

LECTURE ABSTRACTS

Tel Aviv University
Faculty of Humanities



אוניברסיטת תל-אביב
הפקולטה למדעי הרוח

בית הספר להיסטוריה ▪ בית הספר למדעי התרבות ▪ קרן דן דוד

הכנס הארבעים ושניים של האגודה לקידום הלימודים הקלאסיים בישראל
The 42nd Conference
of the Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies

ISPCS

דל-ה' בתמוז תשע"ג ▪ גילמן 496 ▪ June 12-13, 2013

Wednesday June 12, 2013

8:30-9:00

REGISTRATION

9:00-10:00

OPENING SESSION : GREETINGS

Prof. Eyal Zisser, Dean, Faculty of Humanities, Tel Aviv University

Prof. Margalit Finkelberg (Tel Aviv University), President, Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies



Prof. Sir Geoffrey Lloyd

(University of Cambridge/Needham Research Institute), Laureate of the 2013 Dan David Prize in the category *Past – Classics, the Modern Legacy of the Ancient World*

10:00-10:15

COFFEE BREAK

Session I

10:15-11:45

Chair: **Sonia Klinger** (University of Haifa)



Fabian Horn (Ludwig-Maximilian University of Munich)

‘Order from Chaos’: Ekphrasis and Meaning in Context in the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles*

The *Shield of Heracles* is a less well-known piece of epic poetry narrating an episode from the myths of Heracles. Its centrepiece is a lengthy description of the hero’s shield as he arms himself to fight the highwayman Cycnus and his father Ares. The ekphrasis is clearly modeled on the Iliadic shield of Achilles, which has often been interpreted in its context and is deemed a masterpiece of ekphrasis. No comparable advance has been brought forth for the shield of Heracles, which is usually passed over with contempt and dismissed as an inferior copy. Due to the oral nature of all early Greek heroic poetry, lack of originality is not a valid argument for condemning the poem, and in this paper, I shall attempt to argue that the *epyllion* is more than just a piece of epigonal poetry by a mindless or untalented rhapsode. While the *Shield of Heracles* may be no match for the monumental Homeric epics in both quality and quantity, there is certainly more to it than meets the eye at first glance. The poet made good use of the traditional elements he inherited from his model, and succeeded in imbuing them with new meaning. An analysis of the structure of the ekphrasis shows that the shield of Heracles is not a random sequence of unrelated pictures, but develops a kind of ‘program’. Its scenes describe an evolution from initial violent chaos to peaceful order. This process of pacification corresponds to the function ascribed to Heracles as ‘protector against ruin for gods and men’ (Sc. 27-8). Thus, the seemingly disproportionate ekphrasis is used as literary device to set the battle between

Heracles and Cycnus into a larger context and to give a cosmic dimension to their encounter as another step on the way from chaos to order.



Efi Papadodima (University of Ioannina, Greece)

Sortition and Heroic / Moral Values in Greek Tragedy: The Case of Sophocles' *Ajax* and Euripides' *Children of Heracles*

Sortition comes up in several tragic contexts which mostly concern martial enterprises or decisions, issues of rulership and authority, and religious or social practices. Even though most relevant references are rather fleeting, the drawing of lots is presented as (or understood to be) a process which secures equal or fair chances and equal or fair access to -- or share in -- both goods and dangers or toils, and, by extension, just treatment among equal members of a group or class. This state of fairness attained by sortition is in most cases welcome and desirable, or actually demanded and fought for, since it can suppress arbitrary claims on somebody else's (or one's own) affairs and possessions, and brute force or other forms of transgressive conduct which might accompany those claims.

Most tragic contexts indeed treat the casting of lots as a well-accepted or unproblematic regulating principle. However, there are two cases (Sophocles' *Ajax* and Euripides' *Children of Heracles*) which explicitly or implicitly problematize the very desirability of the state of fairness attained by sortition, by bringing out the complications involved in the discrepancy between a well-accepted state of sociopolitical equality (a requirement of sortition) and a rather unwelcome form of 'moral' equality (a potential result or implication of sortition). At the same time, these plays offer diverse or virtually contradictory glimpses into the perceived interplay between lottery and constraint or active moral agency and freely chosen action (depending on the other options available). The connection of sortition with both fairness and self-motivated action is explored in the light of its interaction with traditional principles of the heroic code (notably fame, bravery, and nobility), which occupy a central role in those tragedies as a whole.



Thomas K. Hubbard (University of Texas, Austin)

Did Harmodius and Aristogeiton Have Children?

