The 52nd Annual Conference of the Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies

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Bar-Ilan University | Ramat-Gan | Beck Auditorium

Wednesday 19/06/2024 10:00-12:00 Socrates and the Emotions

Socrates' *Daimonion* and Plato's Psychological Vocabulary

Margalit Finkelberg, Tel Aviv University

While Xenophon and other ancient sources represent the *daimonion* as an external agent who could either prohibit or urge Socrates to act in a certain way and whose admonitions concerned both Socrates himself and other persons, in Plato's dialogues the *daimonion* always comes from within, prohibits but never actively encourages Socrates to act, and only concerns Socrates himself. Examination of the terms in which the *daimonion* is described by Plato – such as ἐπίσχειν (*Ap*. 40b4, *Phdr*. 242c1), κατέχειν (*Resp*. 496b7, 496c3), 'to restrain', or χαλινός (*Resp*. 496b7), 'bridle' – shows that these are the terms used in Greek literary tradition since Homer for the description of self-restraint, designated *enkrateia* in Plato's time. On one occasion (*Phdr*. 242c6-d1) Plato's Socrates explicitly places his divine voice within the soul: 'How prophetic (μαντικόν) the soul is, my friend! For all along, while I was speaking my discourse, something troubled me… But now I have seen my error' (tr. H.N. Fowler). This brings us to Plato's division of the soul into three parts – the rational (*to logistikon*), the spirited (*to thumoeidēs*), and the appetitive (*to epithumētikon*) – in *Republic* 4 and the *Phaedrus*. The rational element, placed on the top of the hierarchy, rules the other two and aspires to the establishment of harmony within the soul: this is what the state of *sōphrosunē* would amount to (*Resp*. 430d1-442d3). In the *Phaedrus*, the metaphor of the charioteer and two horses communicates the same message (*Phdr*. 246ab, 253d-265d). In either case, while the irrational principle urges one to do certain undesirable things, the rational principle, which is presumably identical to the divine part of the soul, forbids such actions– just as Socrates' *daimonion* does (see esp. *Resp*. 439b-d). All this seems to indicate that Plato construed Socrates' *daimonion* in the vein of his own philosophical doctrine.

Mixed Feelings: Conflicting Valence from Socrates to Russell

Pia Campeggiani, University of Bologna

‘Affective valence’ typically (even if not exclusively) refers to the way an emotion or an affective state feels in hedonic terms, that is the quality of the (dis)pleasure we subjectively experience. In this sense, fear usually feels unpleasant, while amusement and joy feel good. Yet, in some cases affective experience seemingly feels good and bad *at the same time*, as when we enjoy tragic drama or the thrills of riding a roller coaster. Even if ambivalent emotions, conflicting passions, and bittersweet feelings are commonplace experiences, philosophical theories and psychological models often fail to account for them satisfactorily. In this talk, I will offer an overview of two well-known attempts at explaining mixed affective states away: Socrates’ (Plato’s Socrates in the *Protagoras*) and James Russell’s. Notwithstanding the historical and the cultural distance, their strategies are interestingly similar. I shall criticize both with an argument from phenomenology.

Plato’s *Protagoras* and Xenophon’s Socrates on How to Change a Person’s *hexis*

Gabriel Danzig, Bar-Ilan University

According to Plato’s Socrates, Protagoras had a unique explanation for what makes one person wiser than others. He held that while all perceptions are equally true, some are better than others. It is better to perceive useful and good things (*chrēsta*) as just and fair rather than perceiving harmful and bad things (*ponera*) as just and fair. In fact, perceiving things in a "better" way is not enough to make one wise; what makes one wise is the ability to make others perceive what is good and useful (*chrēsta*) as just and beautiful. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ σοφὸς ἀντὶ πονηρῶν ὄντων αὐτοῖς ἑκάστων χρηστὰ ἐποίησεν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν (*Tht.* 167c). This represents Plato’s understanding of what a sophist such as Protagoras could claim to do for his students. He can alter another's *hexis* by means of words just as a doctor can alter someone's medical condition by means of drugs. This implies that the *hexis* he is changing is not a condition of character, which would require extensive training to alter if even possible, but something like what we call an attitude. In this paper, I argue that Xenophon’s Socrates offers an illustration of the sophistic practice that Plato attributes to Protagoras. Although he does not use the term *hexis* in

this context, his Socrates is manifestly engaged in altering people's attitudes by means of words, and more specifically to making the useful seem just and fair. This is one example of the ways in which Xenophon's Socrates resembles Plato's Protagoras.

