" – a study of the infamous statue from Herculaneum of Pan having sex with a goat). We marked the event with an enjoyable launch party held in the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in town, where we also launched two new ventures. The first is the interdisciplinary *Sexual Knowledge Unit*, which takes forward my collaboration with colleagues elsewhere in the university. The second is a new Centre based in the Classics department, *Centre for Knowledge in Culture in Antiquity and Beyond*, brings together the expertise of a number of colleagues who work on ancient bodies of knowledge such as medicine, science and the scientific imagination, technical literatures; we hope will spark off some exciting new collaborations. This June I am hosting a conference *Literary and Cultural Interactions in the Roman Empire: 96-235*, the fourth in the series of conferences under the umbrella of the LINTH project (Literary Interactions in the Age of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian). I hardly dare confess that I am *still* working on my monograph about Roman exempla that I began in 2012 and have been "finishing" for a couple of years now (*Exemplary Ethics in Ancient Rome*) but I am very much hoping to submit this summer – books take a long time to write, especially when there is so much else going on…!

David Leith (D.B.Leith@exeter.ac.uk)

My research has continued to focus on Hellenistic medicine this past year. I gave a paper at the XVth Hippocratic Colloquium in Manchester in October, on the Hippocratic commentaries of the late Hellenistic doctor Asclepiades of Bithynia. A couple of articles appeared on the doctors Herophilus of Chalcedon and Erasistratus of Ceos, in *Phronesis* and *Apeiron*. In July last year, I co-organised, with Sean Coughlin and Orly Lewis, a conference at TOPOI in Berlin, which focused on the ways in which the substance of pneuma was used in various philosophical and medical theories in the wake of Aristotle. At the moment, I am working on a paper for the *Symposium Hellenisticum* in Utrecht this July, which will explore some of the ways that the discovery of the nervous system in 3rd century BC Alexandria influenced contemporary debates about the mind and its interaction with the body, and I was able to test out some preliminary thoughts on the topic on a friendly audience in Cardiff in February. I'm also very much looking forward to beginning my first term as a Lecturer in the Department this September.

Lynette Mitchell
(l.g.mitchell@exeter.ac.uk)

Most of my research activity has been centred around my monograph on Cyrus the Great. In particular, the work I've been doing considers the reception of the stories of his death in the Latin West in the early Medieval period (that is after the fall of

Rome, but before Greek texts were recovered in western Europe in the 1420s). This will be the final chapter of the monograph (though it is the one I've written first!), and the point is to show how although a dominant narrative about Cyrus was reached the story that was told tells us more about the development of a historiographical tradition than about what Cyrus did or what happened to him.

The other major piece of work completed this year takes Aristotle's comments about history being about what Alcibiades did or what happened to him as a starting point for arguing that the early Greek historians, and Thucydides in particular, had wider interests than just narrating events. Thucydides is using historical narrative to make political points about some of the pressing issues of his day: what is democracy, how is it different from oligarchy, and who is best to rule. This article was published in a special edition of *Polis: The Journal for Greek Political Thought*.

Daniel Ogden (d.ogden@exeter.ac.uk)

I took over as Head of Department shortly after the publication of last year's *Pegasus*, and this has had the predictable effect of largely extinguishing my research. Before the shutters came down, however, I completed another substantial piece on dragons, 'The birth of the Medieval dragon' (ca. 25,000 words), for a volume proceeding from a short conference in UCLA last year, probably to appear with Brepols. Since then, more in theory than in practice, I have been revising my monograph on *The Legend of Seleucus* for publication with CUP, and attempting to get *The Oxford Handbook to Heracles* off the ground. It may be some time before I can return to my inchoate monograph on Philip II.

Martin Pitts (m.e.j.pitts@exeter.ac.uk)

This year I have begun a new project, 'Barbarian societies and mass consumption. Cultural mélange in the early Roman West'. Through the analysis of standardised objects in motion (e.g. pottery and fibulae) and their impacts on local communities, this project addresses the big picture of cultural changes that accompanied Roman expansion in NW Europe, 100 BCE – 100 CE. To this end I have recently completed a database of objects from over 3000 graves from Belgica, Britannia and Germania (plus equivalent settlement contexts). The ongoing AHRC network 'Big Data on the Roman table' with Pim Allison (Leicester), will hold its second workshop in Exeter in July. The aim of the network is to develop fresh approaches to the wealth of artefactual evidence for eating and drinking (especially pottery) in the Roman world. I have also been finishing a new edited volume (with Astrid Van Oyen, Cornell University), *Materialising Roman Histories. Beyond Instrumentalism and Representation* (for Oxbow, 2016), which arises from the 2015 Laurence seminar (Faculty of Classics, Cambridge). This book considers new theoretical and methodological approaches in Roman archaeology following the recent 'material turn' in archaeology, anthropology, and related disciplines.

Christopher Siwicki
(css210@exeter.ac.uk)

Although this is my first year as a lecturer in the department I am no stranger to Exeter, having previously been a student here. My current research revolves around ideas of architecture in Roman society and

I am interested in trying to understand how people in antiquity thought about the buildings that surrounded them. This summer I'm presenting aspects of this research at conferences in Holland, Finland and the UK. I am also very interested in perceptions of old buildings and examining how historic structures were treated in the past. A monograph on this subject is forthcoming (*Rebuilding Rome: Architectural Restoration and the Concept of Heritage in Roman Society*) and I'm co-organising a workshop on ideas of heritage and materiality with colleagues at the university.

Matthew Wright (m.wright@ex.ac.uk)

In the last issue of *Pegasus* I expressed the hope that I would finish *The Lost Plays of Greek Tragedy* by the end of the year. In fact, this book kept getting longer and longer, and so eventually I decided to publish it in two halves. *Volume I: Neglected Authors* will be out later this year, and I am still working on the second volume (which will deal with the remains of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides). Also appearing later in 2016 will be *Selfhood and the Soul,* a volume of essays in honour of Chris Gill (co-edited with Richard Seaford and John Wilkins) and a new translation of Euripides' *Ion, Helen* and *Orestes* by Diane Arnson Svarlien, to which I contributed the introduction and commentary. Meanwhile I have spent much of this year organizing a conference on 'Classical Literature and Quotation Culture', which will take place in late July: a group of scholars from all over the world will congregate in the cloisters of Exeter Cathedral and spend a couple of days discussing the various fascinating ways in which classical authors quote one another.

More information about the rest of our staff and their current research can be found on the departmental website here: https://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/classics/staff

Graduate Seminar in Textual Criticism: Wir Philologen

Paola Bassino with **Andrea Argenti, Sam Hayes, and Paul Martin**

Earlier this academic year, Andrea Argenti, who is currently in the second year of his PhD here at Exeter, asked for my opinion on a textually complicated passage he encountered during his research. As the conversation went on, we combined our philological and philosophical expertise to try to make sense of a remark made by Aristotle. Andrea had a great idea: why not open up the conversation to other PhD students who may also be interested in textual criticism, and want to share their research? The result was a wonderful series of seminars which saw the participation of Andrea Argenti, Sam Hayes, Paul Martin, and myself. We called it 'Wir Philologen', a name inspired by the title of a work by Nietzsche – who was a gifted philologist, before becoming the great philosopher we know.

Paola Bassino: I took the lead in the first seminar, and I gave a brief introduction to textual criticism. We reflected on how important it is to have an understanding of the manuscript tradition of a text when studying it. As one of the greatest editors of our times, the late Martin West, claimed with his usual sharpness, 'unfortunately, editors are not always people who can be trusted' (*Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique: Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts*, Stuttgart 1973, p. 9). Therefore, anyone who approaches an ancient text should be aware of its manuscript tradition, and consult the critical apparatus for variant readings and editorial interventions. We first looked at how ancient Greek and Roman works of literature have been transmitted across the ages, and talked about the production and circulation of books in antiquity and the Middle Ages. We also looked at the increasing availability of online resources, such as databases of digitised images of manuscripts, which have become indispensable tools for modern scholars. We then moved on to discuss theoretical principles and practice of textual criticism. Among the topics we tackled were the causes of textual discrepancy in the manuscripts, evaluation of variant readings, and evaluation of editorial emendations. Finally, we followed West's suggestion once again ('Once the basic principles have been apprehended, what is needed is observation and practice', *ibid.* p. 5), and we closed up the session with some practice. I provided a copy of a page of a manuscript on which I am currently working, and the existing critical editions of the text copied on it, and we had a great time trying to produce our very own critical edition of the first few lines. In the sessions that followed each of the participants presented a case study from their own research. Below are their reports, which show just how brilliant their research is. It was a real privilege for me to be part of such a stimulating seminar series.

Andrea Argenti: In chapters 10-11 of *Metaphysics* Z, Aristotle Aristotle asks what parts of an object are its definitional and metaphysical principles, i.e. its essence. The solution, he maintains, is in his analysis of objects in terms of matter and form: the formal parts of an object (e.g. the Letters of a Syllable) are stated in definitions, whereas its material parts are not (e.g. the Semicircles of a Circle). Since Aristotle constantly remarks that matter is nonetheless part, scholars debated whether the definition should include material parts for

some natural objects such as Animals (anti-formalists view) or be exclusively confined to form (formalist view). At 1035a 22-23 Aristotle establishes a condition under which matter is 'part'. However, a key sentence in the passage 'ἂν μὴ ᾖ τοῦ συνειλημμένου' has been considered a gloss by some editors. Since these words are transmitted by all manuscripts, the editorial choice was accepted by few interpreters. Two facts suggest that we should reconsider this: i) some recent work on the *Metaphysics* confirms the presence of supplements in every version of the text; ii) the overall conclusion about the question of Z.10-11 is built upon a distinction that does not correspond to the one at 1035a22-23. Therefore, it is reasonable to conjecture the presence of a non-Aristotelian remark added by some peripatetic teacher who was aware of the borderline case of natural objects and attempted to rephrase the text in order to make it clearer.

Sam Hayes: Unlike the other participants in the *Wir Philologen* workshop, my text (Martial's *Epigrams*) is blessed by a surprisingly healthy (and relatively simple) manuscript tradition. My readings for the workshop therefore focused on passages of the *Epigrams* in which academics have quibbled over various minor emendations. I placed particular emphasis on book 1's preface, in which Martial bids malicious interpreters not to write into or against his epigrams (*nec epigrammata mea inscribat*). All manuscripts offer the reading *scribat* here, but the scholarly emendation of *inscribat* is more compelling not only on grounds of the passage's rhythm (as Peter Howell notes in his commentary), but also because of the potential pun of someone inscribing their own interpretations into Martial's literary inscriptions ('epigram' is literally written [*-gramma*] on [*epi-*] something else, after all). A minor point, perhaps, but one that colours our understanding of Martial and his depiction of his contemporary adversaries.

Paul Martin: My focus was on a the 3rd cent. BC poem called the Silloi, a text written in hexameters parodying Homer written by the philosopher and poet Timon of Phlius. Beyond the description given by Diogenes Laertius (9.109-15), we know little about the structure of this poem. In the past, scholars have suggested emendations that support their own view of the poem's structure. One suggestion has been the so-called 'fishing scene', posited on the basis of several fragments and an intertext with Lucian. I focused particularly on the main verb in fragment 31, which Di Marco prints as θεύσεται ('he will run'), but which proponents of the fishing scene emended to δύσεται ('he will dive'). Unfortunately, there is little support for the latter suggestion and no reason to doubt the transmitted text. When we stop trying to make the fragments fit our own preconceived notions, I suggest, we can make better reconstructions of the Silloi's structure. A philological approach here, then, can help us to answer some bigger questions about the structure of a poem that holds an important place in Hellenistic poetry and philosophy.

Classics Society News 2015/2016

We have had a fantastic end to the year that saw us reaching over 200 members for the first time in society history and it is a testimony to the effort and enthusiasm of our members that we can continue to expand the range of events the society puts on. What follows is a brief summary of some of these latest events:

After introducing a Parent Scheme for the first time last year, we are gearing up for September's intake and look forward to welcoming them to the society. The scheme matches first year 'children' with existing society members as their 'parents' and worked surprisingly well as an informal academic or pastoral advice network that flourished in some cases to lasting friendships.

At the time of writing, we are less that 24 hours away from leaving on our annual trip abroad! This year we are going to the south of France; basing ourselves in Nîmes and travelling to the Pont Du Gard and Arles to see the amazingly well preserved Roman constructions. There are nearly 50 of us looking forward to these spectacular sites as well as the chance to get some sun.

Finally, not too long ago the society hosted a debate to find the 'Greatest Ever Ancient Writer'. With a few obvious inclusions such as Ovid and Virgil, there were a few conspicuous absentees like Homer and Thucydides yet in the end the powerful rhetoric of Dr Christopher Siwicki won the case for Vitruvius. Perhaps not the best example of ancient literature, Vitruvius has had an arguably unequalled (and it was definitely argued against!) influence on the modern world through architecture.

