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ימים ד'-ה', יג'-יד' בסיון תשע"א
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Wednesday and Thursday, June 15-16, 2011
Beck Lecture Hall, Building 410
Bar-Ilan University

תקצירים
Abstracts

יום ד', יג' בסיון תשע"א
Wednesday, June 15, 2011

OPENING SESSION **9:30--11:00** **מושב פתיחה**

When Syrian Orontes Flowed into the Tiber: Social Integration in the Roman Empire

Avi Avidov (Beit-Berl College)

It is something of a strange paradox that the most salient cultural characteristic of Roman society – and the single most important factor for understanding Rome's outstanding success in empire-building – is also the least understood of all in the ongoing discussion of Roman imperialism.

Rome was exceptional among Mediterranean societies in being exceptionally integrative, and thus prone to open-ended expansion. This affected her brand of imperialism in a very profound way, by making Roman society itself a formidable tool for imperialistic expansion. Although this has not gone entirely unnoticed by modern research, the currently prevailing understanding of social integration has been fashioned under the influence of the theory of the modern nation-state, which assigned a predominant role to cultural unification in the integration of society. Hence the great weight attached to Romanization in modern research; but the Roman empire was at no time a nation-state, and Romanization never had a significant role in the integration of its society, which remained throughout its history multi-cultural and multi-national, a mosaic of religions, languages, economic and ecological disparate systems.

A different model is therefore in order for understanding the integration of Roman imperial society, starting from a different definition of social integration and quite unrelated to Romanization, Hellenization, or any other kind of acculturation for that matter.

I shall start off therefore by proffering a theoretical model complying with this requirement, before moving on to discuss some of the central issues which may ensue from applying the model to the evolution of imperial society. Among other, the following questions will be addressed:

- In what actual social institutions was Roman integrationism embodied?
- How are we to explain the emergence of these institutions in Rome only of all the communities of archaic Latium?
- What did the Romans make of their own integrationism, and how is one to reconcile it with the recurrent exclusivist tone of so many of our sources, from Cato the elder to Juvenal?
- What real advantages accrued to the empire from it's integrationism, and should these be seen as the results of a conscious policy?

The *intitulatio* of Theoderic the Great and the Drainage of the Pomptine Marshes according to the Epigraphic Evidence and Roman Law

Renan Baker (Wolfson College, University of Oxford)

The lecture deals with the *intitulatio* of Theoderic the Great (r. 493–526) in light of the epigraphic evidence, which has not been sufficiently discussed in modern research. The purpose of the lecture is to provide a fresh and thorough examination of the epigraphic

evidence commemorating the successful drainage of the Pomptine Marshes. The evidence presents Theoderic as a Roman ruler, having the title of ―Augustus and full imperial *intitulatio* of this period. The inscription, as known today, has been chiseled in at least three identical copies: two copies have survived in full, the other in a fragmentary state.

So far, most scholars — especially Anglo-Saxon Scholars — have referred to the inscription without citing or translating it in full, and without discussing its circumstances and its context. They have therefore come to the erroneous conclusion that the inscription was dedicated to Theoderic, a conclusion that does not match the grammar and the wording of any of the copies of the inscription. On the other hand, two French scholars, Pierre Courcelle and André Chastagnol, briefly mentioned that the inscription was set up on the initiative and command of Theoderic. However, this view has not received any proper reference or consideration, if at all, among present-day scholars.

In order to establish the context and the legal, historic and political circumstances of the drainage of the marshes and hence the inscription, the lecture discusses the legal status of the drained marshes in light of the detailed literary and legal sources, most of which have been overlooked in modern research: the imperial edict of 440, which regulated the legal status of drained marshes (Nov. Theod. XX), and the two relevant letters preserved in the *Variae* of Cassiodorus.

In addition, the lecture will discuss the *intitulatio* and representation of Theoderic in light of other epigraphic and literary sources. The discussion will enable a new and broader conclusion to be made on the participation of barbarian rulers, some of whom were Arians, in the imperial rule — both in the Latin west and in Byzantium.

The thesis of the lecture will be that this inscription was part of Theoderic's political propaganda. The latter was part of Theoderic's restoration program of Italy that viewed him as a ―second Trajan and presented him as a Roman Emperor (Imperator, Augustus) to his Roman subjects and a *rex* to his Gothic subjects.

SESSION ONE 11:15 -13:1 מושב ראשון

The earliest Greek depiction of Geranomachia?

Anastasia Bukina (The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg)

The State Hermitage Museum possess more than 40 fragments of the Corinthian black-figure krater inv. B. 65-104 found on island of Berezan, North Black Sea region. Owing to the stylistic features of painting it should be considered among the earliest Corinthian kraters *à colonnette* and dated early in Middle Corinthian (i. e. 595/590 – 580 BC). The incisions are very fine, and some peculiar lines (especially those of the felines' heads) have much in common with incisions typical of the Taucheira Painter. Decoration of the most preserved parts of body could be reconstructed as follows: upper frieze, side B – three or four horsemen; lower frieze, encircled – four panthers in alternation with two goats, one bull and one sitting panther facing each other. The heavily damaged upper frieze, side A includes the figure of sitting lion on the left, the central part of composition is missing, and there are six large birds with long necks on the right. Neck of the very left bird in this group has been squeezed by the human fist and a part of the human knee below the chest of this bird could be observed. Although the rest of this figure is lost we can reconstruct it as a Pygmy in combat with cranes, i.e. the subject of the lost epic of *Geranomachia*. It is unique for the Corinthian vase-iconography, and we have to date this depiction earlier than contemporary common date of

the *François Vase* (ca. 570 BC) recognized as the earliest known specimen of this iconographical tradition in the Greek art.