Portrayals of *Phobos* in *Memorabilia* 3.5

Ricardo Gancz, Bar-Ilan University

Memorabilia 3.5 is often read as offering simplistic advice from Socrates to the younger Pericles concerning the military situation of Athens. In fact, it offers a profound exploration of the utility of *phobos*. According to Xenophon, all things can be either useful or harmful, depending on how one uses them, and this applies also to emotions. In his conversation with Pericles in *Memorabilia* 3.5, Socrates offers a description of the *phobos* of sailors in the face of a storm or in the face of enemies that serves as a blueprint both for how to improve the Athenians' low morale and increase their capability of facing the Boeotians and for how to make useful Pericles' own *phobos* of not succeeding as a leader. *Phobos* is an ambiguous term that can refer to a general state or mood or to a transitory emotional event. The Athenians' mood-like *phobos* of a war against the Boeotians is a result of character vices caused by them being slackers. Pericles' mood-like *phobos* is due to his ignorance of what he should do as a general in order to restore the Athenian army to its former glory. Socrates makes this kind of *phobos* useful by pointing out that when unruly sailors are facing a storm they obey orders, act orderly and perform at their best. Accordingly, Socrates suggests to Pericles that the mood-like *phobos* of the Athenians can be used by him as a starting point to persuade the Athenians to look at what they had in the past and arouse a desire for them to recapture it. Similarly, Socrates uses Pericles' own mood-like *phobos* to make him admit he doesn't know what to do and to inspire a desire to learn what he should in order to become a successful general. The strategy works, and as Socrates goes progressively into more detail by explaining how Pericles can do it Pericles' own *phobos* is changed.

Wednesday 19/06/2024 12:15-13:45 Aspects of Life and Death in the Roman Empire

The Maritime Conveyance of Horses in Classical Antiquity

Emmanuel Nantet, University of Haifa

Ancient sea powers included horse-carriers, called *hippagogoi*, that allowed troops to be sent over the four corners of the Mediterranean and to fight abroad with the support of their cavalry, as if they were at home. The presence of these horse-carriers shows indeed a perfect interaction between infantry, cavalry and navy, turning most naval expeditions into amphibious affairs. We have already detailed in a previous article, recently published in *Klio* (2023), the history of these horse-carriers and their presence in ancient war fleets. The present paper will focus on a different subject, which we have not dealt with previously. It will detail the significant technical obstacles that the maritime conveyance of cavalry had to face. How were the horses loaded onto the vessels? Did the ships required specific adaptations? Our investigation will rely on an approach that combines nautical studies and the consideration paid to horses as a precious load. Indeed, the entire ship was adapted to offer the best conditions for the conveyance of the mounts so that they could be able to fight when landing. Moreover, war horses were valuable merchandise that could unquestionably not be spoiled, which explains the great care that ancient navies paid to their conveyance. Therefore, we will also refer to later horse-carriers in order to better understand the specific technical issues and solutions found by ancient mariners.

Νήπιοι μετὰ τῶν ὁσίων: The Epitaphs of Children from the Jewish Catacombs of Rome (2nd-4th century CE)

Marie-Laure Rebora, Aix-Marseille University

This paper deals with a long-overlooked topic: the epitaphs of children from the Jewish catacombs of Ancient Rome. Until now one could not find any research specifically dedicated to the epitaphs of Jewish children, even though epigraphical sources are very important in order to try to grasp more accurately the attitudes towards children in the ancient Jewish world. More broadly, not many research works have been published on Jewish children in the ancient world apart from Prof. Hagith Sivan's book *Jewish Childhood in the Roman World* (2018), in which the author does not take epigraphical material into account. Thus the topic is ready for extensive study. Accordingly, this paper presents establishes basic principles. The 98 epitaphs of children allow us to consider a few core issues: what was the attitude of Jewish families and their Roman

communities to their children and their children's death? Was there any difference in the way parents commemorated boys and girls? What does a thorough inquiry on the languages of the inscriptions as well as the names of the deceased children and, sometimes, of their relatives tell us about the cultural background of Jewish communities from Rome in Late Antiquity, their strong sense of belonging to the Jewish people but also the influence of Graeco-Roman culture over them? Those are a few topics that are enabled by the epitaphs of children from three Jewish catacombs, located in the Roman district of Monteverde, in the Via Nomentana, near the Villa Torlonia and in the Vigna Randanini property next to the Via Appia.