The Tyrannicides' veneration received a rather surprising inflection during the later part of Pericles' career in Athenian politics, when a decree was passed granting their eldest living male descendants the privilege of *sitêsis*, i.e. the right to take meals in the Prytaneum for the rest of their lives, an honor normally reserved for victors in the crown games and others of the highest distinction in the state. Isaeus 5.46-47 suggests that the honors also extended to *proedria* (sitting in the front row at public ceremonies) and *ateleia* (freedom from performing liturgies), although these may not have been part of the same decree. What is surprising here is the assumption that Harmodius and Aristogeiton both had descendants, something not altogether consistent with their being a pederastic couple at the time of their deaths in 514, as the monumental tradition had coded them. Moreover, it is clear that not only the bearded Aristogeiton, but also the unbearded Harmodius were alleged to have descendants: the opponent Dicaeogenes attacked in Isaeus' speech (generally dated to around 389 BCE) claimed to be a descendant of Harmodius. Given that names regularly recurred within families and that any surviving siblings of the original Harmodius and Aristogeiton would have ample reasons to name later male offspring after their famous and heroic uncles, who died at an early age, it is dubious whether any of the individuals claiming descent from the tyrannicides in the 440s or 430s (70-80 years after their death) actually were direct lineal descendants. But it is interesting that Pericles and his allies would have chosen to champion the cause of those claiming to be descended from the Athenian heroes. I suspect their motive may have been to recast the legendary pederastic couple in a light more conducive to family values and propagation of offspring, making them progenitors of a proud and noble family line. While this version need not necessarily deny that Harmodius and Aristogeiton once had a pederastic relationship (perhaps many years before each man married), it does make the pederastic element of the story far less salient and critical: what became important was no longer public memory of the men themselves (whom virtually no living person in the 430s would have ever known) or the details of their relationship, but honor of their familial representatives in the present generation. One could call this move a 'heterosexual sanitization' of the legend, aiming to cast the earlier pederastic story

as a romanticized and archaic myth. I will argue that this alteration of their legend was consistent with a general marginalization of pederasty in favor of encouraging earlier marriage and higher citizen birth rates during the Periclean age.

11:45-12:00

COFFEE BREAK

Session II: SOCRATICA

12:00-13:00

Chair: **Gabriel Danzig** (Bar-Ilan University)



Menahem Luz (University of Haifa)

The Erlangen Papyrus 4 and its Socratic Origins

P. Erlangen 4 is a 2nd-3rd century CE papyrus fragment of what is described as a 'Socratic' dialogue. Its main topic is the cure for the (desire) of the beautiful – and, by implication, the meaning of moral beauty itself. Little discussed after its initial publication (1941), previous scholars have made only brief, general comparisons with the works of the Plato, Xenophon and Aeschines although all agree that it must have originally been composed in the early 4th century. Computer examination of the text and analysis of its contents has led me to consider a new reconstruction of the text. Although its precise authorship still remains a mystery, I will attempt to show that its philosophical language, argument and dramatic background are closer to the remains of Antisthenes than other Socratic writers and in particular to one of his Alcibiades compositions. The possibility is considered that it originated either in one of his own works or one of his immediate followers. My paper will comprise of: (1) An analysis of the text itself. (2) Its dramatic and philosophical structure. (3) Comparison with the remains of other Socratic writers. (4) Suggestions for its provenance.



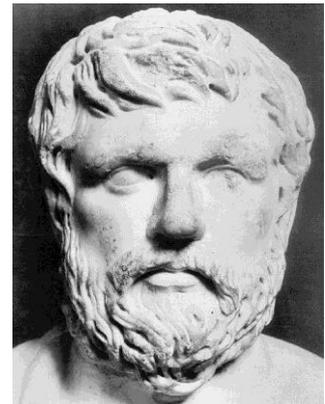
Olga Chernyakhovskaya (Bamberg University)

Theodote and the Socratic Pleasure

The dialogue between Socrates and Theodote in the third book of the *Memorabilia* (3.11), quite puzzling at first glance, has been variously understood by scholars. Roughly their interpretations fall into two categories, literal and metaphorical. I will also offer a metaphorical reading, but one that rests on the assumption that first some sort of system has to be found in the views Xenophon's Socrates holds on pleasure. There are three kinds of human pleasure mentioned in Xenophon's Socratic writings which can conventionally be labeled the bodily, the 'common' and the 'Socratic' pleasures. Bodily pleasures (there are four kinds of these, according to Xenophon's Socrates) come from satisfying the appetites of the body: it is the satisfaction as such that is the cause of pleasure and not the way it occurs. The measure of bodily pleasures must, therefore, be the pleasurable sensation, e.g., one should eat or drink only as much as hunger and thirst demand, and no more. Two inferences can be made from this: first, the pleasure, in the opinion of Xenophon's Socrates, derives from the *process* of satisfying the desire; second, such a sensation is by its nature *subjective*, since different people can experience pleasure differently. The same is also true for the remaining two kinds of pleasure, of which the 'common' pleasures are those that make most people feel happy by attaining excellence in their respective activities such as seafaring or husbandry, whereas the 'Socratic' pleasures derive from self-perfection.

Although for Xenophon's Socrates himself the most agreeable are of course the 'Socratic' pleasures, he only rarely confronts them with the 'common' pleasures (e.g. *Mem.* 1.6.9) that most people prefer; on the contrary, he is quite intent on contrasting the two higher kinds of pleasure with the third, lowest, kind, i.e. the bodily pleasures which are easily and immediately attainable, while the higher ones require hard labour and patience (which is also the reason why their superiority needs justification). An example of the bodily pleasures contrasted with the 'common' one may be found in Prodicus' parable of Heracles at the crossroads as recounted by Socrates in the second book of the *Memorabilia* (2.1.21-34). Still more interesting, I think, is the duel between the bodily and the Socratic pleasures represented in the conversation of Socrates with Theodote. One of Socrates' interlocutors has mentioned that Theodote's beauty defies any description: it is κρείττων λόγου, which literally means that beauty is 'stronger than reasoning'.