To find out more info on the society please search on the Students' Guild website or find us Exeter Classics Society on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram!

With the end of the academic year upon us, I wish the best of luck to the new President, Chloe Frost-Smith and her committee. I have the upmost faith that the Classics Society will continue to expand and impact more people under their guidance.

Toby Gladwin
Classics Society President 2015-16

Sporting News

Alexander Roberts
MA student Classics and Ancient History, University of Exeter

The feats of the Classics Society's intramural sporting teams have long been a famous, almost mythical, part of the year's adventures and this season has proven to be no exception. The men and women of classics indulged in mixed netball, rounders, and rugby as well as men's football and when I got a chance to talk to the society's sport captains, Chloe Frost-Smith and Ed Baker both were eager to share the whole story of the season. The good, the better and the downright hilarious.

Right from the get-go this season looked set to be one of the society's most successful for sporting participation, with dozens of classicists turning up to matches eager to take part in any and every sport they could. Chloe noted that in the first few matches for the mixed netball team, AKA the Caligulads, more than twenty people turned up to play a sport that fields teams of only seven and such enthusiasm continued almost unabated throughout the season. For Ed's part football was in such high demand that he was forced to create two teams named Soccerates A and Soccerates B (no points were given for name originality apparently). Across the board both captains were delighted both with the enthusiasm of their players and with the success they gained. The Caligulads in particular stood out, repeating the success of last year's netball team by once again winning their division and losing only one game in the process. Ed too was pleased with the performances of his teams. In touch rugby the mixed Rogueby FC rocketed to the top of the table in the first term, thanks in part to the Herculean efforts of players like Ed Bolton, and while they were unable to keep up such an impressive start in the second half of the season Rogueby still managed a very respectable fourth place in their division. In football although Soccerates A struggled during Christmas and were relegated they soon made themselves comfortable in their new division and ended up playing in a fantastic Classics derby against Soccerates B which Ed counted as amongst his most memorable moments of the season. Although Soccerates B stormed to a 3 nil lead in the first half Soccerates A performed an incredible comeback and won the match 5-3 in an epic worthy of Homer himself.

In fact both captains had many fond memories of this season. Chloe in particular was very proud of the enthusiasm shown by her team mates and recalled some of the more memorable episodes of the Caligulads' season with good humour. One such story was for the enthusiasm of Matthew Merett to play centre for the Caligulads and although she admitted such enthusiasm did not automatically translate into success she still declared a memorable and enjoyable incident. Ed also claims to have enjoyed the enthusiasm of all team mates although, in his words, his fondest memories were the "RAM socials after each match." For both captains the most incredible thing about the year was how well the teams bonded together. Both newcomers and old hands came together and did their society proud and both captains said how stiff the competition for player of the season was. Whilst neither captain wanted to pick favourites there were certain players who really stood out. Matthew Merett

was lauded by Ed for his rugby prowess, as well as winning Player's player of the season and Charles Curtis was elected Players' player for rugby and Henry Ormond for football. Other players that both captains put up for special mention include Phil Smith, a grizzled veteran of Soccerates, Rob Cross as top goal scorer and Luke Moulder and Alex Manton-Jones in multiple sports. Most excitingly however was the fact that both of next year's captains elect won awards for their efforts. Flick White won the Most Improved player of the year in Netball and Matthew Wyatt was elected players' player for the Caligulads and both awards are good signs for the society's intramural sport.

In fact both Chloe and Ed were very excited for the future of intramural sports. Ed fully endorsed Matt's election, claiming that he was in no doubt that Matt "will continue the good work and will do an excellent job next year" noting that Matt had performed excellently in all sports. Similarly Chloe declared that she was "fully confident that Flick will do a fantastic job" and hopefully bring Classics a third netball championship in a row. Yet that is all for next year, this year we still have the rounders season and touch Duckes to look forward to. So far rounders has gone very well, with classics currently sitting at the top of the table and as for touch Duckes Ed must be applauded for his rather unique decision to upload a humorous biography of each member of his Ducks squad!

In all, it is obvious that this year was a highly successful and highly enjoyable year for Classics society's intramural sports teams. Whether it be the Caligulads winning a second championship or the epic Soccerates Derby there were plenty of memorable and enjoyable occasions for intramural sports players. What struck me most however in speaking with Chloe and Ed was that both captains were blown away not just by the enthusiasm that all members showed in taking part in every sport but also the camaraderie and sense of sporting fair play shown by all who took part! This was a good year for intramural sports and the future looks set to be just as bright, if not brighter, in the years to come.

Note from the editor: Anyone interested in joining in intramural sports can sign up for 2016-2017 just after Fresher's week in September 2016. More information at: http://sport.exeter.ac.uk/studentsport/intramural/

Conferences
University of Exeter

Past Event

Review. Greek Diet, Health, and Medicine in the Roman World: Integration and Analysis of the Archaeological and Literary Material.
9-11th September 2015

Paul Martin
PhD Candidate, Classics and Ancient History, University of Exeter

This conference, supported by the Leventis Foundation, explored the connections between diet, health and medicine, a field that has been developing rapidly in recent scholarship. Gathering academics from both the UK and abroad, it aimed to unite different perspectives, archaeological and literary, to provide a more holistic approach to the subject. Over four stimulating sessions, delegates were presented with a veritable feast of material spanning many centuries.

The main focus was on the impact of Greek concepts on Roman beliefs and practices, covering subjects as far afield as healing with plants, the medicinal qualities of wine, and the influence of the Roman military on the spread of Greek practices. How did Greek ideas spread? What kinds of evidence can be used to demonstrate this? How widespread were Greek medical concepts? This focus on integrating different approaches provoked a fruitful dialogue between disciplines.

The conference featured an impressive range of methodological approaches, including papyrology and bioarchaeology, and a practical demonstration, led by Prof. John Wilkins and Michelin star chef Shaun Hill, added much texture to the material. One key consideration explored by numerous speakers was the distinction between elite and non-elite. Where medical treatises call for diverse ingredients that require acquiring imports, rare, or otherwise expensive items, how widely might we expect such treatments to reach, both socially and geographically? How can we assess the spread of treatments among different classes? Despite the difficulty of answering such questions, the different papers offered a range of perspectives and numerous insights.

In short, this conference provided its attendees with a healthy dose of wide-ranging scholarship that put meat on the bones of a key element of cultural interaction between Greece and Rome.

Upcoming Events

Literary and Cultural Interaction in the Roman Empire: 96-235 Conference. Building One.
Prof. Rebecca Langlands.
13-14 June 2016

This conference will be the fourth in a series stemming from the Literary Interactions under Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian project. The first two conferences, held in St Andrews and Rostock, delved into literary interactions between a host of Latin texts and authors and addressed some core methodological questions. The project's third conference, held in Boston, expanded horizons by examining cross-cultural literary interactions between Latin, Greek, Christian and Jewish writers and writing traditions, and by probing more off-the-page, extra-textual interactions.This fourth conference aims to build on the third's widening scope, by inviting further discussion of interactions that cross linguistic, cultural and religious boundaries; it will also continue to look behind and beyond purely textual interactions, to scrutinise the interactive dynamics between literary, social and cultural spheres of activity. Its extended chronological scope will enable analysis of diachronic as well as synchronic trends.

Constructing Christians: Rhetorics of Rhetoric in Late Antiquity.
Dr Richard Flower and Prof. Morwenna Ludlow.
Monday 27th June 2016

This symposium, organised by Dr Richard Flower (Classics and Ancient History) and Prof. Morwenna Ludlow (Theology and Religion), is a follow-up event to the 'Rhetoric and Religious Identity in Late Antiquity' conference held at Exeter in April 2015. Like the preceding meeting, it aims to develop current research by exploring various forms of construction and negotiation of religious identities (both individual and communal) in late-antique societies. This latest event does, however, have a specific focus on different late-antique attempts to define the nature of Christian identity, including exploring how authors of the period used both rhetoric itself and also the discourse of the proper place of rhetoric in society in order to create their own individual conceptions of appropriate behaviour. This symposium is also organised under the aegis of the South West Late Antiquity Network, which brings together academics and postgraduates from the universities of Bristol, Cardiff, Exeter and Swansea.

Big Data on the Roman Table. Workshop 2 of the AHRC Research Network. Innovation Centre.

Prof. Penelope Allison (Leicester) and Dr Martin Pitts (Exeter). July 6-7th 2016

Artefacts associated with eating and drinking have been recorded by archaeologists over many decades and are the largest component of 'big data' from the Roman world. An artefactual approach permits analyses of representative cross-sections of societies throughout the empire, and more understanding of the lives of people less well recorded in the written sources (e.g. women, children, ordinary soldiers, non-élites, provincials), while also incorporating more visible groups such as urban elites. Current knowledge of everyday consumption practices for the majority living in the Roman Empire remain uneven. **Workshop 2** will focus on the cross-regional theme of 'table settings', supplemented by smaller sessions addressing approaches to vessel use, new approaches to analysing and visualising data, and relevant large data-sets. In addressing these themes, the workshop aims to stimulate the development of guidelines for best practice for excavators and curators responsible for artefact datasets across the Roman world, and to set up frameworks for future international collaborative research programmes to apply best practice for the digital analysis and visualisation of large datasets relating to Roman consumption.
http://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/classics/research/conferences/bigdataontheromantable/

Classical Literature and Quotation Culture. The Pearson Room, Exeter Cathedral Cloisters.

Prof. Matthew Wright. 20th and 21st July 2016

This two-day international conference will shed light on quotation culture in the ancient world, bringing together scholars with interests in Greek and Latin literature, ancient literary criticism and modern literary theory. The aim of the event is to establish new, methodologically sophisticated approaches to quotation in classical antiquity, to mark out a distinctively classical space within the emerging field of 'quotation studies', and to generate new insights that could feed back into other areas of literary and cultural studies.

A considerable range of Greek and Latin authors and texts fall within the range of the project, including poets, dramatists, orators, philosophers, literary critics, historians, ancient scholars, compilers of anthologies and encyclopedias, etc. The papers and discussions will engage with questions such as the following: What is a quotation? How are quotations used, and by whom, and in what contexts?
http://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/classics/research/conferences/classicalliteratureandquotationculture/

Articles

The Therapeutic Use of Mineral Amulets in Medical Works of Late Antiquity[1]

Irene Calà

Postdoctoral researcher, CNRS-UMR 8167 'Orient et Méditerranée', équipe Mondes Sémitiques

The boundaries between rational and magical medicine were unclear since the origin of rational medicine in the *Corpus hippocraticum* and they remained so until Late Antiquity.[2] The city of Alexandria, where generations of physicians studied until the 7th century AD, is certainly a meeting place of ancient pagan beliefs and Christianity.

The medical works in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D., so-called medical encyclopaedias, show large overlapping areas between rational, magical and religious medicine. Concerning rational medicine I will here focus on the *Libri medicinales*, a treatise in 16 books by Aetius Amidenus,[3] a physician who lived under the reign of Justinian; the *Epistula de lumbricis* and the two treatises of Alexander Trallianus (a physician likewise of the 6th century A.D.)[4] *Therapeutica* (a treatise in 12 books on the pathology and therapy of internal diseases) and *De febribus*, and, lastly, the treatise in 7 books, *Epitome de materia medica*, of Paul of Egina,[5] physician who practiced at Alexandria in the 7th century A.D.

As for Aetius Amidenus, I will focus on the therapeutic use of mineral amulets in his medical encyclopaedia:[6] on the one hand, I will analyse the relation with the previous tradition, especially with Galen, on the other hand, with the medical works of Late Antiquity, the treatises of Alexander Trallianus and Paul of Egina.

Aetius Amidenus suggests one shoul keep away from magic, thereby emphasising the rational features of his own works: *I was preserving to carry the fame of magic* (γοητεία).[7]

This sentence seems to indicate a clear opposition between the two kinds of medicine, rational and magical. Indeed, physicians do include in their treatises magical remedies because, as Alexander Trallianus[8] says in his treatise entitled *Therapeutica*,[9] the purpose of

[1] "This paper is integrated in the field of Research Project FFI2013–42904–P (Ministerio Español de Economía y Competitividad)".

[2] Boudon-Millot (2003); Horstmashoff-Stol (2004); Collins (2008); Perea Yébenes (2014).

[3] Daremberg-Ruelle (1879); Costomiris (1892); Zervos (1901); Zervos (1905); Zervos (1909); Zervos (1911); Olivieri (1935-1950).

[4] Puschmann (1878-1879).

[5] Heiberg (1921-1924).

[6] About magic and religion in Aetius Amidenus See: Calà.