Speaking Metaphors. Patients' Figurative Language in Ancient Greek Medicine

Carlo Delle Donne, Università degli Studi di Salerno

This paper focuses on a crucial issue regarding ancient medicine: the role played by patient's language within the medical relationship. In particular, I set out to elaborate the prognostic, diagnostic and therapeutic potential inherent in the patients' metaphorical way of thinking about and expressing their own experiences of disease. Metaphors, images, and similes are frequently employed by laymen when they talk to physicians; and upon closer scrutiny, this fact testifies to the intrinsically metaphorical structure of our everyday thinking. More precisely, this phenomenon emerges especially when we are confronted with the conceptualization of what is less immediately accessible in experience, such as the nature and causation of our own suffering. In other words, metaphors help us understand and talk about our health, be it psychic or physical. But physicians can turn our images into medical signs, as if they were real symptoms, if they are able to "decode" them appropriately. This field of research has not received much attention in recent years; and it is all the more unexplored as far as ancient Greek medicine is concerned. Yet images and analogies are absolutely central to ancient patients' language; they constitute something like a "character language" (Thumiger). Therefore, the textual evidence of the *Corpus Hippocraticum* and the Galenic corpus which is likely to uncover the thought-processes of patients, as they sought to come to terms with their diseases, needs to be carefully assessed and examined. This paper will contribute both to our understanding of the ancient Greek world and to the awareness of the profound and vital continuity between ancient and contemporary medicine. It will mainly deal with Greek texts but it will also

contribute significantly to our understanding of the multiple functions of metaphor in an unwritten chapter of the history of medicine. These are issues of utmost importance, since metaphor informs the very structure of our thought and language.

Wednesday 19/06/2024 14:45-16:45 Jews and Jewish Writing in the Roman Empire

Military and Civilians in the Jerusalem Akra – Between First Maccabees and Josephus

Yaakov Dolgopolsky-Geva, The Open University of Israel

The main sources for the history of the "Akra" (ἄκρα, חקרא) — the area in Jerusalem south of the Temple, fortified by the Seleucids in 168/167 BCE and evacuated in 141 BCE — are the near-contemporary First Book of Maccabees (1Mac), and the much later works of Josephus, which are dependent upon it. One of the details in which these two sources differ is their description of the Akra's military contingent. Both acknowledge that this so-called citadel was also a populated urban quarter, home of civilian residents. Its military component, however, is portrayed quite differently in each source. While describing the Akra as a fortified and armed compound, 1Mac confusingly describes its residents in terms — either neutral or derogatory — which do not imply any military character, such as "those 'from the Akra'" (ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας, 6:18, 10:7,9, 11:41, 13:21,49). Only twice does it mention "armed forces" (δυνάμεις) in the Akra (2:31, 9:52). Josephus, on the other hand, seems more consistent. He regularly mentions a "garrison" (φρουρά) and "guards" (φρουροί) in the Akra, occasionally also identifying them as Macedonian and explicitly attributing their placement to the Seleucids (Ant. 12:252,365, 13:121). Though the information about it is taken solely from Josephus, in modern scholarship the permanent stay of this foreign Seleucid garrison in the Jerusalem Akra, apparently all through the 26 tumultuous years of its existence, including the periods of Hasmonaean control of the city in 164-160 BCE and after 152 BCE, remains unquestioned. In this paper I will critically examine Josephus' information about the Akra garrison, attempting to determine its source and reassess its reliability. I will then turn the focus to the descriptions of the Akra in 1Mac and suggest an alternative history of its military aspect, based on the information taken from 1Mac alone.