Athenian white-ground pottery in Northern Black Sea cities: to the question of distribution

Anna Petrakova (The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg)

Athenian white-ground pottery is not a wide spread kind of finds in the Northern Black Sea area: during the 19th - 20th centuries some twenty white-ground vases and fragments (preferably – lekythoi and aryballoi) were documented in excavation reports. In some cases the Northern Black Sea provenance of the items, which are now in Russian or Ukrainian museums can be guessed on the basis of the information about the former owners, whose activities were connected to certain parts of the Northern Black Sea area, like the vases from the collections of Bobrinskiy or Pharmakovskiy, or the vases bought from dealer Gaukhman (said to be from Olbia by him). Most of the white-ground vases with the documented provenance are from the burials of Panticapaion (including a set of fragments found in the fire site 83 of the big kurgan of Temir Gora, attributed to the Meidias Painter), though finds in Nymphaion, Myrmekion and Olbia are also documented. Was the export of white-ground polychromic vases to the Northern Black sea a systematic practice or rather the consequence of an accidental personal choice of some customers? On the one hand the number of the finds of the white-ground is not high. On the other hand – the finds are from different cities. In addition, such finds, like a fragment of a drinking-cup, with the red-figured exterior and white-ground interior from Olbia or a recently excavated in Myrmekion fragment of a white-ground calyx-krater (2004, excavations by Alexander Butyagin, attributed to the workshop of the Achilles Painter, quite possibly – to the Phiale Painter) demonstrate the variability of shapes (including rare for white-ground krater) and dates. Is it possible to answer the question whether the white ground was a special interest for the Northern Black sea inhabitants who were able to appreciate the technique or just a part of the red-figured export?

Underworld *Daimons* on a late Etruscan Black-Figure Stamnos in Berlin?

Sonia Klinger (University of Haifa)

Although Etruscan vase-paintings are central in our growing understanding of Etruscan mythology and religion, numerous important vases have remained unnoticed. One instructive case, overlooked since its brief description by A. Furtwängler in 1902, is the Etruscan black-figure stamnos in Berlin (Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen, F 2155). The vase is decorated with a winged male holding a band on one side and a non-winged male brandishing a double axe in front of a column on the other side.

The vase's shape and painting style allow me to attribute it to an artist within the Workshop of Munich 883 dated in the early fifth century BC. As many of his contemporaries, his style was influenced by Attic vase-paintings imported to Etruria at the time. But is the vase's imagery Attic or Etruscan?

A look at Greek and Etruscan figures holding bands and double axes in everyday and funerary scenes in different media pinpoints the possible Greek visual sources that may have prompted the imagery, but also clarifies its Etruscan treatment through the distinctive lens of an Etruscan cultural context. I will argue that the Berlin vase-paintings are thematically linked and that they are unusually early Etruscan representations of underworld *daimons*

conveying notions of death and the passage to the underworld. This reading elucidates the Greek influence on the formative stages of this iconography, adds an important link in the chain of evidence bridging between the earliest Etruscan types of daimons and the better known later types, and thus strengthens the ties of funerary thematic and cultic iconography between the Archaic and the Classical periods in Etruria.

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Heracles in Italy: From the Etruscans to the Tetrarchy

Rivka Gersht (Tel Aviv University)

The legend of Heracles' arrival at the Tiber, his cult and deeds on Italian soil is older than that of the foundation of Rome. He was first recognized a god in Italy, and the Palatine dwellers were the first to dedicate him a tithe of their goods to ensure their happy and prosperous life. It is thus expected to find in Italy representations unknown from Greek repertoire of themes. Among these are the scenes of the elderly Herecle nurses at the breast of Juno, and of Herecle presenting Epeur to Minerva and to Jupiter on Etruscan mirrors.
Already through the Republic certain personages (e.g. M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Mummius and Sulla) had their names linked with dedicating, building or restoring temples or shrines of Heracles at Rome. Others (e.g. Mark Anthony) regarded themselves as his descendants, or presented themselves in his guise. Ancient sources also link Augustus, Caligula and Nero with Heracles.
From Trajan’s reign onwards Heracles is adopted as an emblem of imperial propaganda to signify the emperor’s duty as savior of mankind and as worthy of apotheosis by his virtues. Such propaganda is applied by Hadrian on a coin and on one of his medallions reused in the Arch of Constantine. Among the emperors Commodus was the most obsessed, he not only represented himself as Heracles in art, but also in life. Likewise the Severans made Heracles one of their tutelary deities; as Maximian, which was bestowed the epithet Herculeius to imply that he is Heracles' son, had himself represented as the god wearing the lion scalp. All these and more are documented in ancient written sources and visual representations.

Towards the Question of Division of Labor and Social Composition of the Workforce in Ancient Greek Crafts

Shimon Epstein (Bar-Ilan University)

In my lecture I intend to explore how division of labor (or lack of it) contributed (or otherwise) to the use of free labor in private establishments, in particular in *ergastêria* and building projects. My starting point consists of two sources: the famous passage from the *Cyropaedia* (8.2.5) on advantages of specialization and R. Coase's 1937 essay, which argues that individuals join together in firms, rather than entering the market as independent actors, in order to save transaction costs by substituting hierarchy for market negotiations. It is widely held that the permanent hiring of free staff in private establishments is not to be found in ancient sources. The probable absence of such workers in *ergastêria* is usually explained by political and ideological factors.