[7] Aetius 2.85 = I.180.4 Olivieri (1935-1950).

[8] Guardasole (2004).

the physician is the health of patient and for this reason the physician can use any means.

Indeed, these kinds of remedies are used in medical works as the therapeutic use of amulets shows. Amulets have a particular place, based on the number of occurrences in medical texts; they are of three kinds: vegetable, mineral and animal.

As I have mentioned above, the starting-point of the discussion will be the text of Aetius Amidenus. The first part of the second book of *Libri medicinales* contains the properties and faculties of earth and stone, and it comes in large part from Galen, precisely from book IX of the treatise *On Simple drugs,*[10] but I will show that Galen is not Aetius's only source and frequently not the most important.

In this paper I will examine the following mineral amulets: *galaktites, gagates, ierakites*, eagle stone, emerald, serpentine and lastly jasper.

In chapter 17,[11] Aetius wrote about the properties of ***galaktites*** (γαλακτίτης) and about its medical use. The part devoted to its 'magical' use is at the end of the chapter, Aetius adds this sentence, that is absent in Galen:[12] *Others say that this (galaktites) hung at the neck (περιαπτόμενον τραχήλῳ) of children prepares dentition without pain.*[13]

The verb περιάπτω[14] "to hang on" is used many times about the amulet that is hung on a part of the body that is to be healed.

In this case, the stone is hung on the neck of the patient: the amulet is recommended to mitigate pain during the dentition in children.

The use of *galaktites* as an amulet has few occurrences in greek texts: a similar sentence in the text entitled *De lapidibus* (Pseudo-Dioscorides)[15] and a different use in the text of Sextus Julius Africanus,[16] in which it is used to facilitate breastfeeding.

As for the Latin tradition, the testimony of Pliny the Elder about the *galaktites* is very important, since it resembles to the aforementioned Aetius's sentence:

Moreover, when it is tied to the necks of babies as an amulet (collo adalligata), *it is said to make their saliva flow, but we are told that when placed in the mouth it melts and also causes loss of memory.*[17]

In chapter 24[18] Aetius wrote about the ***gagates*** (γαγάτης) that is lignite stone:

Gagates. There is also another stone that is black, since it is joined with fire. It becomes similar to bitumen regarding the smell, that say that is found in Lycia around the river called Gagon, for this reason they call it 'Gagates'. [..]

The sentence concerning its use as an amulet is also to be found at the end of the chapter and it is absent in his source Galen.[19]

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[9] *Therapeutica* 11.1 = II.475.3-4 Puschmann (1878-1879).
[10] This treatise in 11 books was published by Kühn (1821-1833: XI.379-892 and XII.1-377).
[11] Aetius 2.17 = I.162.6-12 Olivieri (1935-1950).
[12] *On Simple drugs* 9.2.2 = XII.195.3-196.16 Kühn (1821-1833).
[13] φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν **περιαπτόμενον** τραχήλῳ τῶν ὀδοντιώντων βρεφῶν ὀδόντων ἀταλαίπωρον ἔκφυσιν παρασκευάζειν.
[14] Jouanna (2011).
[15] Section 9.
[16] *Cesti* 3.7.
[17] *NH* XXXVII.162.
[18] Aetius 2.24 = I.164.11-28 Olivieri (1935-1950).
[19] *On Simple drugs* 9.2.10 = XII.203.1-204.9 Kühn (1821-1833).

Aetius wrote:

Others said that the gagates, when cooked in water and drunk with water, expels intestinal worms. When tied as an amulet (περιαπτόμενον) *it stops chronic headaches. Furthermore, it is able to quicken difficult childbirth when it is detained in the hand* (κατεχόμενον τῇ χειρὶ) *of the parturient.*

The *gagates* has two applications: the first, hung on a patient's neck to stop chronic headaches, the second, detained in the hand of a parturient when the childbirth is difficult.[20]

Aetius, in chapter 30[21] wrote about ***ierakites*** (ἱερακίτης) and Indian stone, used as an amulet against hemorrhoids:

Ierakites. The ierakites stone and the "Indian" stone dry the hemorrhoids when tied as an amulet (περιαπτόμενοι) *to the right thigh, about these also we have experience* (ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπειράθημεν).

The *ierakites* and Indian stone are used, according to Aetius, to heal hemorrhoids: the stone is hanged to the right thigh. Then Aetius quotes a long passage from the work *On the stone* of Diogenes:

Diogenes in the book On the stones *said as follows: "Ierakites stone is greenish yellow turning to black and other colours, so that it is multi-coloured. It has a faculty that dries hemorrhoids when it is hanged* (ἀπηρτημένος) *to the right thigh of the patient. You will see that it is true, when you have this in your hand. Indeed grease your hands with honey and the bees will not approach you because you have the stone. The Indian stone has a reddish colour; cleaned and ground into a purple juice, it is not compact, nor strong and has the power to help the spitting blood when drunk with pure wine. The quite white and roasted stops other hemorrhages according to the appearance.*

The same text is in Ps. Dioscorides,[22] but Paul of Egina omits the quotation of Diogenes:

Some say that the ierakites and Indian stone tied as an amulet (περιαπτόμενον) stop the bleeding from hemorrhoids.[23]

It is very similar to the following text of Galen:

Besides the use according to the method these are the faculties, such as also ierakites and Indian stone stop the bleeding from hemorrhoids.[24]

In chapter 32,[25] Aetius wrote about the ***eagle-stone*** (λίθος ἀετίτης) used as an amulet for holding the embryo in the uterus.

Eagle-stone [..] is preventive of miscarriage, when women are ill, hung at (περιαπτόμενος) the left arm. At the time of childbirth removed from the arm and hung at the leg, the woman will give birth without pain.[26]

The testimony of Pliny the Elder is of striking importance for us:

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[20] It is used for a difficult childbirth in the text of S.J. Africanus (*Cesti*, 9.1).

[21] Aetius 2.30 = I.166.5-16 Olivieri (1935-1950).

[22] *De lapidibus*, section 14.

[23] 7.3.11 = II.238.7-8 Heiberg (1921-1924).

[24] *On Simple drugs*, 9.2.19 = XII.207.1-16 Kühn (1821-1833).

[25] Aetius 2.32 = I.166.19-167.6 Olivieri (1935-1950).

[26] See also Aetius XVI 21 = Ricci (1950), 29: *also an eagle stone carried around the belly will protect both the foetus and the parturient and will not permit the uterus to weaken.* Also in Kyranides the eagle stone is an εὐτόκιος remedy, namely *aiding in childbirth*, See 3.1 = Kaimakis (1976), 190.

Eagle stones, wrapped in the skins of animals that have been sacrificed, are worn as amulets (adalligati) by women or four-footed creatures during pregnancy so as to prevent a miscarriage. They must not be removed except at the moment of delivery: otherwise, there will be a prolapse of the uterus. On the other hand, if they are not removed during delivery no birth will take place.[27]

Concerning other Greek works in Late Antiquity, we have only the testimony of Alexander Trallianus:[28]

Amulete, die durch ihre Natur wirken (φυσικὰ περίαπτα). Der Adlerstein ist, wenn er umgehangen wird (περιαπτόμενος), sowohl bei sehr vielen anderen Leiden, als auch bei periodischem Frostgefühl und besonders beim Quotidianfieber wirksam.[29]

In chapter 39[30] Aetius wrote about the **emerald** (σμάραγδος λίθος) used as an amulet for haemorrhages:

Emerald stone. Cooked and ground, mixed with attic honey is useful for the weakness of sight, applied as ointment with water and gum it is most useful for elephantiasis; drunk with water it diminishes the disease, hung as an amulet (περιαπτομένη) it stops the blood where it is placed.

This chapter of Aetius is very important because we do not have a similar account of the emerald neither in Galen nor in Alexander and Paul. We can read a similar text only in Pseudo-Dioscorides.[31]

Indeed the emerald stone used as an amulet stops the blood when it is tied to the part of the body from which the blood flows.

In chapter 29 on the **serpentine stone** (Ὀφίτης λίθος) Aetius wrote:

Serpentine stone. When the stone called serpentine is burned it has a purgative faculty and it is able to break stones. When drunk with delicate white wine it breaks the stones in the bladder. It is also useful for viper bites when tied as an amulet (περιαπτόμενος).[32]

The same use as amulet is also in Dioscorides:[33]

There is a kind that is sturdy and black, another ash-colored and spotted, and another that has white stripes. All are useful when tied (περιαπτόμενοι) on people stung by vipers or on those who have headaches. The one that has the stripes is reported to be particularly helpful for lethargic fever and headaches.[34]

Oribasius in his work entitled *Collectiones medicae* says:

A trustworthy man said that the serpentine stone tied as an amulet (περιαπτόμενον) is actually useful for the biting of vipers.[35]

Lastly, Paul of Egina says:[36]

In the same way, also the stone called serpentine, is useful for the biting of viper when it is

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[27] *NH* XXXVI.151.
[28] *De febribus*, 6 = I.407.1-3 Puschmann (1878-1879).
[29] Puschmann (1878-1879), I.406.
[30] Aetius 2.39 = I.168.12-15 Olivieri (1935-1950).
[31] *De lapidibus*, section 34.
[32] Aetius 2.29 = I.166.1-4 Olivieri (1935-1950).
[33] 5.143 = II.101.1-6 Wellmann (1906-1914).
[34] Beck (2005), 396.
[35] 15.1:26.28 = 285,26-27 Raeder (1929).
[36] 7.3.11 = II.238.1-2 Heiberg (1921-1924).

tied as an amulet (περιαπτόμενος).

I would like to stress just two points: the difference with Dioscorides and the unclear reference to the source used in the text of Oribasius.

At this stage of my argument, I would like to draw my attention to the following two points: to what extent Aetius differs from Dioscorides and Aetius' unclear reference to the source used in the text of Oribasius.

In Aetius like in Oribasius and Paul of Egina, the amulet of serpentine stone is used only for treating viper bites; in Dioscorides, it is used not only for this problem, but also for curing headaches.[37]

Who is the ἀνὴρ ἀξιόπιστος in Oribasius's text? Who is this trustworthy man?

In order to answer this question, we can compare the chapter of Galen devoted to jasper, serpentine, ierakites and indian stone, in which Galen wrote the same sentence that we have read in Oribasius.[38] It is quite probable that Galen was referring to Nechepsos, previously quoted.

In the second part of chapter 18 regarding the **jasper** (Ἴασπις λίθος), Nechepsos is quoted also by Aetius:

The jasper stone [..] With some peculiarity, like others, the green jasper is useful for the stomach and mouth of the stomach when it is tied as an amulet (περιαπτόμενος). Some people wore it also on their fingers, as king Nechepsos wrote. Certainly, I also have an important experience of this stone. When using the stone as a necklace it is necessary to hang it around the neck (ἐξῆπτον τοῦ τραχήλου) so that the stone touches the mouth of the stomach. It seems also not to be less useful even if it is not engraved. Nechepsos wrote about engraving.

In this last case, the source of Aetius is Galen;[39] Jacques Juoanna[40] wrote about this chapter sufficiently.

To conclude, as for the relation with Alexander Trallianus we can assert that Aetius and Alexander do not use the same source, as the example about eagle-stone shows. It is very important to point out that we find this mineral amulet only in Alexander's text. Clearly, Aetius follows the same tradition of Kyranides, while Alexander follows another unknown tradition: the eagle-stone is used by Aetius and in Kyranides to help the parturient, but by Alexander to cure fevers.

This paper shows also that the text of Aetius is similar to Paul's text only when both have Galen as a common source, which is the case of the chapters on *ierakites* and serpentine-stone. Nevertheless, when Galen is not the source of Aetius there is no parallel to Paul's text. Hence I argue that it is clear Aetius uses a source that Paul is unaware of.

From the comparison amongst Aetius, Alexander Trallianus and Paul of Egina we can infer that Aetius does follow one or more sources ignored by Alexander and Paul and that his text deals more in depth and detail with this subject matter.

It is thus indisputable that Aetius' text is not a summary of Galen; Galen is an important source for Aetius, but we can consider the text of Aetius as an update of Galen's text.

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[37] In addition of this, the text of Dioscorides is very similar to Plinius the Elder (*HN* XXXVI 56).
[38] *On Simple drugs*, 9.2.19 = XII.207.1-16 Kühn (1821-1833).
[39] *On Simple drugs*, 9.2.19 = XII.207.1-16 Kühn (1821-1833).
[40] Jouanna (2011).

Furthermore, it is important to stress some similarities with the text of Plinius the Elder, especially in the case of *galaktites* and eagle-stone.

The texts examined show the importance of Aetius and his relations with a previous tradition ignored by other physicians of Late Antiquity.