The Case of the αἰχμάλωτοι in Manetho's Account

Yael Escojido, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

In his seminal work on the Jews in the Roman Empire, Jean Juster enumerates 22 slanderous, anti-Jewish statements derived from Greek and Roman literary sources. One of these casts the Jews as a people 'condemned to slavery.' In this paper, I will demonstrate that the account transmitted in the name of Manetho, the Hellenistic Egyptian priest and contemporary of the two first Ptolemies, was the first Greek source to suggest enslavement as a characteristic of the Jewish nation. Manetho wrote an historical chronology beginning with the earliest dynasties that ruled Egypt, including the people known as the Hyksos. According to Josephus' *Contra Apionem*, one source where Manetho's writings are preserved, he identified the former as the Jews' ancestors and as αἰχμάλωτοι: a Greek term indicating some kind of connection with slavery. First, I shall indicate that the term αἰχμάλωτοι could not be Manetho's original rendering of the old Egyptian Hyksos account. Next, my purpose will be to demonstrate that, while Manetho's text did not specifically mention Jews, the title of αἰχμάλωτοι indeed referred to the status a specific group Jews in Hellenistic Egypt. Through an examination of all available documentation, I will demonstrate that the appellation αἰχμάλωτοι referred to a certain historical position relating to the arrival of the first Jews in early Ptolemaic Egypt, as slaves. Addressing the question of why Jews of the Pharaonic era were thus defined by a Greek term that had designated those Jews who had resided in the newly established Ptolemaic kingdom as also being of slave status, I shall review sources in ancient Greek works, renowned for attributing a people's customs and traits to their circumstances of origin. Finally, I shall suggest that the use of αἰχμάλωτοι to designate all Jews was inserted by an Egyptian interpolator with accurate, factual knowledge of the Jews' disadvantaged status at the time of their arrival in young Hellenistic Egypt. This artifact was intended to convey to a Greek audience that the Jews' continual enslavement under the Ptolemies was not due to historical circumstances but rather to their natural disposition, i.e., inherent cultural patterns and innate characteristics.

A New Look at Jews in the Roman Army During the Jewish Revolts

Haggai Olshanetsky, University of Warsaw

The Jewish world underwent three catastrophic crises in only 70 years, in the first and second centuries CE. All three crises evolved from various Jewish revolts against Rome, with the most famous of them being the Great Revolt, which resulted in the destruction of the Second Temple. In order to fully understand how the Jews coped with these crises and their social standing in the Empire, as well as the complexity of Judaism at the time, an examination of the Jews fighting in the Roman army must be completed. In the current lecture, I aim to present evidence of Jewish military service before, during and after these revolts, in order to see if there was a change in Jewish attitude towards the Romans, and vice versa. These attitudes can be used to explore the social standing of the Jewish community, as well as that of the Jewish soldiers in the eyes of their co-religionists. Moreover, through the archaeological evidence at hand, we can see when and where the Jewish soldiers enlisted and, from this, deduce how the Roman Empire quelled the revolts and viewed Jewish society. The fact that Jews served before, during and after the revolts, with a possible increase in enlistment after the revolts, suggests that the Jews dealt with these crises in a very unique and complex way. The sheer numbers also possibly highlight the importance of the military profession in the Jewish community.

Talmudic Sources for Roman Trade with the Far East

Lev Cosijns, University of Oxford

The Mishna and the Talmud are often seen as a vital source solely for Jewish culture, religion and society. However, there are numerous aspects of the ancient world that can be explored and clarified in and from these texts. One such important, and overlooked, tangent is Rome's trade with the Far East, which was already well established during the millennia previous to Rome's control over the eastern Mediterranean. Contact with the Far East strengthened steadily under Hellenistic rule and throughout the Roman period. The evidence used to discuss this in scholarship has largely been, up until now, archaeological evidence from the Eastern Desert of Egypt, papyri fragments from Egypt and texts from some contemporary Roman historians, such as Pliny and Strabo. Conversely, most of the surviving Roman texts that refer to this trade are from the first century BCE and the first century CE, while the Eastern Desert cities mainly flourished during the first and second centuries CE. Thus it is important to question whether this discrepancy reflects a bias in the data, or whether it represents a historical trend. The importance of the Talmud and the Mishna in this debate is that they are filled with

debates, anecdotes and legends which clearly indicate Roman trade with the Far East during and after the second century CE. This presentation will analyse the corpus of Talmudic and Mishnaic mentions of eastern commodities, and the trade itself, as a tool in assisting the examination of the trade's fluctuation. The database at the centre of this presentation will shed light on this commerce, as well as indicate the endless possibilities of exploration of the Roman period through the Talmud. Thus the implied existence of numerous relevant sources for research of the classical world that have never been utilised to their fullest extent.