Socrates decides to pay Theodote a visit in order to demonstrate to his companions that this claim is wrong. Theodote's beauty did not convince Socrates in the very least, whereas Socrates' discourse has completely subdued Theodote: she had been known for coming together only with those who proved to be able to 'persuade' her (συνεῖναι τῷ πείθοντι), but towards the end of their dialogue she already finds herself forced to attempt to persuade Socrates to become her associate. Now, to Socrates friendship with Theodote is of no interest, and he invents an excuse: his 'girlfriends' (φίλοι) day and night never let him alone. I believe one should understand these words metaphorically: Socrates' 'girlfriends' are his pleasures (ἡδοναί) which he gets from his soul (cf. also *Ap.* 18). Socrates has no intention to keep up acquaintance with Theodote and, to make her understand it, he invents a joke that would not be too alien to his counterpart's mode of thinking but, at the same time, would contain a disguised meaning: Socrates' way is that of self-perfection, and this is the source of his pleasures, far more powerful than any bodily pleasures could possibly be. His conversation with Theodote not only represents no contradiction with the general design of the *Memorabilia*, on the contrary, it gives strong confirmation to all the main ideas expressed in this work and gives another proof of Xenophon's artistic mastery.



Xenophon

13:00-14:00

LUNCH BREAK

Session III: KEYNOTE ADDRESS

14:00-15:00

Chair: **Margalit Finkelberg** (Tel Aviv University)



Glenn Most (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa / University of Chicago)

The Rise and Fall of Quellenforschung

15:00-15:15

COFFEE BREAK

Session IV

15:15-17:15

Chair: **Hannah Cotton** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)



Emma Park (University of Warwick, UK)

Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* II.371-380, and its Influences

While Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* has recently attracted renewed scholarly attention, work remains to be done on the apparently more technical, less literary sections of his poem. In this paper, I shall offer a close analysis of a little-studied passage, *DRN* II.371-80. I aim, firstly, to locate Lucretius' arguments within the context of the philosophical traditions on which he draws. Secondly, I shall show how Lucretius' poetic imagery and philosophical argument reinforce each other. At lines 371-6, Lucretius uses two images to support his claim for atomic variety: ears of corn, and shells on the seashore. These images allude to and correct Democritus' theory that 'like is drawn to like', examples for which are pebbles on a seashore and beans and chick-peas in a sieve (DK 68A 128, 68B 164). Simultaneously, the beauty of Lucretius' language heightens the vividness of his argument. At lines 377-80, Lucretius concludes that the atoms were not 'made by hand (*facta manu*) according to the fixed form of one'. This poetic image alludes to Plato's teleological account of the world in the *Timaeus*, and also to Epicurus' criticism of Plato's atoms as made solely from triangles. I shall set this point within a wider context of engagement with the teleological world view in the *DRN*. The language with which Lucretius attacks this view, particularly as expressed in the *Timaeus*, is echoed by Cicero at *De Natura Deorum* I.18-20, in which the Epicurean Velleius criticizes the *Timaeus* for making the world *manu paene factus*. This allusion to *DRN* II.377-80 supports the view that these lines deliberately position Lucretius' argument in the Epicurean tradition of criticism of Plato. This passage of the *DRN* thus illustrates Lucretius' skill in fusing philosophical and literary elements into persuasive, subtle poetry.



Dániel Kiss (Ludwig-Maximilian University of Munich)

The Neoteric Generation

This paper aims to reach a better understanding of the Neoteric poets by locating them within their social environment. The Neoterics were writing in Rome around the 50s B.C.E.; today they are taken to include Catullus, C. Helvius Cinna, C. Licinius Calvus, Valerius Cato, and some others. It is debated whether the poets formed a closed literary coterie or a looser group with some shared interests. This paper proposes the slightly different thesis that they propagated values that found a wide resonance among their generation. There only survive meagre fragments of the writings of the Neoterics other than Catullus. However, it is clear that they wrote refined mythological *epyllia* that were inspired by Hellenistic models, as well as short personal poems. One of the key themes in the latter, and sometimes even in the *epyllia*, is the appreciation of the pleasures of life, including love, sex, and good literature. Another common subject is politics and social life. Remarks by Cicero and Sallust suggest that the hedonistic mindset of the Neoterics was shared by many well-to-do young men in Rome in the Sixties and Fifties B.C.E. It is telling that Epicureanism was notably popular at the time, even though no leading Neoteric appears to have subscribed to it. Recent interpretations of Neoteric poetry have stressed its use of archaic and Hellenistic Greek models. This paper argues that it was rooted just as strongly in its social and historical context.



Catullus, Modern bust on the Piazza Carducci, Sirmione

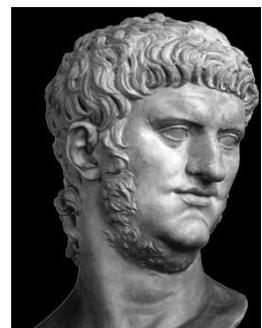


Max Eager (University of Oxford)