The use of magical remedies concerns not only the therapeutic use of mineral amulets, but also amulets composed with plants and parts of animals. Furthermore, Aetius uses in his work 'religious' remedies, coming from pagan religion and Christianity.

The presence of these kinds of remedies is very limited in *Libri medicinales* of Aetius though. Their mention at the end of the corresponding chapter shows that these kinds of remedies are used as an additional possibility to heal the patient. The most important element of the therapy is part of the so-called rational medicine. In Antiquity the main task of the physician was the health of the patient and indeed, the words of Alexander Trallianus are elucidative: [41] καλὸν γὰρ νικᾶν καὶ πάσῃ μηχανῇ βοηθεῖν "Es ist freilich herrlich, den Sieg davon zu tragen und in jeder Weise Hilfe spenden zu können".[42]

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[41] *Therapeutica* 11.1 = II.475.3-4 Puschmann (1878-1879).
[42] Puschmann (1878-1879), II.476.

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Filial Piety and the *Topos* of the Tyrant: the Representation of Maxentius and Maximinus Daza in Constantinian Discourse

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It is a well-known phenomenon that the loser in civil war is vilified by the regime of the victor, their claims to power and legitimacy undermined and obscured. The time of Constantine contains some of the best-known examples of this, where rival emperors were denigrated by contemporary and later authors as persecutors and tyrants. Constantine's rule had begun in 306 after the death of his father Constantius, who had been one of four emperors (along with Galerius, Severus II, and Maximinus Daza), the so-called Tetrarchs of the Roman Empire. Two previous emperors, Diocletian and Maximian, had abdicated scarcely more than a year earlier. Constantine claimed power from his father—and was supported in this by his father's troops. Constantine ruled for eighteen years with various co-emperors before he became sole emperor in 324, and the rivals he conquered were deemed *tyranni* after their deaths and were the objects of invective in many of the literary sources that survive. Two of the most vicious posthumous characterizations were those of Maximinus Daza, one of Constantine's fellow Tetrarchs until his defeat in 313, and Maxentius, the son of Maximian, who was proclaimed emperor in Rome in 306 until his famous defeat by Constantine at the Battle of Milvian Bridge in 312. This article will explore how the dynastic claims of Maxentius and Daza were undermined by authors of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., and how this is part of the *topos* of the late antique *tyrannus*.

It is important to keep in mind that the ancient *tyrannus* is often associated with the modern term 'usurper.' The two ideas, however, are not perfectly synonymous. Mark Humphries defines the term according to its use in the Theodosian Code, saying "*tyrannus* designated emperors who had been defeated in civil war and whose regimes were retrospectively condemned as illegal."[1] Timothy Barnes has noted that Christian authors also use the term to mean "persecutor."[2] Thus *tyrannus*, and the Greek τύραννος from which it derives, has a multitude of meanings, but both can be applied to the enemies of Constantine in the fourth century. Whether they were truly persecutors of Christians or not, they were often depicted as such. Jan Willem Drijvers has commented on the evolution of the term *tyrannus*, saying that the first time that it was used to denigrate a Roman emperor (rather than a king), was on the Arch of Constantine, referring to Maxentius.[3] In this article, therefore, I will be looking at the beginnings of the creation of this *topos* in Late Antiquity, though it builds upon the idea of the 'bad emperor' that can be found throughout Roman history.[4]

The characterizations of Maxentius and Maximinus Daza as *tyranni* are remarkably similar. The same tropes were used to describe both in a variety of sources from the fourth and fifth centuries. They are cruel oppressors who slaughter their own people; they are greedy and murder senators and the upper class to acquire their property; they bring famine to their own people; they are cowardly in battle; they are sexually deviant and adulterous, sleeping with married women (especially senators' wives and good Christian women who kill themselves rather than submit); they rely on magic and superstition; and they feign Christianity or friendliness to Christianity. (The full list of accusations and references is in the appendix.) Not all authors use the same tropes—they were able to pick and choose from a variety of accusations, and some were more popular than others.

The omission of certain accusations from some sources is striking as well, indicating that authorial choice had as much of an impact on these descriptions as any imperial agenda. For instance, the early fourth-century rhetorician Lactantius is much harsher on Maximinus Daza than he is on Maxentius; this is not surprising, since he had lived in the east, under the persecutions of Galerius and Daza. In several sources—Aurelius Victor, the *Origo Constantini Imperatoris,* Eutropius, and Zosimus—Maximinus is omitted almost entirely from the narrative, including his crimes. The emperor Licinius had been the one to defeat Maximinus, and since he also went on to be defeated in civil war by Constantine, it was problematic to praise Licinius' victory under the Constantinian dynasty. Yet the similarities contributed to the emerging standard image of the fallen tyrants and persecutors. It is telling that the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius termed Daza "a brother in wickedness" to Maxentius (ἀδελφὸν τὴν κακίαν) before embarking upon the almost identical tales of their tyranny, not to mention the reports of an alliance between the two.[5]

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[1] Humphries (2010) 85.
[2] Barnes (1975) 19.
[3] Drijvers (2007) 18, n. 23.
[4] For example, in Suetonius' *Lives*; the life of Tiberius, with the stories of his sexual deviancy, provides a particularly relevant antecedent for this trope in the death of the woman Mallonia, who kills herself after Tiberius violates her. Eusebius tells similar stories about both Maxentius and Daza (see appendix; also Suetonius, *Tiberius* 25).
[5] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 8.14.7, which also includes mention of the (historically debatable) alliance; for the latter see also Lactantius, *Mort. Pers.* 43.2-4, 44.10; Cullhed (1994) 83-85.

These aspects of the *topos* of the tyrant have been discussed before,[6] but it was only part of the posthumous 'de-legitimization' applied to Maxentius and Maximinus Daza. Both had dynastic claims to the title of *Augustus*, Maxentius through his father Maximian, now retired, and his father-in-law Galerius; Daza through his relationship to and subsequent adoption by Galerius.[7] Christopher Mackay has argued convincingly that Daza's familial relationship to Galerius has been obscured by Lactantius in order to undermine that emperor's claims to legitimacy.[8] Lactantius mentions the adoption, "to [Daza], he [Galerius] had recently ordered the name 'Maximin' to be given after his own name."[9] However, Lactantius regularly refers to Daza an *affinis* or *adfinis*, suggesting a more distant relationship (possibly that of a nephew) and thus obscuring the bond between them—although adoption in the Roman world, especially of a close relative, was commonplace.[10] Daza and Constantine were given the title of *Filii Augustorum*, or "Sons of the Augusti," for a brief period c. 309: thus, they were represented (in mints under Galerius' control) as having claims to dynastic legitimacy.[11] Yet these claims were largely ignored by later authors. Eutropius compares the explicitly dynastic claims of Constantine and Maxentius (who are termed *filii Augustorum*) to those of Daza and Licinius, who are dismissed as *novi homines* (i.e. men with no noble or imperial background.)[12] This demonstrates that as early as the late fourth century, Daza's status as a *filius augusti* could be easily ignored or even forgotten.

Maxentius' treatment was even more blatant. After his defeat by Constantine at Milvian Bridge, his own mother, Eutropia, was forced to 'confess' that Maxentius was not the son of Maximian, but was fathered by a Syrian.[13] Following this tradition, the author of the Panegyric of 313 calls him "Maximian's changeling" (*Maximiani suppositus*).[14] In repudiating the paternal legitimacy of these emperors, their detractors were directly countering claims to paternity made by the separate regimes of Maxentius and Daza which were expressed and disseminated on memorial coinage after the deaths of Maximian and Galerius.

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[6] See especially Drijvers (2007); Cullhed (1994) 81-88; also Van Dam (2011) Ch. 6 on Constantine in the West, and Marlowe (2010) on Constantine's appropriation of Maxentius' buildings and propaganda.

[7] Börm (2015) 241 however, notes that the Roman principate was not inherently dynastic in succession, but that the appropriate honours had to be given to designate sons as heirs.

[8] Mackay (1999).

[9] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 18.13: *quem recens iusserat Maximinum vocari de suo nomine.* Trans. Creed (1984).

[10] C.f. Hekster (2015) 312. Lindsay (2009): 62 defines adoption as "a method developed to regulate the entry of new members to the family." Legally, there was little difference between an adopted son and a hereditary one: Lindsay (2009) 65; Hekster (2015) 24.

[11] The title appeared on both coins and inscriptions. Constantine as *Filius Augustorum*: RIC VI: Siscia no. 203; Thessalonica nos. 32b, 39b; Nicomedia nos. 56, 61; Antioch nos. 104 and 111; Alexandria nos. 100b, 113, 117. Daza: Siscia no. 200a; Thessalonica nos. 32a, 39a. Inscriptions: c.f. AE (2004) 1641a; AE (1991) 01405; AE (1979) 00303, (2005) 00690; AE (1986) 00656a.

Leadbetter (2009) 220 says that the title was "intended to reassure Daza of his dynastic role"; Hekster (2015) 294 suggests that it was a way of combating Constantine and Maxentius' claims.

[12] Eutropius, *Breviarium* 10.4.

[13] *Origo* 4; Ps-Victor 40.13; *Panegyrici Latini* 12.4.3-4.

[14] *Pan. Lat.* 12.4.3.

In 310-312, Maxentius' mints at Rome and Ostia minted a series of such coins with the legends AETERNAE MEMORIAE and AETERNA MEMORIA ("to/in eternal memory").[15] These were dedicated to Maxentius' deceased relatives—Maximian as 'father' (*pater*), Galerius as 'father-in-law' (*socer*), Constantius I as a relative by both blood/adoption (*cognatus*) and by marriage (*adfinis*), and his young son Romulus (*filius*). The explicit use of kinship terms on these coins is unusual;[16] Maxentius' regime was making a deliberate effort to promote a number of connections that were simultaneously dynastic, imperial, and divine. Nor was this a programme aimed solely at the upper class; the *Aeternae Memoriae* coinage types were almost all minted in bronze, the lowest denomination, and dominated the bronze coinage types from the later years of Maxentius' reign.

Figure 1: Commemmorative coin to Divus Maximian (veiled) as *Pater*. Obverse: IMP MAXENTIVS DIVO MAXIMIANO PATRI; reverse: AETERNA MEMORIA, with hexastyle shrine. RIC VI, Ostia no. 26. Image from http://www.wildwinds.com.

In 311-313 the mints of Cyzicus and Alexandria, which were controlled by Daza, minted coins (also in bronze) with the obverse legend DIVO MAXIMIANO MAXIMINVS AVG FIL ("to Divine Maximianus, Maximinus Augustus, his son"). It was paired with the reverse legend AETERNAE MEMORIAE GALERI MAXIMIANI ("to the eternal memory of Galerius Maximianus"), and was perhaps reminiscent of Maxentius' series.[17] Certainly it would have been reminiscent of the short-lived title of *Filius Augustorum* which Galerius had bestowed upon him only a few years previously. Daza did not have a dynastic network of the same size as Maxentius', but he still proclaimed his paternity on the coins of his dead—and conveniently now divine—imperial father. Constantine's regime would later employ the same methods to commemorate his own divine and dynastic relations on coins, some of

[15] RIC VI: Aeternae Memoriae, Rome nos. 207, 226, 239-240, 243-257; Aeterna Memoria, Ostia nos. 1 (aureus), 24-34, 58-59. Note that the earliest Aeternae Memoriae issues, featuring Romulus only, date from c. 308-310.

[16] Hekster (2015) 295.

[17] RIC VI: Cyzicus no. 75; Alexandria nos. 133, 143, 148, 151, 154, 159.

which bore the legend MEMORIAE AETERNAE.[18] These relations included Constantius I and Maximian. It is tempting to suggest that this legend purposefully recalls and engages with Maxentius' coinage from only five years earlier, and in doing so, overwrites the memory of the usurper's claims to be related to those same deified emperors.

The erasure of Maxentius and Daza's dynastic claims should not be surprising, but rhetoricians did not stop there. It was crude, but perhaps effective, to claim that they had never been sons at all. Far more subversive were the accounts which acknowledged their paternal rights only to present them as wholly lacking in filial piety. The representation of Maxentius and Daza as impious sons serves to further denigrate them, especially when paired with positive accounts of Constantine's relationship with his own father Constantius. The master of this subversion is Lactantius, whose *De Mortibus Persecutorum* ("On the Deaths of the Persecutors") offers a much more nuanced approach than many to undermining the legitimacy of Constantine's rivals. His presentation of these emperors is reflected in other sources from the fourth and fifth centuries, and has influenced many modern interpretations and characterizations as well.

Maxentius is first introduced in the *De Mortibus Persecutorum* during one of the most well-known passages from the work, the "conversation" between Diocletian and Galerius over the succession in 305.[19] Diocletian and Maximian, the senior emperors (*Augusti*) were abdicating, and Galerius and Constantius, the junior emperors (*Caesares*) were to be promoted. Two new Caesars must then be chosen, and Diocletian suggests Constantine and Maxentius, both sons of emperors.