In my talk, I will try to establish the following arguments:

a) Without denying the importance of these factors, I would suggest that purely economic causes were at play here. In particular, both potential employers and free employees had alternative solutions, which I intend to elucidate.

b) Where the conditions were different from those in artisan shops (and/or in Athens), our sources indicate the probable use of free hired labor in relatively large-scale private enterprises.

c) The independent producers, like Xenophon's shoemakers, seem to have mostly cooperated via the market, though, according to Coase, they would have gained from organizational cooperation, while still not having to support an employer. My suggestion is that the technological chain was not long enough to justify organizational cooperation. A partner's potential negligence could be more damaging than the transaction costs.

The fiscal background of the revolt of the Maccabees

Sylvie Honigman (Tel Aviv University)

The proposition that the causes of the revolt of the Maccabees are to be sought for in the interaction between the local leadership and the imperial power dominating the region is not new. It underpins the two classical interpretations of the revolt: the one, which emphasizes religious and cultural issues, sees it as a conflict between "Hellenism" and "Judaism", and takes the very intrusion of Greco-Macedonian dynasties in the region as its starting point. The other insists on geopolitical and strategic issues, and substitutes a conflict between "pro-Ptolemies" and "pro-Seleukids" to that of "Hellenizers" versus "traditionalists". This geopolitical interpretation points at the conflict between Ptolemies and Seleukids over the control of southern Syria at the regional level as the trigger for domestic instability. In these views, Hellenization on the one hand, and bi-partism on the other (understood as the confrontation either between "traditionalists" and "Hellenizers", i.e. the cultural version of bi-partism, or as a clash between one "pro-Ptolemaic" and one "pro-Seleukid" parties, i.e. its political version) were the major factors of disruption and instability in Judea.

The alternative approach that will be proposed contends that the fiscal policy of the Ptolemies and the successive Seleukid kings may have had a far more disruptive impact than the cultural and geopolitical issues. This interpretation takes as its starting point the revised

understanding of what might be called the “culture of empire” of Hellenistic time that the flourishing studies of Hellenistic statehood and statesmanship in recent years has allowed. The phrase of “culture of empire” refers both the motivation for conquering and controlling foreign lands and the precise realms and modus operandi of the interaction between the king and local communities.

According to the new consensus, the essence of imperial rule in Achaimenid, Hellenistic and Roman times was pragmatic. The conquest and domination of foreign territories was primarily seen as a means—possibly the only one—at increasing one’s wealth. Hellenistic kings aimed at extracting as much surpluses as possible through taxation from the conquered populations. Changes in local structures and personnel were imposed in two main situations: to secure conquest whenever local communities or their leaders overtly opposed it, and to secure local cooperation when royal demands towards local communities were resisted either by the community as a whole or its leaders. In the overwhelming majority of cases the dispute bore on fiscal requirements. In other words the dynamics of internal changes may be seen to result from the interplay between economic—fiscal—and political issues. The following discussion will argue that the disruptive factors which eventually led to the revolt of the Maccabees roughly coincide with this typical scenario.

The disruptive impact of fiscal issues on domestic matters in Judea will be pointed out through four chronological stages: the story of Joseph the Tobiad under Ptolemaic rule (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.158-66); Antiochos III’s settlement for Jerusalem in 200 BCE (Josephus, *Ant.*12.138-144); the appointment of a provincial high priest by Seleukos IV in 178 BCE (the Olympiodoros inscription and 2 Macc. 3), and Jason’s and Menelaos’ appointments as high priests under Antiochos IV (after 175 BCE) (2 Macc. 4).

The Moderation (*epieikeia*) of Aristobulus I: A Personal Characteristic or Political Strategy?

Israel Shatzman (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Flavius Josephus narrates in the *Jewish War* that on the death of John Hyrcanus, his eldest son Aristobulus I transformed the regime into a Kingship, assumed the diadem, imprisoned his brothers, except for Antigonus, confined his mother in bonds and starved her to death, and subsequently had Antigonus executed because of false calumnies. Having fallen seriously ill, Aristobulus died in great agony (1.70-84). The Jewish historian relates almost the same story, both in details and language, about the short rule of Aristobulus in the J*ewish Antiquities* (13. 301-318), adding, however, the following account (13. 318-319): "Calling himself Philhellene, [Aristobulus] conferred many benefits on his country, for he made war on the Ituraeans and acquired a good part of their territory for Judaea and compelled the inhabitants, if they wished to remain in their country, to be circumcised and to live in accordance with the laws of the Jews. He had a kindly nature, and was wholly given to modesty, as Strabo also testifies on the authority of Timagenes, writing as follows; "this man was a kindly person and very serviceable to the Jews, for he acquired additional territory for them, and brought over to them a portion of the Ituraean nation, whom he joined to them by the bond of circumcision" (R. Marcus' translation in *LCL*, with a few changes).