Nero Tyrannus

In the remaining chapters of *Annales* Book XVI Tacitus relates the persecution of certain eminent individuals. Of these accounts the parallel trials of Thrasea Paetus and Barea Soranus present the longest and most deliberately constructed episode. For the historian, however, a greater share of interest lays with the trial, *nolo contendere*, and death of Thrasea Paetus. The purpose of this paper is to analyze the techniques utilized by Tacitus to create contrast between Nero and Thrasea, focusing on their behavior and their symbolic roles within the *urbs*. Not out of line with his well-noted penchant for the tragic, Tacitus equates Nero to the archetypal tyrant, using features and behavioral aspects found in the grand tyrants of Greek tragedy. Among these are the extension of the tyrants' own sentiments and emotions to his hangers-on. The tyrant's entourage in this case is Cossutianus Capito (son-in-law of Tigellinus) and the infamous *delator* Epirus Marcellus. The extension of the action to these *satellites*, leaving Nero wholly inactive, takes on several layers of significance. Of which one is that their speeches bring up as a reproach against Thrasea the vices of the Princeps and ultimately brand Thrasea as the *pharmakos* of Greek tragedy. By the end of the extant chapters Thrasea is the scapegoat of a community that is unable to correctly assign blame and discern its own indolence. Closing comments will focus on the role of these death-scenes in the ending chapters of the *Annales* and what kind of an example Thrasea provides for Tacitus' political philosophy, *obsequium*.

Nero





Nancy Shumate (Smith College Northampton, Massachusetts

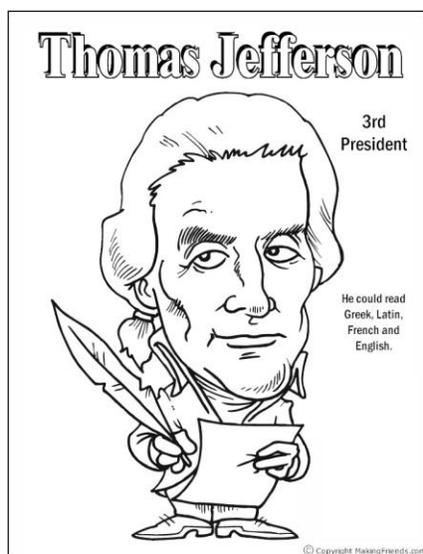
USA)

American Cincinnatus: Roman Nostalgia, Jeffersonian Agrarianism, and American National Identity

The idealization of the countryside was a persistent feature of Roman literary and cultural discourse. Variations of it were articulated in texts ranging from the agricultural treatises of Cato the Elder and Varro to Virgil's pastoral and georgic poetry, with lyric, satiric, and historiographical iterations of the trope filling out the picture. What all these Roman expressions of pastoral nostalgia shared was their use of a certain soft-focus image of the country and rural life as a base upon which to build ideas of national identity and 'authentic' national values. They did so by marketing a stylized, fabricated rusticity that grew increasingly divorced from contemporary social and economic realities. This is the tradition on which Thomas Jefferson drew as he sought to forge a national identity for citizens of the new American republic that would be based on what were imagined as agrarian virtues. Like most Enlightenment elites Jefferson was steeped in classical learning, and his library was full of Latin tomes; among his favorites were the agricultural writings of Cato and Virgil. In *Notes on the State of Virginia*, he argues that farmers make the best citizens because of their virtue and independence, echoing Cato's claim that they are the best and bravest men and the hardest soldiers (*De Ag. praef. 2*). Enconced at Monticello, his rural Virginia villa, Jefferson patterned his life after the great slave-holding landowners of the Roman Republic, extolling the virtues of agricultural labor to the masses who actually did the work.

Once established thus in the national consciousness, this essentially Roman paradigm of rustic superiority showed incredible staying power. This paper will survey the evolution of the trope from its beginnings as a literary figure promulgated by classically trained elites, focusing especially on the South, where it took refuge after being crowded out by modernity in other parts of the country. Conditions here gave rise to a cultural fantasy of the region as a New World Arcadia, whose traditional agrarian values Southern writers were equating with Roman republican virtues well into the twentieth century. The last stop will be a look at that

quintessentially Southern cultural formation, country music, which shows surprising structural and thematic parallels with the fabricated rusticities of Latin literature, and does analogous ideological work shoring up a conservative political agenda. A recent critic has called this music the last gasp of Jeffersonian agrarianism; I would refine that observation to argue that it is actually the last gasp of Roman agrarian discourse, with Jefferson as the crucial mediating text.



17:15-17:30

COFFEE BREAK

Session V (Hebrew)

17:30-18:30

Chair: **Yoav Rinon** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

New Hebrew Translations of Ancient Greek Poetry

Yehuda Libes (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

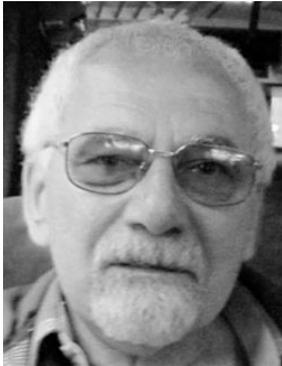
Avraham Aroeti (Shenkar College)

Thursday June 13, 2013

Session VI (Hebrew)

9:30-11:00

Chair: **David Schaps** (Bar-Ilan University)



Aryeh Finkelberg (Tel Aviv University)