> The older Maximian had a son, Maxentius, who was in fact son-in-law to the younger Maximian [Galerius]; he was a man of dangerous and evil outlook, so proud and stubborn that he used not to do homage either to his father or to his father-in-law – and for this reason he was disliked by both of them.
>
> *Erat autem Maximiano <filius> Maxentius, huius ipsius Maximiani gener, homo perniciosae ac malae mentis, adeo superbus et contumax, ut neque patrem neque socerum solitus sit adorare, et idcirco utrique invisus fuit.*[20]

From the moment Maxentius is introduced, his lack of filial piety towards both his father and his father-in-law is made apparent through his refusal to pay the correct honours to them. Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, perhaps following Lactantius, offers a more succinct characterization: "Maxentius was dear to no one at all, not even to his father or father-in-law, Galerius."[21] It should be noted that Ps-Victor was one of those who wrote of Maxentius'

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[18] For example, RIC VII, Rome no. 111, from c. 316-317 AD.
[19] *Mort. Pers.* 18.
[20] *Mort. Pers.* 18.9.
[21] Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, *Epitome de Caesaribus* 40.14: *is Maxentius carus nulli umquam fuit ne patri aut socero quidem Galerio.*

apparent bastardy; here he is combining the two ways of contradicting Maxentius' legitimacy, or else two separate traditions.

Maxentius' impiety, along with his pride, forms the basis for his characterization throughout the *De Mortibus Persecutorum*. After Galerius got his way and Constantine and Maxentius were passed over as Caesars in favour of Maximinus Daza and Severus, Galerius' nephew and friend respectively, Maxentius was acclaimed as emperor a year and a half later by his own supporters.[22] Although he apparently invited his father Maximian to return from his retirement and join in power with him, their coalition did not last, for Maximian tried to overthrow his own son a year or two later.[23] The relationship between Maxentius and Maximian was presented as an undoubtedly dysfunctional one, and Lactantius continues to employ the lack of familial loyalty and *pietas* to disparage both emperors. When Maximian died after a failed coup against Constantine, Maxentius' subsequent war with Constantine could have been seen as one born of filial duty. Yet Lactantius is careful to undermine that perception: "[Maxentius] had already declared war on Constantine, claiming that he was going to avenge his father's murder."[24] The accusation of feigned piety in avenging Maximian's murder appears in other authors. Aurelius Victor states: "[Maxentius] was unmoved by the destruction of his father."[25] The anonymous author of the Panegyric of 313 uses this *topos* of impiety alongside the claim of bastardy to praise Constantine:

> Constantine, you were attended by respect for your father, but he [Maxentius], not to begrudge him his false paternity, by disrespect.
> *Te, Constantine, paterna pietas sequebatur, illum, ut falso generi non invideamus, impietas.*)[26]

The panegyrist makes explicit what Lactantius suggests strongly: Maxentius possesses only *impietas* towards his father and is thus not his true son, as shown by his "false paternity" (*falso generi.*) Maxentius is therefore not the 'legitimate' son of Maximian both by his blood and by his behaviour. The panegyrist cleverly avoids using the word *pater* here; the phrase might be better translated as "false ancestry." It is thus not only Maximian that could be included in this accusation of false lineage, but also possibly Galerius, to whom Maxentius was a son-in-law (*gener*).

Galerius did not only have an undutiful son-in-law in Maxentius; he also had an adopted son in his Caesar, Maximinus Daza, who was represented as equally problematic.[27] It

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[22] His supporters most notably included the Praetorian Guard. Lactantius provides a detailed account of Maxentius' coup: *Mort. Pers.* 26.1-6. The account of Zosimus provides additional information on Maxentius' co-conspirators: *Nova Historia* 2.9.2-3.

[23] *Mort. Pers.* 26.6; 28.1-4.

[24] *Mort. Pers.* 43.4. He adds that, though there was a rumour that the quarrel had been feigned and that Maxentius and Maximian were said to have been working together against all other emperors, Maximian had indeed planned to eliminate all rivals, including his son (*Mort. Pers.* 43.5-6; compare to Eutropius, *Breviarium* 10.3).

[25] Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 40.20.

[26] *Pan. Lat.* 12.4.4. Trans. Rodgers (1994).

has already been noted that Daza's relationship to Galerius could be easily obscured and that his dynastic claims were overlooked. Lactantius' treatment of Daza is particularly telling. He does not acknowledge the adoptive father-son relationship in explicit language in the *De Mortibus Persecutorum* after its first introduction, until the moment is right for him to undermine it. Here again, Lactantius chooses to do so through the absence of filial piety. To do this, Lactantius returns to a technique that he has used before, when Galerius forces Diocletian to abdicate: "The Caesar [Galerius] arrived, not to congratulate his father (*patri*), but to compel him to give up his power."[28] This marks one of the only times that Lactantius refers to Diocletian, Galerius' adoptive father, as the latter's *pater*, when Galerius forces his will upon a weak old man, ignoring his father's pleas. So also does Daza do to Galerius. Lactantius recounts Daza's insistence upon being named to the senior title of Augustus instead of Caesar:

> The beast [Galerius] grieved and groaned that, when he had deliberately appointed a low-born man as Caesar to ensure his obedience to himself, this man, forgetful of the great benefit he had received from him, was impiously resisting his wishes and entreaties.
>
> *Dolet bestia et mugit, quod cum ideo ignobilem fecisset Caesarem, ut sibi obsequens esset, is tamen tanti beneficii sui oblitus voluntati ac precibus suis impie repugnaret.*[29]

Although kinship terms are not used here, the situation is remarkably similar to Galerius' browbeating of Diocletian. Lactantius also explicitly describes Daza's actions as being performed *impie*. Daza's impiety shows again when he is attempting to compel Valeria, Galerius' recent widow, to marry him—a woman whom (as Lactantius puts it) "he had recently called mother."[30] As well as adding that his desire to divorce his current wife was impious (*impie* again) Valeria responds,

> ...firstly, she could not be concerned with marriage while she was still in mourning garb and while the ashes of her husband, his father, were still warm...
>
> *...primo non posse <se> de nuptiis in illo ferali habitu agere tepidus adhuc cineribus mariti sui, patris eius...*[31]

It is only at the moment of Daza's complete lack of filial piety, when he is attempting to wed his adopted father's widow, that Lactantius finally terms their relationship as that of

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[27] In fact, Daza's coinage complements and continues Galerius' own, although his fellow emperors were far more individualistic, suggesting that at least in the public sphere, Daza's regime made little attempt to contradict Galerius'.

[28] *Mort. Pers.* 18.1: *Nec multis post diebus Caesar advenit, non ut patri gratularetur, sed ut eum cogeret imperium cedere.*

[29] *Mort. Pers.* 32.4. Trans. Creed (1984), adapted.

[30] *Mort. Pers.* 39.1.

[31] *Mort. Pers.* 39.4.

father (*pater*) and son. Other authors, like Eusebius, make no mention of this relationship. In the *Vita Constantini* he refers to Galerius not as Daza's father, but only as his predecessor (πρῶτον),[32] while in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* he misreports Daza's titulature as "Gaius" Valerius Maximinus instead of "Galerius."[33] While Eusebius ignores Daza's dynastic claims altogether, Lactantius' approach is more subversive. He disregards these claims until he can represent Daza as impiously befouling the position of son by desiring his mother, or at least his father's wife.

To those reading (or listening) closely, the message was clear. Not only were Maxentius and Maximinus not the true sons of emperors, but even if they were, their impiety towards their fathers meant that they did not deserve to be counted as legitimate sons. Impiety was part of the *topos* of the *tyrannus*—even in the Panegyric of 313, which almost certainly had a pagan author, Maxentius dabbles in magic and superstition (rather than the 'right' religious practices) to an alarming degree: "*superstitiosa maleficia*."[34] With the evolution of the image of the persecuting *tyrannus*, why would authors in the Constantinian era be eager to disparage the paternity and filial piety of emperors who had died years before? Part of the reason must be Constantine's own evolving claims to legitimacy, which rested in part on his connection to his father, Constantius I. The author of the Panegyric of 313, therefore, focuses on dynastic legitimacy as part of his extended comparison between the two emperors. Yet some of it must be due to authorial choice—Lactantius' attention to subverting Maxentius and Daza's dynastic claims through *impietas* is unique and rhetorically more complex than merely denying the existence of these claims.

The *topos* of the *tyrannus* would dominate the posthumous characterization of these emperors because concerns changed. It became less important to prove that Constantine's dynastic legitimacy prevailed over his enemies' because Constantine's right to rule became firmly established through other means. Echoes of this concern with rejecting Maxentius and Daza's dynastic claims continued, however, due to the nature of historiography. Zosimus, writing in the early sixth century, repeats what he has read in earlier authors: the tale of Maxentius' impiety towards his father:

> Thereupon he sought excuses for a war against Constantine, feigning grief for his father's death which Constantine had caused.
>
> Ἐντεῦθεν προφύσεις ἀναζητεῖ τοῦ προς Κωνσταντῖνον μολέμου, και ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ τῷ θανατῳ τοῦ πατρὸς ὀδυνᾶσθαι, Κωνσταντίνου δεδωχότος.[35]

It is commonly thought that Zosimus was following the now-lost Eunapius, who wrote in the early fifth century,[36] but we have seen that this story begins much earlier, in accounts written soon after Maxentius' defeat at Milvian Bridge. Thus the theme of Maxentius' filial

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[32] *Vit. Const.* 1.58.2. ...ὃς δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὸν πρῶτον ὡς ἐν κακῶν πεφιλοτιμημένος ἀγῶνι.
[33] *Hist. Eccl.* 9.10.7.
[34] *Pan. Lat.* 12.4.4, c.f. Nixon & Rodgers (1994) 301 n. 27.
[35] Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* 2.14.1. Trans. Ridley (1982).
[36] See, for example, Breebaart (1979) on Eunapius.

impiety, which began in the accounts in the Panegyric of 313 and Lactantius' *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, continued to be employed as a way of undermining Maxentius' claims to legitimacy, a small part of the *topos* of his posthumous characterization as a *tyrannus*.

Appendix: References to the various *topoi* of the *tyrannus* shared between Maxentius and Maximinus Daza.

Topos	Maxentius	Maximinus Daza
Tyrants and oppressors; cruel; slaughter their own people.	Eusebius, *Vita Const.* 1.26.1, 1.35.1; *Hist. Eccl.* 8.14.3, 8.14.6;[37] Aurelius Victor, *De Caes.* 40.23; Eutropius, *Brev.* 10.4; Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* 2.14; *Pan. Lat.* 12.3.5-7, 4.6.2, 4.7.4, 4.31.4.	*Hist. Eccl.* 8.14.10.
Greedy; murder senators to acquire their property.	*Vita Const.* 1.35.2; *Hist. Eccl.* 8.14.4; *Pan. Lat.* 12.3.5-7.	*Mort. Pers.* 37.3; *Hist. Eccl.* 8.14.10
Bring famine to their own people.	*Vita Const.* 1.36.2; *Pan, Lat.* 12.4.4.	*Mort. Pers.* 37.4-5; *Hist. Eccl.* 9.8.4-12.
Cowardly.	*De Caes.* 40.20; *Pan. Lat.* 12.14.2.	*Vita Const.* 1.58.3.
Sexually deviant and adulterous: sleep with married women, even Senators' wives.	*Vita Const.* 1.33.1; *Hist. Eccl.* 8.14.2; *De Caes.*40.19; *Pan. Lat.* 12.3.5-7, 12.4.4.	*Mort. Pers.* 38; *Hist. Eccl.* 8.14.12.
Christian women kill themselves rather than lie with him.	Eusebius, *Vita Const.* 1.33.2-4; *Hist. Eccl.* 8.14.16-17.	*Mort. Pers.* 38.2; *Hist. Eccl.* 8.14.14-16.
Rely on magic and superstition.	*Mort. Pers.* 44.8-9; *Vita Const.* 1.27.1, 1.36.1, 1.27.2; *Hist. Eccl.* 8.14.5, 9.9.3; *Hist. Nova* 2.16.1-2; *Pan. Lat.* 12.4.4.	*Hist. Eccl.* 8.14.8, 9.3.
Feigning Christianity (Maxentius); a false friend to Christians (Daza); persecutors (especially Maximinus).	*Hist. Eccl.* 8.14.1.	*Hist. Eccl.* 8.14.9, 9.1.2, 9.2.1-3; *Mort. Pers.* 36-37.

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[37] Eusebius' accounts of Maxentius in the *Vita Constantini* and the *Historia Ecclesiastica* are extremely similar; c.f. Cameron and Hall (1999) 13-14, 204-5.