It is generally held that the story told by Josephus in the *Jewish War* about the rule of Aristobulus is based on an account he found in the *Histories* of Nicolaus of Damascus; in the *Jewish Antiquities* he simply narrated again what he had written in his early work, merely introducing stylistic changes. Still, he found it appropriate to present another version about the reign of Aristobulus, which he had read in the great historical work of Strabon (*Ta meta Polubion*); Strabon's source for this topic was, as Josephus tells us, Timagenes of Alexandria,

the author of a historical work entitled *Kings*. It is often claimed that the information provided by Strabon/Timagenes corrects the pejorative picture of the Hasmonaean ruler, depicted by Nicolaus as a cruel, typical tyrant; on one view, the Greek historian was prompted by his close connection to Herod to draw this groundless picture, on another view, the negative image was an invention of the Pharisees, the political opponents of Aristobulus.
I shall seek to show that to reach a correct understanding of Strabon/Timagenes' stand towards and judgement of Aristobulus and his deeds, one has to examine the meaning of the word 'moderate' (*epieikes*) they use in their account. 'Moderate' and 'moderation' can be employed in various, different meanings, and an examination of the context may expose the correct meaning in a specific case. Greek authors, particularly historians, use the word *epieikes* and its cognates in their accounts about statesmen, kings and generals, including the Egyptian king Amasis, Philippus II, Alexander, Ptolemy I, Pyrrhus, Scipio Africanus, Hortensius, Cato the Younger, and even Sulla ! In these cases the authors do not simply denote an innate personal characteristic; rather, they use the 'moderation' words as a means to explain the motives, considerations and aims of the historical figures discussed, in general or in a particular instance. Generally speaking, it is the context that indicates that this is what is meant by the authors, and sometimes they add an explicit explanation; one way or another, they express the view that the application of moderation in treating opponents or enemies who have been overcome is a good strategy, one that can pay off politically. A rigorous examination of Strabon/Timagenes' account shows that their judgement of Aristobulus is based on this view; an examination of the version of Nicolaus, as is reported by Josephus, may suggest that the description of Aristobulus' treatment of his family is not necessarily incompatible with the concept of 'moderation' as political strategy.

A Gallo-Roman Historian from the Time of Augustus on the Origins of the People of Israel and its Government

Bezalel Bar-Kochva and Stéphanie Binder (Bar-Ilan University)

The first ethnographic description of the Jewish people in Latin literature was included in the writings of Pompeius Trogus, a Gallic writer who received the Roman citizenship and wrote a universal history called "*Historiae Philippicae*", probably in the Augustan time. Pompeius Trogus's work was lost and only the *prologi* and a summary (epitomē) made by a certain Justin have survived. The ethnographic description appears as an excursus in the framework of a report on the relationships between the Seleucid Empire and the Jews in the time of Antiochus VII Sidetes and John Hyrcanus. The excursus deals with the origins of the Jews and some of their customs (the Sabbath as a fasting day; separation from foreigners; kingship and priesthood; the Egyptian features of the Jewish cult) and with the unique plantations of the Jericho valley and the wonders of the Dead Sea (Justin 36.3.1-7).
Pompeius Trogus's account has usually been described as a mere verbiage and a collection of flawed rumors that reached the Gallic historian, or has been considered to contain also a kind of a Jewish version about the "northern" descent of the Jewish people. However, a close examination of the text suggests that the ethnographic excursus combines two different versions on the beginnings and identity of the People of Israel. Both versions, the one Samaritan and the second Greek, are hostile to the *Ioudaioi*, the Jews of Judaea, and were written more or less at the same time, toward the end of John Hyrcanus's reign, around 107 B.C.E. They bear witness to the bitter propaganda war Greeks and Samaritans carried out in Egypt against Egyptian Jews, who headed the Ptolemaic army, and against the Hasmonean State, which was at the peak of its territorial expansion, occupying the land of the Samaritans

and the Hellenistic cities. It also reflects the hostility of the Greek elite toward the autochthonous Egyptian population in the aftermath of the civil war at the time of Ptolemy VIII Physcon (145-118 B.C.E), the "monster" king who summoned up the native Egyptian population in his fight against his wife, Cleopatra II, supported by the Greeks and the Jews. The first version describes the Samaritans as the real Jews; the second describes the Jews of Judaea as Egyptian lepers expelled from Egypt, who still adhere to the Egyptian cults. The two versions are stitched together in a rather poor way, and there is some (unsuccessful) attempt at harmonization. Trogus seems to have taken both stories from Timagenes of Alexandria, a Greek author who lived in Rome and fell into the Emperor's disfavor, who expressed anti-Roman opinions in his historical work. Those opinions are reflected in the survey of the Jewish government found in the excursus.

SESSION THREE **17:00-18:30** **מושב שלישי**

Eastern Echoes in Greek Disguise: Herodotus 1.141

Elizabeth Thornton (University of California, Los Angeles)

The famous Fable of the Fish in Herodotus 1.141 has elicited much discussion both as an early attestation of an Aesopic saying and as a story element with possible Near Eastern origins. This paper will argue that the specific "Aesopic" character of this fable is a Greek veneer upon the surface of a story which the Achaemenids themselves could have crafted.

Cyrus' words smell at least as strongly of early Assyrian propaganda as they do of Aesop's fish: while the two other extant versions of this fable are Greek and late, the basic comparison of conquered islanders to fish scooped from the sea is found in Assyria already from the time of Sargon II (Hirsch 3-4). It is perfectly possible to imagine Cyrus echoing the words of conquerors past: consider the famous Cyrus Scroll written in Akkadian, or the Achaemenids' calqued title "King of Kings". The use of the fable to impart Cyrus's rage reminds one less of Aesop than an earlier and equally famous apocryphal wise man, Ahikar, who used his fables to express his dismay after an adopted son betrayed him. This stands in contrast to the typically persuasive role of fables and related elements (such as the Wise Advisor motif) in Herodotus and later Greco-Roman sources. Fragments of the story of Ahikar dating from the 5th Century BCE were found in Elephantine alongside a translation of the Behistun inscription; perhaps this is one more Achaemenid narrative of ascension which purposefully drew from older traditions.