The ΣΩΜΑ-ΣΗΜΑ Metaphor

Plato, *Cratyl.* 400C: '[S]ome people say that the body (σῶμα) is the tomb (σῆμα) of the soul, on the grounds that it is entombed in its present life, while others say that it is correctly called 'a sign' (σῆμα) because the soul signifies whatever it wants to signify by means of the body. I think it is most likely the followers of Orpheus who gave the body its name, with the idea that the soul is being punished for something, and that the body is an enclosure or prison in which the soul is securely kept (σῶζεται) - as the name σῶμα itself suggests - until the penalty is paid'. Older scholars, including Erwin Rohde, believed that the σῶμα-σῆμα metaphor is of Orphic provenance. But as U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf objected (an objection which was reiterated by I.M. Linforth, E.R. Dodds, L. Moulinier, W. Burkert, L.J. Alderik, R. Parker, F. Graf, and others), Plato distinguishes between 'some' who say that the body is σῆμα τῆς ψυχῆς and 'the followers of Orpheus' who likened the body to prison (δεσμωτηρίου εἰκόνα; cf. ὡς ἔν τινι φρουρᾷ ἔσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι in *Phd*). Some scholars (notably, W.K.C. Guthrie, G. Casadio, and most recently A. Bernabé) argued that the two metaphors are not significantly different. Yet the prison (which was the place of detention before the trial or execution and not the means of punishment, as it has become since the 19th century) connotes an impending trial and a hope for the acquittal (cf. the acquittal of the soul by Persephone in the Bacchic-Orphic gold plates). So also Plato in the *Cratylus*: the soul is kept safely in the prison of the body until it is released. The tomb, on the other hand, connotes death and the majority of scholars agree that Plato juxtaposes the anonymous σῶμα-σῆμα metaphor with the Orphic prison metaphor and assume that the former was Pythagorean. This, however, is nothing more than a 'by default' attribution. I

argue that our evidence strongly suggests that the metaphor is Heraclitean, and, moreover, that it fits in well with Heraclitus' view of mortal life as 'death' of the soul. This, in turn, has significant implications for our understanding of the relationship between the soul and the body in the Orphics and the Pythagoreans as well as of the origins of the sharp antagonism between soul and body found in Plato's *Phaedo* which has proved enormously influential in Western philosophical tradition.



Nili Alon Amit (University of Haifa)

Diogenes of Babylon on the Seat and Nature of the *Hegemonikon*

Diogenes of Babylon, a major Stoic philosopher of the third and second centuries BC (ca. 240-150) was famous, in addition to his writings in several Stoic disciplines, for his arguments supporting the location of the ruling part of the soul (*hegemonikon*) in the region of the heart. This paper will consider three *testimonia* on Diogenes of Babylon's cardiocentric theory: Galen *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* II 8 (hereafter T1), Galen *ibid.* II 5 (T2), and pseudo Plutarch *Placita* IV 5 (T3). These *testimonia* provide three accounts for Diogenes' theory on the ruling part of soul: the soul is identical with blood and the *hegemonikon* generally resides in the heart (T1), the *hegemonikon* is identical with intellect and resides around the heart (T2) and the *hegemonikon* is located in a specific cavity of the heart which is a pneumatic cavity (T3). I shall present my translations and analyses of these three *testimonia* in order to reconstruct Diogenes' conclusive theory on the seat and nature of the *hegemonikon*, and examine the place of this theory in the development of Stoic psychology with reference to relevant medical theories of Diogenes' era.

First of all, a brief description of the Stoic theory of soul. A *testimonium* preserved by Chalcidius discusses the locus of the *hegemonikon*, agreed by most Stoics to be around the heart, and presents the view of the Stoic forefather, Zeno (early third century BC) on soul as *pneuma* (spirit or breath). The structure of the Stoic soul is described by Chalcidius as a composite of eight parts: the *hegemonikon*, the five senses, the vocal substance and the faculty of fertilizing and procreating. The faculties of the soul spread from the seat of the *hegemonikon* throughout the

whole body, ruling and controlling it. The 'whole soul' sends the senses from the *hegemonikon*, like branches spreading from a tree-trunk.

Diogenes of Babylon's arguments on the *hegemonikon*, as attested in T1-T3, include factors present in this general scheme of Stoic soul: the *hegemonikon* is related to nutrition, breath and movement, all originating in the heart (T1); voice as part of the soul is stamped by *logos* which is sent from the *hegemonikon* in the creation of meaningful utterances (T2) and the *hegemonikon* is related to *pneuma* and dwells in a pneumatic surrounding (T3). We shall see how Diogenes' view on the *hegemonikon* is compatible with this general Stoic theory but still contains arguments that are peculiar, as far as we know, to our philosopher. Diogenes of Babylon's view on the location of the *hegemonikon* in a specific cavity of the heart can be compared to the pseudo-hippocratic medical treatise *de Corde* (On the Heart), usually dated to the third century BC, and probably subsequent to the time of Praxagoras who held similar theories on the heart. This treatise describes the seat of intelligence as follows: 'For by nature man's opinion is in the left ventricle and is the principle of the rest of the soul' (1: *de Corde* 10). If this text was indeed written in the middle of third century, at the time of Chrysippus, the medical background on the seat of the *hegemonikon* would fit with Diogenes of Babylon's statements as reflected in this *testimonium*. Dependent on our views on when the *de Corde* was written, would be a judgment on the relationship between Chrysippus and Diogenes of Babylon on this particular issue. The similarity between Diogenes' opinion and the view presented in *de Corde* would, in this case, serve as another proof for the Stoic determination to match their findings with science.



Daniela Dueck (Bar-Ilan University)

Aristoteles of Chalcis – Aristotle?