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Literary Competition

Lawrence Shenfield Prize.

In *Quomodo Adolescens*, Plutarch's concern with poetry and paideia is all about power.

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Plutarch's *Quomodo Adolescens Poetas Audire Debeat* is ostensibly a straightforward pedagogical treatise concerned with the education of young men and their moral safety. However, whilst purporting to equip the young with the skills to overcome to potentially corrupting and manipulative powers of poetry, Plutarch uses this text to construct and exert power in various ways. In this essay I will explore three lines of thought on the connection between poetry and power in the text: the kinds of power which Plutarch presents poetry as holding; his understanding of how *παιδεια* fits into the power dynamics of Greece and Rome; and how he exercises persuasive power over the reader.

An effective exploration of this question must begin with a clear definition of what power is and what it means in this text. The term *δυναμις*, which appears linked with poetry in *Quomodo Adolescens* eighteen times, can be translated variously as "power", "strength" or "capability", and bears a suggestion of physical ability in Homer but in later Greek refers simply to any kind of force[1]. Beyond semantics, this essay will base its definition of power in Plutarch's text on a Foucauldian understanding: "a complex matrix of relations disseminated and contested through linguistic and symbolic relationships" which discourse can produce, transmit, undermine, or expose[2]. Power is influence: the ability to alter or maintain the thoughts and actions of others. In this text the most explicit focus on power is Plutarch's concern with poetry's potential to influence young minds and alter their views of morality. His stated goal is to empower the young to extract the benefit from poetry without being influenced by it, through the careful exercise of judgement, *κρισις*. If influence is power, then freedom from influence must also be a form of power, and it is the dichotomy between these forms that is the basis for Plutarch's text.

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[1] Liddell and Scott (1996).
[2] Foucault (1981), 101.

Many of Plutarch's ideas, particularly his understanding of the danger of poetry's power, respond to arguments found in Plato and Aristotle. When, near the beginning of his treatise, Plutarch points out that it is "ουτ'... δυνατον" to keep young men from poetry, he clearly references Plato's *Republic* Book 10 and its argument for the banning of all poetry. The influences of the *Republic* and Aristotle's *Poetics* are particularly evident in Plutarch's exploration of the power of *μιμησις*. Plutarch describes the lures of poetry as "μιμητικη τεχνη και δυναμις" (17F) and, like his philosopher predecessors, views poetry's ability to make us "ηδομεθα και θαυμαζομεν" at "το αισχρον" (18A) as one of its most dangerous powers. However, Plutarch's response to this danger is an attempt to empower the young reader against it, rather than advocating complete avoidance as Plato does. Rather he takes an Aristotelian stance and, as Whitmarsh succinctly puts it, teaches that poetry's power "comes from its ability to replicate what it imitates"[3].

Even more than the philosophers, the writer most evident in Plutarch's understanding of the power of language is Gorgias, and his *Encomium of Helen* in particular. While Gorgias is focused on *λογος* rather than *ποιηματα*, his argument that it "δυναται γαρ και φοβον παυσαι και λυπην αφελειν και χαραν ενεργασασθαι και ελεον επαυξησαι" (*Helen.* 8) can easily be applied to the kinds of poetry about which Plutarch writes. As with Plato and Aristotle, Plutarch reminds his readers of Gorgias' arguments without directly engaging with them: shortly after using a quotation from *Odyssey* 4.230 to compare poetry to Egypt, in that they both produce "φαρμακα, πολλα μεν εσθλα μεμειγμενα πολλα δε λυγρα" (15C), Plutarch mentions Gorgias' name. In this way he subtly reminds the reader of Gorgias' speech about the drug-like powers of language, a speech which Segal notes is as much an encomium of *λογος* as it is of Helen[4]. Gorgias presents persuasion as inherently manipulative, using terms normally associated with physical action such as "ταχις" and "μετεστησε" to suggest a real physical effect upon the soul, much as a *φαρμακον* might have. By using medicine, one of the most exact sciences of his time, as a metaphor for language, Gorgias emphasises its precise effectiveness. Plutarch uses Gorgias' arguments to support his own presentation of poetry's inherent "απατηλον" as dangerous, especially towards the naturally intelligent, and thus a powerful force of which be wary.

Aside from the comparison with drugs, the dangerous aspect of poetry's power is explored in this text through the metaphors of wine and women: Plutarch makes the point that, like these things, its power over an individual comes from its charm and seductive appeal. The association with wine appears first in 15B when Plutarch hopes that his thoughts on poetry will not be judged "φαυλοτερα των αμεθυστων καλουμενων", amethysts being considered by some (although καλουμενων would suggest not by Plutarch) a charm which protected against excessive drunkenness. The theme of tempering the wine-like effects of poetry is continued at 15E, when Plutarch urges, "μηδ' ημεις ουν την ποιητικην ημεριδα των Μουσων εκκοπτωμεν μηδ' αφανιζωμεν", and argues that instead of trying to entirely remove poetry, as he interprets Lycurgus doing, one should mix it with "φιλοσοφιαν" as one might mix wine with water, and so render it beneficial. The reader is reminded of this association throughout the text, for example at 28E when Plutarch comments that the aspects of poetry

[3] Whitmarsh (2001), 51.
[4] Segal (1962), 103.

which are "ωφελιμα και χρησιμα" can be hidden "εν ποιητικη λεξει", just as fruit can be hidden "εν αμπελου φυλλοις".

Even more than wine, poetry is associated in this text with women. In the wider sense of the feminine being linked with the deceptive power of poetry, Plutarch is following a long tradition of using the charms of the sirens of *Odyssey* 12 to represent poetry, when he doubts it is possible to stop up the ears of young men with wax and "ποιητικην φευγειν και παρεξελαυνειν" as though they were Odysseus escaping the sirens[5]. Plutarch also invokes Helen and her well-established links with storytelling, deceit and the beguiling charms of *φαρμακον*, as discussed above. In 15C careful selection of quotation (*Od.* 4.230) allows Plutarch to link poetry's power with both drugs and the untrustworthy woman who wields them. Further quotations connect poetry with feminine *θελακτερια*, for example at 16F when Plutarch reads Homer's "ταυτα δε παντα ισθ' ινα και μετοπισθε τεη ειπησθα γυναικι" as a sign that such stories are appropriate to tell to women "δια το μυθωδες". Hunter interprets this to mean that, like children, women are pleased by simple, fabulous narratives and men should be concerned with seeking out the useful elements[6]. However, another interpretation, which might better fit Plutarch's presentation of the feminine aspect of poetry's power, would be to read this as a comment that the fantastic elements of a narrative suit women because they are alike in their deceptiveness. A final example of how Plutarch associates women, deception, and poetry: at 19A-B he uses Homeric quotation to frame stories about goddess' adultery or beautifying as dangerous. Plutarch interprets these stories as Homer showing how "την απο φαρμακων και γοητειας και μετα δολου προς τους ανδρας ομιλιαν και χαριν" of women is unreliable and turns to "εχθραν και οργην". The "drugs, charms, and trickery" of women are associated through these word choices with the way Plutarch has described poetry; he shows the reader that these are the things which give both women and poetry such power and make them so dangerous.

All of this: the other metaphors discussed, the presentations of *μιμησις* developed from Plato and Aristotle, and the associations with Gorgias' view of the persuasive powers of *λογος*, has two major effects. Firstly, it functions as a means of empowering the reader, alerting them to possible influences and giving them methods to overcome them. Secondly, the creation of fear over all this deception, which Plutarch constantly warns, almost threatens, may "εβλαψε τον ακροωμενον", affords the writer a position of great power and importance. By creating this image of poetry as a deceptive and dangerous force, like drugs, wine, and women, Plutarch, like Gorgias and Plato and Aristotle, establishes a situation where those with the knowledge and power to control and neutralise this danger have an important position, that of much needed educators.

Moving on to look at the power of the educator role in terms of Greek literature and Roman imperial authority, it is first necessary to establish an understanding of *παιδεια* and its functions. While παιδεια can be translated simply as education, the term generally refers to Hellenic culture and a familiarity with Classical Greek literature and history[7]. The acquisition, definition, and redefinition of *παιδεια* was not only evidence of having sufficient

[5] Hunter (2011), 79.
[6] *Ibid.* 91.
[7] King (2015), 1.

wealth and leisure to dedicate oneself to learning, but was a means of creating identity, both personal and cultural. Jones sees the relationship between elite Romans and Greeks in the Imperial period as one of interchange, with Romans befriending eminent Greeks to advise them and legitimise their claims to cultural sophistication, whilst those Greeks gained power in the form of citizenship and ever greater positions of authority in Roman political life throughout the period[8]. However, this over-simplified view of Graeco-Roman relations during the empire fails to acknowledge that *παιδεια* is not a tool or service to be exchanged for more obvious forms of power such as political and military; rather, it is a form of power in its own right. Whitmarsh considers problematic the idea of the Second Sophistic as simply a compensatory response to Roman dominance and the focus on Greek cultural heritage as a means of balancing out a loss of political power[9]. A broader view would be to see Greek culture, παιδεια, as an essential part of elite identity in Imperial Rome, both for Greeks and Romans. However, focusing on Plutarch's construction and use of it, there is a clear message about the role of *παιδεια* in defining control and authority: in Plutarch's text Greeks are the educators, and arbiters, of culture and knowledge.

Looking at how the power dynamics between Greece and Rome are represented in the text, the most obvious Roman presence in this very Greek-centric treatise is its addressee, Marcus Sedatus. In Zadorojnyi's discussion of the topic he notes that no such individual is attested in Plutarch's generation, and their relationship is a mystery[10]. Based on the name alone, the initial assumption is that Plutarch is addressing a Roman, presumably someone well known to him and his readers. However, Sedatus' son, who will be the beneficiary of this advice, is named "Κλεανδρος", plainly a Greek name. There are two possible interpretations here: Plutarch either puts himself in the role of a guide or teacher to a genuine Roman, with whom he may or may not have been friends (although it is unlikely that a genuine Roman would give his son a Greek name); or he deliberately uses the Roman name of a Greek friend in order to appear to be educating a Roman. Whichever interpretation one accepts, Plutarch is very obviously positioning himself as a Greek authority on the correct understanding and use of *παιδεια* and poetry, in relation to a Roman audience. While there is little else explicitly Roman in the text, the father-son dynamic which appears at 28D may be a deliberate link to the figures of Sedatus and his son. Bearing in mind that Plutarch's advice is really directed at Cleander, the words "αν εκ πατρος φαυλου και ανοητου γεγονως αυτος ω χρηστος και φρονιμος" would place 'Roman' Marcus Sedatus in the role of the "πατρος αμαθιαν" who should not render his son bullied and humbled. Thus Plutarch subtly creates the image of ignorant Rome, whose authority should not be able to humble wise and intelligent Greece, and builds on the sense of desirable Greek *παιδεια* only being acquirable through his, Greek, guidance.

In his position of power as arbiter of *παιδεια*, Plutarch frequently uses quotation ostensibly to illustrate his points. However, the use of quotation has many other effects, a key one being the effect of creating a canon of Greek literature. Having spent his whole life under the Roman Empire and attained citizenship as well as positions of importance such as priest

[8] Jones (1971), 45.
[9] Whitmarsh (2004), 17.
[10] Zadorojnyi (2002), 305.

of a shrine favoured by emperors, Plutarch can hardly have avoided Roman literature. Even if, as Jones argues, his Latin was not particularly good, Plutarch's complete exclusion of all literature outside of Homer, Greek tragedy, and some Greek philosophy must be read as a deliberate positioning of these texts above all others[11]. The Greek quotations he uses that do mention other races do so in a largely critical or dismissive fashion. For example the Trojans, whom Imperial Rome tied firmly into their own history seemingly to legitimise themselves, are presented as both over-bold, "οι μεν Τρωες επιασι μετα κραυγης και θρασους" (29D), and cowardly, "Τρωας δε τρομος αινος επηλυθε γυια εκαστον" (30A). The creation of an exclusive canon of Greek texts is yet another way Plutarch defines Greek identity and gives it power. By largely ignoring or disparaging all Roman history, literature, and thought, he makes it clear to the young men whom he purports to educate that the attainment of *παιδεια*, power, and true elite status, depends upon appreciating Greek cultural and literary superiority.

The final section of this essay will examine how Plutarch establishes and exerts his own power over the reader. The simplest technique is his use of persuasive and didactic language to place himself even more clearly in the role of educator. Frequent use of the "δει ημεις" construction and hortatory subjunctives such as "παραφυλαττωμεν" and "παρασκευαζωμεν" creates the sense that Plutarch is offering advice to all fellow elites, such as his original audience, on the protection and care of their children. Direct imperatives in the singular, however, such as "διελθε" remind the reader that Plutarch is addressing a named individual from a position of authority. More subtle, but constant, is the language of direction towards good and away from danger. Plutarch often pairs "χρησιμος" and "οφελλιμος", and holds them up as the aim, that which it is "ορθος" to seek. By doing so he puts himself again in the role of arbiter; Plutarch decides what is good and only through accepting his authority can those things be achieved and harm avoided.