Equally "emotive" fables which clearly depend on the Ahikar story can be found in Classical Persian literature, albeit arriving a millennium later. While the time lapse initially makes the comparison less compelling, these texts – particularly the *Shahnameh* – preserve many archaic narrative elements.

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The democratic tradition in Hellenistic Athens

Luca Asmonti (University of Queensland, Australia)

This paper investigates the hitherto-neglected issue of the presence of democratic ideology in the political life of post-classical Athens. Through a reassessment of the some literary and material evidence, this work will fill a gap in our understanding of ancient Greek democracy and its influence on Roman political thought. Building on the ongoing debate on ancient democratic culture and practice to discuss how the political life in Hellenistic Athens was still deeply influenced by the city's democratic tradition, particularly as concerns the definition of citizenship and the prominent role of the citizens' assembly in the running of the affairs of the community.

Traditionally, scholars have described democracy as a kind of "sleeping beauty" which disappeared from history for a couple of millennia following the collapse of classical Athens. Trapped as it is between two different, and to some extent antithetical worlds, the history of the city of Athens in the post-classical period has long lived in a kind of scholarly limbo, as though discussing the history of a single *polis* in an age characterized by large and cosmopolitan kingdoms would appear an anachronism. These controversies are well reflected in the traditional judgments upon the political and intellectual activity of Democharesm, keeper of the memory of his uncle Demosthenes and last standard-bearer of traditional democracy in the years of Demetrius of Phalerum and Demetrius Poliorcetes.

Through a discussion of democratic theory and practice in post-classical Athens, my paper will thus offer a fresh perspective into the vitality of democratic culture after its *floruit* in the age of Pericles and Demosthenes.

The *Behistun Inscription* and the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*:
Their nature, common tradition, content, literary genre and legacy
Dimitrios Mantzilas (University of Patras)

The *Behistun Inscription* is a multi-lingual inscription, written in three different languages: Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian. Authored by Darius the Great, it begins with his brief autobiography, including his ancestry and lineage. Later on, he provides a sequence of events following the deaths of Cyrus the Great and Cambyses II in which he fought nineteen battles to put down multiple rebellions throughout the Persian Empire.
After many misinterpretations of the figures that accompany the inscription (a teacher punishing his pupils, the ascension of Jesus, Christ and his twelve apostles, the twelve tribes of Israel and Shalmaneser of Assyria) it is now accepted that it represents mainly Darius the Great, two servants and ten figures representing conquered people.
The *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* is the funerary inscription of Augustus, giving a first-person record of his life and deeds. The text consists of four sections: political career, public benefactors, military accomplishments and a political statement. The original, which has not survived, was placed in front of Augustus' mausoleum.
Many copies of the text were made, three of which have survived in Turkey: the Monumentum Ancyranum, almost a full copy, written in the original Latin with its Greek paraphrase, the Monumentum Apolloniense, with fragments of the Greek text, found at Apollonia and the Monumentum Antiochenum, with fragments of the Latin text, found at Antioch.
By their very nature both texts, whose literary genre is still under research (encomion, self-encomion, apotheosis, res gestae, elogium and so on), are less objective history and more propaganda and self-advertisement. They seem to have a common background, as the presence of similar minor texts indicates (The epitaph of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, the list of nations in *Acts* and earlier Babylonian inscriptions). In our paper, we shall try to examine their similarities and differences in all levels.

יום ה', יד' בסיון תשע"א
Thursday, June 16, 2011

SESSION FOUR **9:30-10:30** **מושב רביעי**

Background and foreground in Plato's dialogues: the case of the *Phaedo*
Chloe Balla (University of Crete)

Recent decades have witnessed the steady rise of interest in the literary form of Plato's dialogues. The question "Why Plato wrote dialogues?" has been raised by different scholars (notably by Michael Frede, Alexander Nehamas, Thomas Szlezak; more recently by Christopher Rowe), whose approaches have contributed significantly to our understanding of Plato's conception of dialectic. The presence of particular interlocutors, the allusion to particular historical events, the dramatic structure of particular dialogues (narrative techniques, including the dramatic settings of the dialogues, alleged digressions, or the

combination of myth with philosophical argumentation) attract the interest not only of students of comparative literature, but also of philosophy, offering new insights into Plato's thought. Using particular examples from the dialogues I propose to show how sensitivity to the dramatic structure often allows us, and sometimes even urges is, to reconsider the balance between the 'background' (in the sense of the choice of interlocutors, or even of reminders regarding those who are present and silent; or in the sense of the dramatic setting) and 'foreground' (in the sense of what is considered as mainstream philosophical arguments) in Plato's dialogues. I shall present some evidence from the *Theaetetus* (concerning the connection between certain allusions to Socrates' trial by a democratic court with the criticism of Protagorean relativism), the *Republic* (concerning the connection between the setting of the house of Cephalus in Piraeus with the criticism of Athenian democracy), the *Symposium* (concerning the connection between the presence of Pausanias and Agathon with Socrates' views on the role of love in the philosopher's ascent to knowledge). The evidence from these dialogues will draw our attention to the importance of certain aspects of Plato's art which are normally treated as part of the background, for our appreciation of various dialogues. Serving the same idea, the main focus of my paper will be on the case of the *Phaedo*. I propose to highlight the importance of the alleged digression on misology (88e ff.) and thus to move this passage from the 'background' to the 'foreground' of the dialogue. Subscribing to a suggestion made by J. Crooks on the connection of this passage with Socrates' last words of Socrates, I would like to introduce a further connection between (a) the criticism against the Sophists and the Eristics which can be traced behind the misology passage and (b) the presence of particular interlocutors, most notably of Antisthenes, in the death scene.