Two citations in Strabo's Geography are ascribed to a certain Aristoteles and were counted by some scholars as fragments of a lost work *On Euboea* by an Aristoteles of Chalcis. But these same citations also appear in the collection of Aristotle's fragments. If so – was there a person whose identity was Aristoteles of Chalcis or could it be that other fragments ascribed to the

Chalcedian also actually belong to Aristotle? And if so – how did this confusion emerge? I intend to discuss several issues connected with this puzzle and offer a possible solution.

11:00-11:15

COFFEE BREAK

Session VII (Hebrew)

11:15-12:45

Chair: ***Eran Almagor*** (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)



Amir Yeruham (Tel Aviv University)

Music, Musicians and Cult Foundations in Archaic Greece

In my presentation I will stress the role of music and musicians in the establishment of new cult places in the Greek world of the archaic period. Music is ever present in the rituals of the Greek city-states and only seldom do we find a Greek ritual deprived of any musical expression. Every sacrifice was accompanied by hymn singing, dances or musical processions. Every Festival displayed a variety of musical performances, may they be ceremonial dances, hymnic cries, the singing of prayers, or even musical competitions. Each Greek cult exhibited a distinct musical character, a unique 'Soundscape' that defined its traditionally accepted set of musical-patterns, governing not only the types of cultic songs and ceremonial dances to be performed, but also the customary musical modus and genre, the conventional musical instruments, the myth and ritual ideology encoded in the 'sacred' liturgy and much more. Thus, I will claim that one could have distinguished between different cults primarily according to their performative musical-patterns, their respective 'Soundscapes' that set the tone regarding how the ritual was being

experienced in practice. To an uncritical eye the musical practices may seem only as a mere accompaniment to the ritual, but to the people engaged in the actual worship the musical performances were the real essence of the ritual, and by participating either as an audiences, or by actual singing and dancing, the 'believers' shared in the local cultic identity.

If Greek cults were differentiated by their characteristic 'Soundscapes', then in every act of cult distribution we must assume the transfer of the cult's original musico-ritualistic codes, and also the presence of musicians or other cultic personnel versed in the musical-patterns of the original cult. In light of this, I will examine the role that music and musicians played in the diffusion of cults in archaic Greece, and as a by-product, their central role in creating a shared and common Greek religious experience. I will focus on the role of music and musicians in instances of cult foundation by examining various myths, as well as literary and archaeological evidence, relating to the establishment of new temples and other cult places.



Rachel Gottesman (University of Haifa)

Europe and Asia? The Mediterranean and Greek Spatial Perceptions

The paper will offer an analysis of the concepts of Europe and Asia in archaic literary sources and present a formulation of a Greek spatial model that is founded on the Mediterranean Sea. At first glance it seems that Greek spatial perceptions were based on the division of the earth into two symmetric continents, one in the North (Europe), the other in the South (Asia), and that the ancient geographers were concerned with questions regarding the shape of the continents, their number and borders. Therefore these were the traditional themes of research on ancient Greek geography.

The paper will present a short survey of the usage of the names Europe and Asia in archaic sources, both as indicators of geographic spaces and as mythical figures. Surprisingly the names had a rather vague meaning and diverse usages and did not reflect a spatial paradigm based on a schematic division of the earth into continents. A further examination leads to the understanding that Greek spatial perceptions were based on a maritime center (the Aegean

Sea), not on continental divisions. I claim that the archaic debate regarding the nature of the continents was secondary and certainly did not comprise the basis for geographic and ethnic divisions of the world, as claimed by some scholars. The Greek spatial model has many implications, not only on ancient geography, but also on our understandings of the construction of the Greek identity and the cultural-political idea of Hellas. The paper will look beyond traditional geographic sources and present various references of the names Europa and Asia: mythological narratives dealing with space, discussions on ritual practices and medical, philosophical and political writings. The examples will demonstrate the Greek spatial perception, which was based on a dynamic maritime center that connected lands, peoples and cultures.



Shimon Epstein (Bar-Ilan University)

Sea-oriented Policy or Thalassocracy? Towards the Problem of the Fleet and Democracy in Ancient Greek Thought

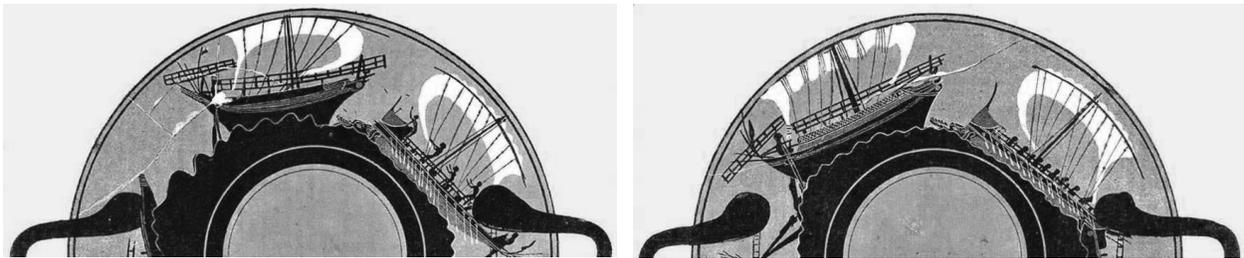
It is well known that some ancient Greek authors linked the development and persistence of democracy in a *polis* with its fleet. Two factors contributing to this connection are named by the sources: an internal one – the dependence of a maritime-oriented *polis* upon the poorest citizens serving as the rowers, archers or petty officers – and an external one, i.e. the role of the navy in preserving a democratic state's independence against oligarchically minded neighbors. This paper examines the place of the two facets of democracy's maritime entanglements in ancient Greek thought. I will maintain that when our sources speak of the seafaring aspects of democracy they mean one of these factors, not 'Sea Rule' as such. We shall see under which conditions each of these factors was thought to be valid. Finally, I will try to show how the role various authors attribute to the internal and external factors of the 'sea-democracy' connection corresponds to these authors' general political outlook. In my talk, I will try to argue the following propositions:

(a) While democracy was frequently connected with the maritime forces in the views of ancient Greeks, it was linked not to thalassocracy as such, as is often stated in modern literature, but

either to the ability of a navy in a democracy to preserve the state's independence, or to the prevalence of the fleet over the land forces within the same *polis*.

(b) In the latter case, the navy was deemed to be a cause not of democracy itself but rather of its radicalization, and only under specific conditions. These conditions were thought to prevail in classical Athens and perhaps some other, not necessarily thalassocratic, *poleis*, but were obviously absent in some thalassocracies.

(c) The dependence of maritime-oriented states on the lower classes manning the men-of-war as a factor of democratic development was, perhaps contrary to our expectations, freely recognized by oligarchic critics of democracy, but never mentioned by its proponents and defenders. This in itself does not necessarily show that such influence was non-existent, even if their ideology prevented the democrats from seeing (or at least publicly acknowledging) the 'poor sailors-democracy' connection. However, this silence of democracy's champions suggests that the naval contribution of the lower classes did not typically serve as their political and ideological weapon in their struggle for political equality.



12:45-14:15

LUNCH

14:15-16:15

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

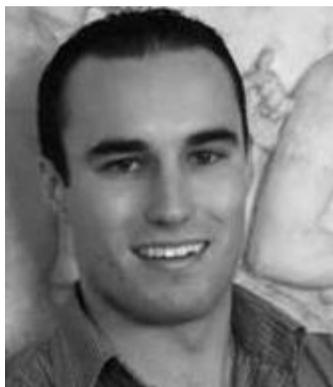
16:15-16:30

COFFEE BREAK

Closing Session

16:30-18:30

Chair: **Jonathan Price** (Tel Aviv University)



Alex McAuley (McGill University, Montreal) & **Monica**

D'Agostini (Milan/ Bologna)

The Teenage Queen : Berenike II in Cyrene

Upon the death of her father Magas of Cyrene in ca. 250 BC, the young woman who would become the vaunted Berenike II of the Ptolemaic dynasty, loyal wife of Ptolemy III and paragon of marital fidelity and virtue, was scarcely more than a teenager. In the roughly five or six years between the death of Magas and Berenike's marriage to Ptolemy, Cyrene descended into a period of chaos which saw the rise and fall of Berenike's mother, Apama, her Antigonid match, Demetrios Kalos, and a popular government championed by two tyrannicides imported from Megalopolis. The obscurity of the situation is rendered even more impenetrable by vague chronology and conflicting sources, but nonetheless begs the question of how the young Berenike rose out of such shaky foundations to stand securely as the young, unmarried, and unchallenged queen of Cyrene over the course of only a few years. The most prominent scholars of Cyrene or the Ptolemies (Bevan, Macurdy, Laronde, *parmi autres*) generally gloss over the specifics of Berenike's rise to power, and in the hopes of dispelling some of the fog that surrounds her early career I aim to reconstruct Berenike's reign in Cyrene before her marriage to Ptolemy III. In addition to providing a fresh look on the abundant numismatic evidence and convoluted literary tradition, I aim to shed some light on her base of support within the city by considering the delicate relationship of the Cyrenaean monarchy with the unruly political factions of the Cyrenaean themselves in the generations that preceded her rise to power. Determining from which group Berenike garnered the support that made her one of the most visible figures in Cyrenaean history, I hope, will be illustrative not only of the city's political history, but also the

circumstances under which it was brought more fully into the Ptolemaic fold with the marriage of its dynamic young queen to the newly ascendant Ptolemy III.



Paul J. Kosmin (Harvard University)

The Persian Version: The Deaths of Antiochus IV in 2 Maccabees

2 Maccabees, so its contents' list tells us (2:19-22), concerns the Judean revolt against the Seleucid empire and the rededication of the profaned Jewish temple. The work has a Jerusalem city focus, in contrast to the dynastic Hasmonaean agenda of 1 Maccabees, and a Deuteronomistic historical theology, that reduces the cause and meaning of all events to the (im)piety of the Jewish people and the appropriate divine response. Yet the author(s) of 2 Maccabees narrate events in Persia that run parallel to and contemporary with the book's major focus – the divergent accounts of Antiochus IV's death in the introductory Second Epistle and in chapter nine. It will be demonstrated that this Persian interest, passed over by scholarship, is central to the historical and theological vision of 2 Maccabees and key to understanding the wider context of the Maccabaeen revolt. Close reading of each account, with a methodological emphasis on the unity of 2 Maccabees as we have it rather than on the sequential deposition of textual strata, will show that the book uses its Persian tales to characterize Antiochus IV and his empire and to validate the supra-Judean agency of the Jewish God. Furthermore, an examination of the numismatic iconography and titles of the fratarakā dynasty of Persis identifies a parallel and contemporary indigenous religious revolt, of which the author(s) of 2 Maccabees are aware. Taken together, the Maccabaeen and fratarakā revolts can help us better understand the unraveling of the Seleucid empire.