Returning to Plutarch's use of quotations, these too are used to support his authority and direct the reader. Having established a canon of important writers, Plutarch then interprets their words to suit his argument. The straightforward quotations, which a well-read audience can easily recognise, create a sense of being part of an elite, educated circle; a function which fits with the role of *παιδεια* in defining identity. That Plutarch has selected so few authors, a "highly elite curriculum" as Zadorojnyi describes it, supports this view[12]. Conversely, Plutarch exercises his personal power within the text when he uses discordant quotations which seem, to borrow one of his favoured terms, *ατοπος*, in order to distance the reader and force one to struggle to understand him. The quotation from Odyssey 8.492 (20A), for example, seems a strange choice since it is thought to be unrelated to the story of Ares and Aphrodite, and is certainly taken out of context as it ignores Odysseus' enjoyment of the story in the preceding lines[13]. By controlling which parts of a text are read, and how, Plutarch manipulates the reader and their experience of the canon he has established.

While the methods of manipulation discussed above are effective because they are subtle, the final power dynamic between author and reader that this essay will examine works by

[11] Jones (1971), 82.
[12] Zadorojnyi (2002), 298.
[13] Hunter (2011), 113.

drawing attention to the inconsistencies of the treatise and forcing the reader to question its purpose. There are two key ways Plutarch creates a sense of uncertainty about his text. Firstly, by creating a connection with Gorgias' *Encomium of Helen* at 15C-D Plutarch reminds his audience of its central argument: "οσοι δε οσους περι οσων και επεισαν και πειθουσι δε ψευδη λογον πλασαντες" (*Helen.* 11). While this is the line Plutarch takes regarding only poetry, Gorgias is not so discriminating, and referencing his argument in the context of a seemingly serious didactic treatise is jarring. Secondly, despite the whole text's argument being about the corruptive power of poetry, Plutarch illustrates his points throughout with examples of this dangerous thing. Having made the case in 18A-B that reading poetry about immoral things, like paintings of the same, can cause a young man to feel 'sympathy' for the thing depicted, he then proceeds to quote several sections of "μοχθηροι" and "ψευδεις" verse at 18E. These problematic aspects of the text add another dimension to what initially appears to be straightforward pedagogical advice; while the questions they raise cannot be answered here, they are worth bearing in mind when reflecting on how power is established, presented, and used in this treatise.

On reflection, it is clear that Plutarch views poetry's relationship to power, *παιδεια* as a vehicle for that power, in numerous, complex ways. The power he ascribes to poetry is significant: he presents it as charming, beguiling, inherently manipulative, and able to influence an unprepared reader in a number of ways. With this presentation of poetry's many dangers established, Plutarch's presentation of its importance as a part of *παιδεια* is heightened. Working on the understanding that παιδεια is a form of power in its own right, an elite cultural marker, and a means of framing identity, Plutarch makes himself the authority on how to attain the essential qualities of a *πεπαιδευμενος* through mastery of poetry. And so it becomes evident that beneath the overt discussions of power in poetry and education, Plutarch's text is also concerned with his position of power regarding his reader. Once a reader realises this, the power games of the treatise become an ongoing interaction between author and reader that develops on each reading. Regarding all of this, it can be said with confidence that Plutarch's concern with poetry and *παιδεια* is ultimately a concern with power.

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Creative Corner.
Pity and Fear - Death Cab for Cutie.

Kirsty Harrod

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Ἔλεος και φοβος are the principles which Aristotle regards as central to the success of a tragedy. Therefore I decided that Death Cab For Cutie's song, 'Pity and Fear' would be a good fit for a prose composition.

'Ἔλεος Και Φοβος' - Θανατος Ἁρμα Τῳ Καλῳ

ἐγω τοσος οὑτῳ ξενῳ κοιμαμενῳ ἐγγυς μου φθονω
ὁς νυκτῳ ἐγειρεν και ἐν φαῳ της ἑως φευγεν
ἀφωνος, λαθρα, οὑτε ἐπινευσας οὑτε ταραξας
ἁμαρτιαν θ'ἁμαρτιαν ἁμαρτιαν παντοις αἰτιαται.

και μεν οὐδεν δακρυα ἐστιν
μονος δ'ἐλεος και φοβος
και μεγας χαραδρα
ἐν ἀκριβει μεσῳ

χειμοντος ἐπι τῳ ποντῳ ὀντος πρῳρα ἐσχισε και ἐγω ἀνετρεπον
και κατεδυσα που οὐδεποτε ἰεναι ὠμοσα.
εἰ οὐκ οἱος τ' εἰ κατα χωραν μενειν, οὐκ οἱος τ' εἰ το ἀποχωρειν πυνθανεσθαι.
των περιοντων, των μενοντων, των μενοντων, των μενοντων.

και μεν οὐδεν δακρυα ἐστιν
μονος δ'ἐλεος και φοβος
και μεγας χαραδρα
ἐν ἀκριβει μεσῳ

διοτι οὐδεν δακρυα ἐστιν
μονος δ'ἐλεος και φοβος
μεμηνμαι
και του ὠθισμου μαλλον ἡ πτωματος,
και του ὠθισμου μαλλον ἡ πτωματος.

Pity and Fear - Death Cab For Cutie

I have such envy for this stranger lying next to me
Who awakes in the night and slips out into the pre-dawn light
With no words, a clean escape, no promises or messes made
And chalks it all up to mistake, mistake, mistake

And there are no tears
Just pity and fear
And a vast ravine
Right in between

A storm at sea the bow cracked and I was capsizing
And I sunk below where I swore I would never go
If you can't stand in place you can't tell there's walking away
From who remains, who stays, who stays, who stays

And there are no tears
Just pity and fear
And a vast ravine
Right in between

Cause there are no tears
Just pity and fear
And I recall
The push more than the fall
The push more than the fall

Reviews

Book Review: Fisher Kate, Langlands Rebecca (eds.) (2015), *Sex, Knowledge, and Receptions of the Past.* Oxford University Press.

Hanna Burke-Tomlinson
MA student Classics and Ancient History, University of Exeter

This most recent collaboration between Kate Fisher and Rebecca Langlands is preceded by their acclaimed 'Sex and History Project' created in conjunction with the University of Exeter's Centre for Medical History and the Royal Albert Memorial Museum. This initiative is primarily concerned with the capacity for material culture from the past to act as stimuli to engage young people in constructive dialogues about issues pertaining to sex and sexuality, in an innovative endeavour to improve their sexual health and well-being. *Sex, Knowledge, and Receptions of the Past* similarly explores the role of reception in the construction of sexual knowledge and stresses the persistent tendency in Western cultures, in case studies ranging from the eighteenth century to the present day, to turn to the past in order "to make sense of the subject of sex, and to understand human desires, attitudes, and practices".

The volume itself is a series of diverse, interdisciplinary case studies that individually offer interesting insights into various historical transcultural relationships and highlight how tensions between hegemonic notions of sexuality – differently constituted in variant historical contexts – informs contemporaneous ethical anxieties and considerations about sexual behaviour, societal mores, and gender identification. The impressive historical and theoretical scope of the contributions to the volume, which incorporate novel approaches to classical reception theory and queer theory, offers a unique opportunity for the reader to compare how considerations of subjects pertaining to sexuality and gender are approached by different academic disciplines, and how these various disciplines might engage in an enriching dialogue with one another. This is an evident strength of the work highlighted by the conscious and effective editorial choice to present the individual contributions to the volume alphabetically rather than chronologically. Moreover, it has the added effect of pointing to the fecundity of the field of sexuality and gender as a research area not yet sufficiently studied.

Collectively the volume also constructively contributes to core epistemological considerations about the practice of studying history and insists upon the prevailing value of active engagement with the past. In evaluating the practice of history in particular both editors and contributors are highly conscious of issues inherent to prior scholarship, such as

culturally constituted prejudices surrounding issues of sexuality and gender. This is made explicitly apparent in Fisher and Langlands' own contribution 'Bestiality in the Bay of Naples', which examines the famously provocative marble statue depicting the god Pan engaging in sexual intercourse with a goat. Of particular interest to them is the capacity of an object to invite viewers to speculate about its meaning despite the fact that lack of evidence means that the artwork defies definitive conclusions about its original meaning. The statue thus emerges as a paradigmatic instance of how ancient objects, and more generally the past itself, have been historically used to substantiate subjective perspectives determined by shifting cultural and academic trends. In doing so, this chapter challenges the reader to reflect upon how their own opinions and receptions of the past are inherently informed, however unconsciously, by contemporary intellectual issues.

This volume is particularly refreshing in its inclusive attitude, which can be seen to capitalise upon its diversity in order to counter the elitism often levelled particularly against Classics. It is ambitiously characterised by the editors as an invitation to other scholars and students of varying disciplines to actively engage in this expanding field of research. Though it is yet to be seen whether or not this objective is fully realised in future scholarship, the volume clearly achieves its aim of serving as an intellectually stimulating starting point and extensive example for future interdisciplinary dialogues to be modelled upon.

Book Review: Fisher Kate, Langlands Rebecca (eds.) (2015), *Sex, Knowledge, and Receptions of the Past.* Oxford University Press.

Fiona Cox

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This is a striking volume. Its cover sports a rather beautiful and arresting wood engraving by Hilary Paynter entitled 'The Victorians' Fear of the Cerne Abbas Giant'. The image depicts fairy-like mortals fleeing from the impressively endowed and jubilant giant, a symbol of lust and fertility, whose overt sexuality stands in marked contrast to Victorian prudery and reticence. It is an ideal image to introduce the themes of this volume, a book which explores attitudes to sexuality as a way of unpacking the ways in which we construct the past, and the unexamined assumptions which all too often underpin these constructions. Given that it is published within Oxford University Press's *Classical Presences* series we are primed for analyses of receptions of the ancient world, and we are not disappointed. The editors' co-

written essay 'Bestiality in the Bay of Naples - The Herculaneum Pan and Goat Statue' offers a fascinating and richly illustrated history of interpretations and analyses of the statue, which depicts Pan having sex with a goat. Given that '[w]e may look at the same object, and yet what we *see* and what others see, and have seen, varies widely', the studies and varying interpretations of the statue in themselves offer a suggestive history of attitudes towards sexuality. In addition to this essay Debbie Challis gives a thoughtful analysis of the need for museums to recognise different gender identities within their audiences in the ways in which they 'package' the past and put it on display. Sebastian Matzner studies the nineteenth century German writer, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs and applies his theory of sexuality to the Salmacis episode from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, thereby offering a fresh and sensitive reading. It would, however, be a mistake to see this volume as engaging exclusively or even primarily with the ancient world. Amongst other essays are accounts of the ways in which modern France engaged with eighteenth-century libertinage, an account of interwar psychoanalytic thought, an analysis of the queering of early-modern sexual monsters. It is perhaps invidious to single out for particular mention individual essays from a volume where the standard is so high, and the content so rich and suggestive, but I particularly enjoyed Lesley Hall's 'The Victorians: Our Others, Our Selves?' and Chris Waters' 'Wilde in the Fifties'. Hall persuasively explores the modern urge to believe in Victorian repression (a need which is, of course, illustrated on the book's cover) and analyses the ways in which the Victorians continue to prompt and shape our own impulses towards repression. I was equally engaged by Chris Waters' analysis of the way in which Oscar Wilde's performed sexuality continues to compel and fascinate modern audiences.

Fisher and Langlands close their essay by observing that 'knowledge about sex not only draws on the past as evidence to bolster its claims, but also simultaneously shapes our understanding of the past even as it does so' (110). It is a claim that stands behind the project as a whole, and which enables this wonderfully diverse subject matter to maintain a central focus and coherence. This is far more than a study of sexuality and of shifting and diverse historical attitudes towards sex - it is a book that explores and unpacks historiography, that asks us to think about how we use the past in order to forge our identities today, and that entertains and challenges as it does so.

Classics Play Review: Two theatrical productions of the Odyssesy.

Amy Down

MA student in Classics and Ancient History

In adapting ancient texts for the modern stage there is a fine line to walk between authenticity and accessibility; a balance between spectacle and meaning. In the past months Exeter Northcott has been lucky enough to see two productions of the *Odyssey,* the first a contemporary play by English Touring Theatre (ETT) and the second a dance theatre performance by the Mark Bruce Company (MBC). Both were striking productions, and, in very different ways captured the essence of the *Odyssey* well.