Select Bibliography

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The Less-than-Fully-Just Philosophers of Plato's *Rep*. 7

Roslyn Weiss, Lehigh University

Book 7 of Plato's *Republic* could not be more emphatic that its philosophers rule unwillingly and by compulsion, that they have no desire to rule (517c, 520d, 540b); indeed, the allegory of the Cave should eliminate all doubt concerning their wishing to rule: they have no desire to descend from the light to the darkness. Nevertheless, scholars have insisted that the philosophers will wish to rule. Some think their vision of the Good will suffice to make them willing rulers; others expect that the founders' argument will persuade them; some think they will be motivated by their aversion to being ruled by inferior men—as in Book 1 at 347; at least one relies upon the legal status of ruling to tip the scale in ruling's favor; and yet another trusts that these men are, qua philosophers, necessarily like Socrates and thus more than willing to "go down" to care for the people. Yet, the fact is that it is precisely the vision of the Good that makes the philosophers *un*willing to rule. Furthermore, only Glaucon assumes they will respond favorably to Socrates' argument because they are "just men" (520e). Nor is there any law the philosophers would be obeying; it is the founders who conform their actions to the spirit of the law when they persuade—or coerce (519e, 520a)—the philosophers to rule for the sake of the city's welfare (519e-520a). Moreover, it is hard to see any way in which *Rep*. 7's philosophers resemble Socrates.
The lecture I propose would defend the thesis that in *Rep*. 7 Socrates designs a new type of philosopher to serve the city, a type that is self-absorbed and lacks concern for others. Although not unjust, these philosophers fall far short of any ideal of justice.

SESSION FIVE 11:00-13:00 מושב חמישי

Sappho, the hetaira

Donato Loscalzo (University of Perugia)

Generally contemporary studies consider Sappho as a charismatic figure who, within a female *thiasos*, prepared young girls of the Greek aristocracy for marriage, although some scholars object to this hypothesis, among whom Parker1993 and Klinck 2008. In reality, ancient sources do not document a context of this type with certainty, and therefore it remains merely a theory. Contrarily, Sappho was considered to be a poet addicted to pleasures, even immoral ones. To exculpate her from similar charge, Aelianus (*VH* 12, 19 p. 127 f. Hercher = fr. 256 Voigt) point out that Sappho was two figures, a poetess and *hetaira* in Lesbos, obviously more concerned about the reputation of the first. But for Sappho eros was attraction, feelings and, above all, the mental trials that resulted from them: desire, refusal, pain due to abandonment. All these aspects fall within the range of the goddess Aphrodite, and the poet behaved like a *hetaira erotodidaskalos*, in the same mould as Diotima (Plato, *Symposium* 201d ff.) and Aspasia (Athenaeus 219b-d).
In spite of the abundance of fundamental studies on Sappho, at least three aspects still remain to be explained:

1) why the girls of her retinue learned elegance, the art of weaving crowns (fr. 81 Voigt), *mousiké* and dance, things that married women did not practice as a rule after marriage;

2) why Sappho called the girls of her group *hetairai* (or better, *etairai*) as is known not only from ancient testimonies (Athenaeus 571 c-d), but also from the poet's very words (frr. 126 and 160 Voigt). For instance, the *Suda* (s 107 Adler) relates that Atthis was a hetaira and phila of Sappho, and not a pupil, even if the poet remembered her as being small and underdeveloped (fr. 49 Voigt);

3) what female typology Sappho refers to when she spoke about women who could aspire to immortality because of the roses of Pieria (fr. 55 Voigt), by cultivating poetry, grace, beauty and music (fr. 58 Voigt).

Pindar, Diodorus Siculus and the narrative of the Argonautic quest revisited

Maria G. Xanthou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Among other ancient authors (Homer *Od*. μ 75-80, Pindar *Pyth*. 4, Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica*, Apollodorus *Bibliotheca*, Hyginus *Fabulae*), Diodorus Siculus wrote a narrative concerning the Quest of the Golden Fleece. In Pythian 4 Pindar presents the oldest and perhaps longest extant account about Jason's and the Argonauts' adventures during their quest.[[1]]. Diodorus' account, however, as presented in Book 4. 40-49 differs in many aspects to the one related by the other authors, and especially that of Pindar [[2]]. Inasmuch both accounts are of adequate length so as for us to know how both authors handled the myth of Jason, the Argonauts and their Quest, it would be interesting to explore not only their divergences, which are well known, but also how they construct their narrative. Accordingly, the proposed paper will focus on the comparison of narratives between the two authors, but its main goal shall be to highlight the method both authors construct their narrative, whereupon they lay emphasis and, moreover, which the keypoints of the divergences are and what the aim of theses divergences is. As it has already been pointed out, Pindar's account (Pyth. 4, 462 BCE) stands chronologically in the middle of the fifth century of the classic era, whereas Diodorus' account is dated in the first century BCE. This time span and the entirely different historical and cultural context within which both authors wrote their respective narratives will be taken into consideration so as to explore the different scope of their accounts. As a result the paper shall focus on a close reading of both accounts. It shall present the differences of the two accounts but it shall also explore the purpose for those differences and their aim. The ultimate goal shall be to underline Diodorus Siculus' creative attitude towards his raw material i.e. the myth and his secondary sources i.e. the historical works of other ancient authors.