Antiochus IV



Noah Kaye (University of Haifa)

Ghosts of the Ptolemies: Sovereignty, Coinage, and the Heliodoros Stele

As is often pointed out, in antiquity the Land of Israel was perpetually caught between the power of Egypt and powers based in Mesopotamia or the upper Euphrates, passing periodically between these two poles of influence. One such change of regime was initiated by the victory of the Seleukid Antiochos III over Ptolemy V in the so-called Fifth Syrian War, which, in terms of hostilities, concluded 200-198 B.C.E. While few will believe that the Ptolemaic disengagement took place over night, the vast majority of scholars endorse the view that 'by 198 Antiochos III achieved complete sovereignty over the Ptolemaic province of Syria and Phoenicia, which was soon to be re-named Coele-Syria and Phoenicia' (Gera 1998: 25; see also Gera 2009: 126, n. 6 for the *communis opinio*). This paper will challenge that vision of the history of this region in the crucial decades leading up to the outbreak of the Maccabean Revolt by bringing together, for the first time, the relevant epigraphical, numismatic, and literary sources. As it stands, each piece of the puzzle has been treated in isolation, by specialists in the administration of Hellenistic kingdoms working largely from inscriptions, by numismatists, who are here faced with an extraordinarily complex body of material, and finally, by experts in Second Temple Judaism.

The publication of the Heliodoros stele from Maresha/Beit Guvrin in 2005, (with further fragments in 2009), revealed plainly that in the year 178, a major administrative reform was underway in the southern Levant. In the inscription, Seleukos IV admits that, in the past, Coele-Syria and Phoenicia had not been governed by the same standards as 'the other satrapies' around the solemn issue of religious piety. The important question of the trigger for this reform was left open by Hannah Cotton and Michael Wörrle in the ed. pr. (Cotton and Wörrle 2005: 196). More recently, Dov Gera has pointed to the weight of the Roman indemnity as the trigger, though here the classic analysis of that issue bears against such an interpretation (Gera 2009, p. 148; Le Rider 1993). This question of the impetus becomes ever more pressing when we consider it in the context of a wider range of reforms undertaken soon thereafter by Antiochos IV, who became king in 175. These are visible in coinage, lead weights and other small inscribed objects, and in the archaeology of urbanism. These are Antiochos IV's series of

experiments in governance, the subject of much recent work by Gerald Finkielsztein (e.g., Finkielsztein 2003).

To begin to answer the question of why the period of reform took place when it did, along with the related question of why the status quo had been maintained without notable complaint for the first two decades of 'complete Seleukid sovereignty,' we will have to revisit the old philological problem of Josephus *AJ* 12.154-55/Appian *Syr.* 5, on the famous, often termed fictive, dowry of Cleopatra I. This tradition implies a residual Ptolemaic presence and fiscal claims on parts of the region in the decades after 194/3. We will also need to modify the dominant view that Coele-Syria was a special, i.e., closed monetary zone under the Seleukids. Finally, an archaeological case will be made for the existence of Ptolemaic sovereignty, of an entirely un-modern form, in the southern Levant after 198.

* * *

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Hartmut G. Ziche (University of Johannesburg)

Curial and Military Elites in Late Antiquity: Modes of Accommodation

Together with clerics and bureaucrats, soldiers and especially military officers are a component of the late Roman socio-economic elite which contributes considerably to reshaping the traditional relationships of social and economic power between landowners, ordinary citizens and indeed the imperial state. Their perceived impact on the curial class is visible in Libanius' complaints about military patronage around Antioch, and their real impact can be guessed at

from their probable contribution to urbanisation in heavily militarised areas like the Rhine frontier. Yet unlike clerics with their extensively preserved correspondence, Augustine or Basil of Caesarea come to mind, and also unlike bureaucrats who at least for their upper echelons are well documented by the historians of late antiquity, the military elite is not very visible. Certainly, there are exceptions for the very top of the class, individuals like Stilicho who can be placed at the intersection between military and imperial elite, and there are some stray finds like Flavius Abinnaeus from Egypt whose 'archive' has been preserved, but in general, and despite the old stereotype of the militarised late Empire, military men are rather discreet.

This paper will attempt to modelise the plausible impact of military men on the curial elite in the fourth and into the fifth century. Impact both in purely economic terms - how much investment potential can we assume soldiers and officers to reasonably possess to compete with the curials as the traditional landowning class of the Empire? - and in socio-economic terms – how much combined economic and patronal influence are military men likely able to muster to interfere with the patron-client relationships of the curial class?

The fact that curial 'flight' into the military is rare – at least when compared to the numbers of curials sneaking into the bureaucracy or the Church – should caution us against expecting too much. But the fact that individuals like Abinnaeus exist, and the expectation by Libanius that his anti-military stance will strike a chord with his contemporaries suggest that it might be worthwhile to think about the many thousands of discreet officers and retired officers of the late Roman army in more modelised terms. Looking at military stipends and fiscal advantages we can estimate how likely military landowners of curial level are, and modelising relationships of power and patronage in the countryside we can estimate how disruptive the new military of the late Empire actually is to the way of life of the municipal elites.

CLOSING REMARKS