One of the first considerations is whether to maintain a classical setting for the performance, or relocate it to a different period that makes it in some way more accessible or compelling. These productions both combined scenes set in the ancient past with those in a more contemporary setting, and this was something that worked better for the MBC than for ETT. In the former scenes were ancient or modern with little consistency: an essentially 'ancient' performance was punctuated by a 1970s Santa Claus Cyclops and a Calypso who would not have been out of place in Exeter High Street on a Saturday night. The music ranged from Mozart's *Ave Verum Corpus* to pieces composed by Mark Bruce himself, something which the confused chronology and temporal multiplicity of the *Odyssey* allows. By contrast ETT separated the past and the present very distinctly: the play was set in the 21st century but Odysseus' wanderings took place in the ancient world. This strict dichotomy allowed the audience to locate themselves more firmly within the action but also created a veneer of improbable fantasy which overlaid the 'mythical' sections. It was never quite clear whether Odysseus was really experiencing the wanderings or whether he was simply tripping in a rather bizarre fashion.

Most classicists know that the *Odyssey* plays with the timelines of the characters throughout the play: Books 1 and 5 take place at the same time; Books 9-12 jump back ten years to the end of the Trojan War. Both productions followed temporal rather than literary chronology, probably a wise move to cater for the non-classicist in the audience, especially for the dance performance where chronological leapfrog might be difficult to pull off convincingly. Additionally, both started the action before the Trojan War. MBC chose to begin his production well before the start of the Trojan War, with the courting and marriage of Odysseus and Penelope, then the birth of Telemachus and the summons to go to Troy whilst ETT presents Odysseus and Penelope as a couple with a grown up son, Magnus, in a strained and slightly stale marriage. For a classicist who was expecting to see the *Odyssey* these initial sections came as something as a surprise: as a love story the choreography in MBC's production was beautiful but the context it provided was probably of more use to those who did not already know the narrative. This portrayal of their early relationship

allowed us to see them as a couple in a manner not allowed in Homer and created a stronger sense of sympathy towards Odysseus. For ETT Odysseus' sudden departure to Turkey was only the latest in a series of missed engagements and Penelope appeared reluctantly resigned to her husband's lack of commitment to family life. The strong 21st century Penelope was clearly more resentful of her husband's absence than was the classical example in MBC, who stayed true to the Homeric 'original.'

One of the strongest aspects of the MBC production was the visually stunning representation of the passing twenty years in which each year was carved into Penelope's bare back, stage blood running down her spine. This could very easily have been tacky, but was instead carried out with a poignant sensitivity that really stood out. ETT chose to compress the narrative into a much shorter time-frame – only a couple of weeks – which actually worked well for the 21st century context where the speed of communication means people are regarded as missing far more quickly than in the days of Homer.

After adapting the chronology ETT preserved the narrative as we have it in the *Odyssey,* updating the characters to make the Suitors tabloid journalists, Athene the inimitable PA and Penelope the victim of media harassment. Adapting the setting can be dangerous, but it worked well here: it was very easy to believe her growing worries for her husband combined with her weariness at the constancy of the media attention and their demands for interviews culminating in a promise to hand over an exclusive interview should her husband not return.

In contrast MBC maintained the classical characters but completely upended the narrative. It was not until after the production that I understood what was going on, and then only after a conversation with the director. For me the adaptation went too far: a production of the *Odyssey* should, to my mind at least, tell the story of the *Odyssey,* rather than a fantasy of the director. In this production Priam did not die in the ruins of Troy but turned up in Ithaca as one of Penelope's suitors, whilst Telemachus got himself involved in a frenzied, drunken orgy in the ruins of Troy before the inhabitants realised his identity and forced him to flee for his life. As someone who knows the Greek text well I couldn't make head or tail of these scenes, and MBC definitely appears to have prioritised his own visuals over an authentic representation of the story. Whilst this may have worked for those who didn't know the story already, it was a confusing aspect for those like myself, especially as there was no synopsis in the programme.

Overall I preferred the production by ETT: it maintained the original story whilst making it accessible and understandable to the non-specialist. Having a script it had an advantage over the MBC dance production which relied entirely on the visual storytelling, and this made it much easier to follow the thread of the story. I enjoyed watching Mark Bruce's *Odyssey*: the dancers were extremely skilled and it was beautiful to observe, but the director twisted the story almost out of recognition in order to satisfy his own capriciousness and the Hellenist in me balked at such a loose adaptation of what is already an excellent story.

John Wilkins' Exeter *Mémoire*

I came to Exeter in the autumn of 1989 as a refugee from Aberdeen, one of the Classics departments that had been culled by the government of the day. There had been professors of Greek and Latin at Aberdeen for 500 years. Heather and I were not happy to be leaving the progressive politics of Scotland for the Conservative heartlands of the south of England.

Despite these difficulties, the Exeter Classics Department welcomed me warmly and to my surprise agreed to a new module in Food and History, which was developed over the decades and came to have greater medical content, eventually splitting food and medicine into two modules. I loved teaching students and matching their ideas about food and diet with those from antiquity.

In 26 years at Exeter, I never seriously considered moving elsewhere. I found the Department friendly, democratic in spirit, open to students, and constructive in response to research papers at the weekly seminar, which was the high point of the week for me. I could not have presented my work to a more encouraging group of people, or staff and students who could make more helpful suggestions for new and helpful approaches. They took medicine in their stride without batting an eyelid, even though its strengths lie not in Britain but in France, Germany and Italy.

My own work has moved through a number of areas of study, from Greek Tragedy to Greek Comedy, to Athenaeus and the history of food and to Galen and the history of nutrition and preventive medicine, all of which have been reflected in my teaching. Colleagues even encouraged me to explore with the Medical School how Galen might help the NHS. The Department likewise has a spirit of renewal and development. A friend who retired in 1998 said that everyone can be replaced, and even though I did not believe her at the time, and was saddened whenever somebody left to go to another university, her words have proved remarkably accurate. As the Department grew, and people came and went, every new wave of appointments brought great friends and colleagues, in the late nineties, the early 2000s, and most years since. None of those in post in 2016 were in the Department when I came, but the Department is as strong and resilient as ever, as good as ever, as friendly as ever. The development of Visual and Material Culture in the early 2000s was an enormous success, while Classics continues to be very strong on the language and literature side. The *culture* of the Department prevails.

This strength and resilience, this quality of teaching in an ancient discipline is a great tribute to all those in post in 2016 and to those graduating this year. I am very proud as I look at the Department now from the outside. Readers might think this is a remarkably upbeat reading of events: please remember that the Department is flourishing despite the greatest pressures from the grim social and economic ideology that governs the country. That assessment comes from a survivor of the 1980s.

Ode to the Freedom of Thought.

„Die Gedanken sind frei“

„Die Gedanken sind frei“ is a German folk song whose text and melody were originally printed, between 1810 and 1820, as a part of the *Lieder der Brienzer Mädchen.* This song celebrates a concept that originated in Antiquity. We want here to remember Cicero's words in the *Pro Milone (XXIX,* 79)*: liberae sunt* [..] *nostrae cogitationes.*

Die Gedanken sind frei, wer kann Sie erraten,
Sie fliegen vorbei wie nächtliche Schatten.
Kein Mensch kann sie wissen,
kein Jäger erschießen,
es bleibet dabei:
Die Gedanken sind frei!

Ich denke was ich will und was mich beglücket,
doch alles in der Still', und wie es sich schicket.
Mein Wunsch, mein Begehren kann niemand verwehren,
es bleibet dabei:
Die Gedanken sind frei!

Und sperrt man mich ein im finsteren Kerker,
das alles sind rein vergebliche Werke.
Denn meine Gedanken zerreißen die Schranken und Mauern entzwei:
Die Gedanken sind frei!

Drum will ich auf immer den Sorgen entsagen,
und will mich auch nimmer mit Grillen mehr plagen.
Man kann ja im Herzen stets lachen und scherzen und denken dabei:
Die Gedanken sind frei!

Ich liebe den Wein, mein Mädchen vor allen,
sie tut mir allein am besten gefallen.
Ich sitz nicht alleine bei meinem Glas Weine,
mein Mädchen dabei:
Die Gedanken sind frei!

Thoughts are free, who can guess them (?)
They flee past like nocturnal shadows.
No man can know them,
no hunter can shoot them,
it does remain as it is:
Thoughts are free!

I think what I want, and what delights me,

still everything in the stillness, and as it does suit.
No one can deny my wish and desire,

it does remain as it is:
Thoughts are free!

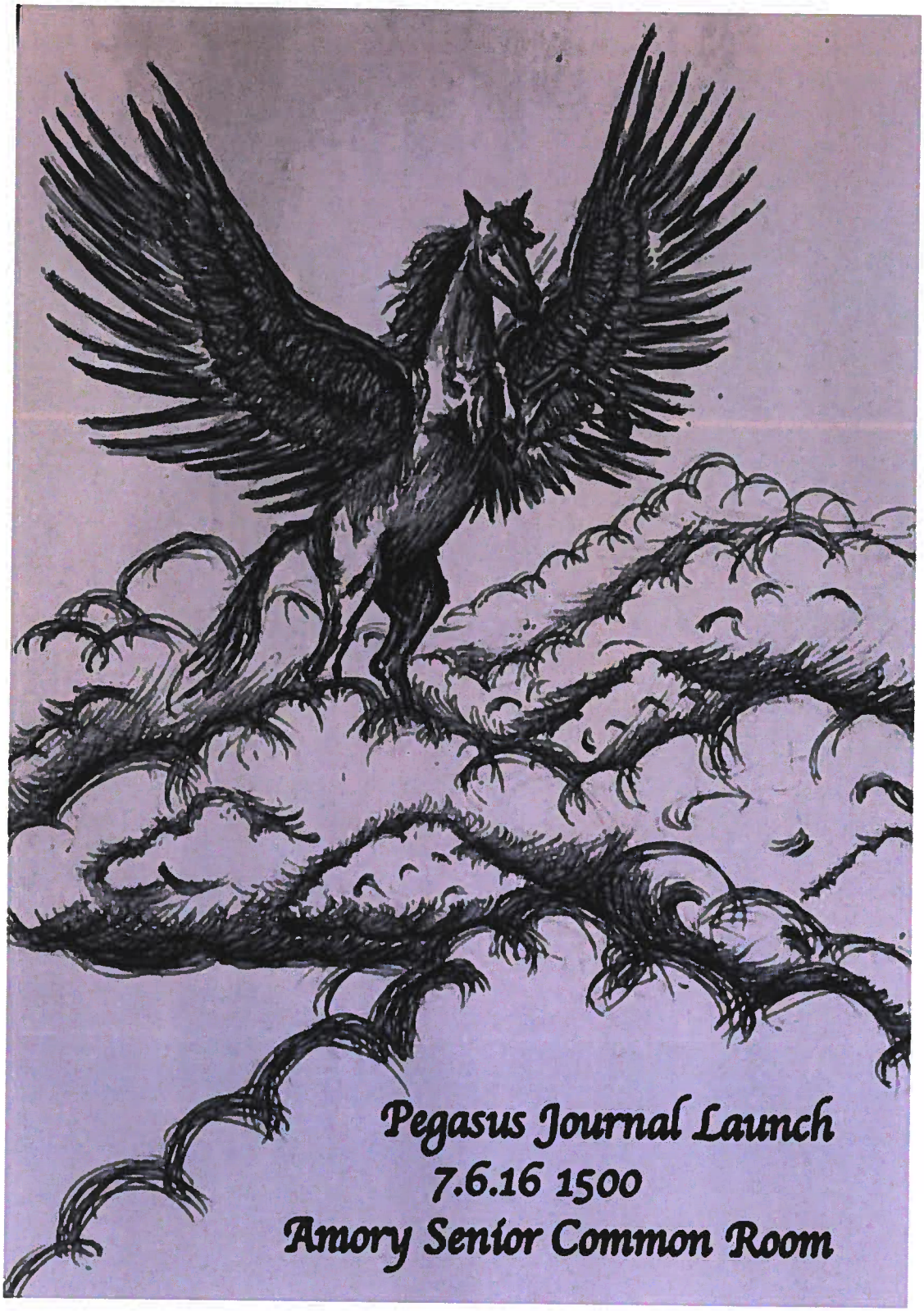
And if someone locks me in the darkest dungeon,
all these are merely futile works,
since my thoughts tear all gates
and walls apart:
Thoughts are free!

I want to renounce my sorrows forever,
and I want never again plague myself with whimsies.

One can always laugh in one's heart, and joke
and think at the same time:
Thoughts are free!

I love wine, and my girl above all,
I like her best of all.
I'm not alone with my glass of wine,
my girl is with me:
Thoughts are free!

(Translation by E. Groff)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