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Playing with the Conventions: The Handling of Tragic Speech and Action in Menander's *Samia*

Andreas Fountoulakis (University of Crete)

The echoes of earlier tragedy in the comedies of Menander are often considered by modern scholarship either as cases of influence of an earlier genre upon a later one or as an overt indication of Menander's literary self-consciousness or even as a form of juxtaposition between a 'fictional' and a 'real' world. Little attention has hitherto been paid to the ways Menander manipulates elements borrowed from earlier tragedy as well as to the reasons why he integrates such elements in his comedies.

In an attempt to shed light on these aspects of Menandrean intertextuality, this paper focuses on Demeas' invocations of the city of Athens and the sky in Menander, *Samia* 325-326. It is maintained that the tragic phrasing and the potential dramatic function of these invocations justify their consideration as conventional cries used most notably in tragedy so as to secure witnesses and assistance, when an unjust act is being committed. However, despite their formal features, these cries are embodied in a scene which is not fully developed according to the relevant conventions of classical drama. In this paper it is argued that, while Menander's use of conventional tragic speech and action helps the spectators recognize the analogies between the plot and characters of *Samia*, and those of Euripidean tragedies such as *Hippolytus* or *Phoenix*, such a play with the conventions of these tragic models results in another play, this time with the spectators' expectations. What is thus highlighted is Demeas' subsequent non-tragic attitude towards the supposed misconduct of his Samian concubine and his adoptive son. Resorting to philosophical reasoning and common sense, Demeas abandons a tragic world centred upon the destruction of the *oikos* and turns towards a world interested in solving the *oikos*' problems and maintaining its prosperity. As will be shown, it is a world which pervades most plays of New Comedy and is associated with the wider demands of their political and cultural context.

Apuleius, Gellius, and the 'controversial' Chaldeans: Declamation in Fiction – a Window to Reality

Wytse Keulen (Universität Rostock)

The unrealistic and fictional nature of declamation is explicitly thematised in the Roman novel (cf. Petron. 1,2-3; 48,6), which shares with declamation many of the fantastic settings, characters and events, for which the latter genre was criticised in antiquity. Yet, declamation was not so implausible and impractical as it was alleged to be: it offered an indispensable training in manipulating arguments in any possible situation. This educational necessity excused an unrestrained use of the imaginative resources of declamation in crafting first-person fictions through impersonation. At the same time, the genre's apparent lack of verisimilitude excused a certain liberty in addressing politically sensitive issues in a veiled literary form. Against this background, a comparative reading of two passages from Antonine ego-narrative on Chaldean astrologers, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (2,12-15) and Gellius' *Noctes Atticae* (14,1), will add a new dimension to recent observations on the affinities between narrative fiction and declamation. It will be argued that certain topics and arguments in fictional ego-narrative derived from 'declamatory' contexts reflect important elements and developments from contemporary political discourse, and offer us a window to the real world of the author (cf. Apuleius' *Apology*).

The choice of the Chaldeans, Babylonian astrologers, who were regarded as magicians by Greeks and Romans, fits the sensational repertoire of declamation, which featured the 'magician' as one of its stock characters. Both Gellius and Apuleius foreground the negative side of the Chaldeans' reputation in antiquity in an almost over-conspicuous way, pointing to the highly ambivalent reputation of the Chaldeans in the Roman Empire, who had been popular with emperors, but were also considered a threat to public order for their prophecies

related to the State and the life and death of the emperor. Gellius and Apuleius add elements of both the *controversia* and the *suasoria* to their 'declamation against the Chaldeans', offering arguments *pro* and *contra* the Chaldeans on the one hand, and stimulating a learning process in the reader regarding questions of legitimate and illegitimate divination and religion on the other. Using the rhetorical exercise of the *comparatio* (*synkrisis*), they set the Chaldean as the 'alien sorcerer' *par excellence* in significant contrast with exclusive divine forms of foreknowledge that are firmly rooted in a Roman context. Along these lines, *Noctes Atticae* and *Metamorphoses* reflect and foreshadow developments in political reactions to controversial forms of inquisitiveness (*curiositas*), such as the prophecies of the Chaldeans. By subtly and playfully writing themselves and their autobiography into their texts, and by providing their readers a literary access to true sources of divine knowledge and foresight, both Gellius and Apuleius confirm the legitimacy of their own role as author, transforming their texts into self-authorising 'oracles', in the traditional Roman spirit of the divinely inspired bard (*uates*). Both authors emphasise the exclusive nature of their learning by using the image of religious initiation. Apuleius goes even a step further, by presenting his own literary career as a predestined fact that influenced the form and content of divine oracles and prophecies (*Met*. 4,32; 11,27).

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A New Decree on Arbitration and Amnesty from Telos

Gerhard Thür (Östereichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien

In no. 132 of the recently published volume XII 4/1 of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* Klaus Hallof has presented the full text of a document of great historical and juridical interest. Already in 1903 and 1904, R. Herzog found in the Asclepieion of Cos two fragments of a stele inscribed on both sides. Since then, only a few lines of overall one hundred were published. The polis of Telos, situated on a neighbour island of Cos, grants honours to five judges sent by the polis of Cos. The honorary decree (lines 1–16) is followed, after a lacuna of 20 lines, by the text of a political compromise between exiled oligarchs and the democratic regime of Telos, negotiated by the five judges, *diallaktai* (lines 37–125 with lacunae, again). The amnesty hereby granted is to be confirmed by an oath to be taken by all citizens of Telos (lines 125–38). Finally, the Telians ratify the compromise by a decree and order to arrange a banquet for the five judges (lines 138–41).

The compromise is divided into two parts: first (lines 37–68) the judges from Cos, as *diallaktai* (arbitrators, line 140), repeal some fines the oligarchs were sentenced to pay — unjustly, as they allege. Since they failed to pay these fines the oligarchs were exiled and their real properties were confiscated. Now the oligarchs have the chance to return and recover their land by complying with certain financial duties. Some of them have to take over the expenses of sacrificing a hecatomb, others to finance the restoration and painting of the altar of Asclepius. In the second part (lines 68–125) the judges act as *dikastai* (line 68) and render a sentence. The democratic magistrates of Telos, under fines when they disobey, are ordered to revoke all confiscations and restore the properties.

The paper will concentrate not on historical matters — in line 108 "kings" (*sc.* Antigonos Monophthalmos and Demetrios Poliorketes) are mentioned —, but rather on juridical ones. It will aim at explaining the refined measures taken for the confiscation of properties, the revocation of earlier confiscations and the restoration of land.

Women in Business in Ancient Puteoli

Éva Jakab (University of Szeged, Hungary)

My paper deals with the third batch of tablets from the Campanian region, the tablets of Murecine also called the Archive of the Sulpicii, republished 1999 by Giuseppe Camodeca. Of the 127 tablets in Camodeca's edition my own work focus on the 97 which are sufficiently well preserved to allow analysis of the details of the transaction they document. Within this archive, as many as 23 tablets (24%) record transactions involving women, a rate illustrating the importance of women in business life in Puteoli.

Serva, liberta, domina … our protagonists belong to wide variety of social strata. Some are slaves (perhaps only objects of contracts); others are freedwomen contracting on their own accord with the Sulpicii; finally, there were also ladies of distinguished birth somehow involved in Puteoli money transactions.

My examination will focus on the legal aspects business transactions carried out by women in Puteoli. What types of contracts did women conclude with the Sulpicii? What kind of legal constructions do women choose when they take part in every day business activity?

It is commonly known that women had to have a guardian (*tutor*) if they were *sui iuris*; this meant a restricted capacity to undertake legal acts (for example to contract, to free slaves, to make a will etc.). This is the law as reported in every moderm manual of Roman law. I wonder to what extent this was also the everyday practice, the so-called „law in action". Were women excluded from business? Did they act really in every legal transaction with a guardian as commonly supposed? Were women in business disadvantaged at all?

***"Greek Law in Roman Times"* and Entrepreneurial Women in Egypt**

Uri Yiftach-Firanko (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Greek Law in Roman Times (http://hudd.huji.ac.il/glrt_guest.aspx), a computerized database created in connection with a homonym project sponsored by the *Israel Science Foundation*, contains metadata of legal, economic bearing extracted from Greek legal documents from Egypt (current number of documents ca. 5000). The database, whose creation was launched in May 2007, now encompasses extensive, and sometimes exhaustive metadata on ca. 3,500 of the documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods.

One of the elements registered in the databank is the parties' gender, age, name, patronymic, legal status (e.g. if he or she is a ward or a slave), and civic affiliation as reported in the document (*ethnikon*, Roman citizenship, municipal office, priesthood). Among these elements, the proposed lecture will focus on gender. One of the intriguing results of our work is how extensively were women involved in everyday contractual activity in Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine Egypt. For example, among the 962 sale contracts for which the data on parties has already been registered, in 399 the vendor, the purchaser, or both are women; among the 739 loan contracts, a woman is contractually active in 225, and among the 930 contracts recording leases, women appear in 153. These numbers, which fit well with those to be presented by Professor Jakab's regarding late republic and early-principate Puteoli, are quite high, if we bear in mind legal and social restrictions imposed on contractual activity by women in antiquity.

Greek Law in Roman Times contains a variety of other metadata as well: it naturally reports the papyrus' date and place of composition, as well as, for example, the value of the transaction, the type of property (e.g. land, chattel, cash, rights) and the terms upon which the contract was concluded. Since, as indicated above, the databank also registers the age and civic affiliation of the parties, we may survey at what times and periods were women especially involved in economic and contractual activity; if they were especially young, or old, when they did so; to what extent was their involvement affected by the value of the transaction, the object at stake, etc. As the databank also records the name and father's name of the contracting parties, we may even track down individual women who exhibit especially entrepreneurial traits.

In the proposed lecture I will discuss the following questions: (1) Can we pinpoint and explain diachronic changes in the level of contractual activity by women in the millenium from Alexander to the Arab occupation and beyond? (2) Did place of residence (e.g., urban versus rural domicile) matter? (3) Were women of certain ethnic civic or ethnic affiliation more active then others, and, should this be the case, why?