Wednesday 19/06/2024 17:00-19:00 Archaeology

Khirbat Harsis-Shaʻar Ha-Gāy: A Byzantine Road Station

Annette Landes-Nagar, Israel Antiquities Authority; Bar-Ilan University

Khirbat Harsis is located within the territorial boundaries of Shaʻar Ha-Gāy and extends on both sides of Highway No. 1. This modern road follows an ancient throughfare connecting Jaffa and Jerusalem. Since antiquity, Shaʻar Ha-Gāy served as one of the primary road stations along this route due to its strategic geographical location. Situated between two distinct landscape units, namely the coastal plain and the mountainous region, it naturally became a suitable destination for intermediate stops, offering rest and respite before the steep ascent to a height of approximately 400 meters toward the city of Jerusalem. Archaeological salvage excavations conducted by the Israel Antiquities Authority along the northern verge side of the highway, revealed a road station that had been established there already in the Byzantine period. The excavations exposed remains of a settlement, including a structure, a bathhouse, a water cistern, an industrial winepress, and rock-hewn tombs. An inscription in Greek on a stone slab, discovered in the vicinity in the 19th century, substantiates the identification of the site as a way-station dating between the fourth and seventh centuries CE. The site's economic subsistence appeared to be based on grape cultivation and wine production during the summer months, coupled with its provision of bathing amenities throughout the year. The architectural plan of the bathhouse belongs to the "Row" type, wherein most of the chambers of the facility are arranged along a singular axis: the furnace (*praefunium*), the hot room (*caldarium*) and the tepid room (*tepidarium*), with their

subsurface heating system (*hypocaustum*) and the cold room (*frigidarium*). The dressing room (*apodyterium*) paved with a decorated mosaic was discovered to the west of the facility. Other Byzantine bathhouses have been discovered at sites that served as road stations in Judea and the Jerusalem region, such as Khirbet Jiljil/Beit Jimal, Horvat Hazan, and the Monastery of Euthymius in Ma'ale Adummim.

Private Roman-Style Hot Bathing Rooms (*caldaria*) in Jewish Society of Jerusalem Before 70 CE

David Gurevich, University of Haifa

Among prominent elements of the Roman material culture was the hot bathhouse that employed the underfloor heating system (*hypocaustum*). The process of Romanization in Jewish society began with the Roman conquest of Judaea in 63 BCE. Various elements of the Roman material culture have been discovered on sites where the Jewish population resided. Hence, the Roman-style bathhouses, which consisted of various heated rooms, have been discovered in the palaces of Herod at Masada, Jericho, Herodium and other locations where he built. However, what is common to these sites is that their bathhouses were accessible only to a limited group of invitees. In stark contrast to the notable Roman cities of the first century CE, no public bathhouses have been found in Jewish settlements before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE. This paper argues that the Jewish elites still aspired to adopt the Roman hot bathhouse while introducing adjustments to avoid necessary religious prohibitions. The paper discusses private *caldaria* in Jerusalem and its surroundings. These rooms were constructed inside bathing wings in the mansions of wealthy families and implemented Roman-style technology. Jerusalem's *caldaria* had unique characteristics, such as modest dimensions and the use of pottery *pilae*. After presenting the findings, the paper will discuss the following questions: What factors led to the establishment of private *caldaria* in Jerusalem? How can the unique technology of the private *caldaria* in Jerusalem can be explained? The paper will also discuss the process of "normalisation" of the Roman public bathing habit in Judaism after the destruction of the Jewish Second Temple.

Roman-period Urban Burial Practices and Funerary Architecture in the Saddle Necropolis of Hippos of the Decapolis

Michael Eisenberg and Arleta Kowalewska, University of Haifa

Three *necropoleis* served the city of Antiochia Hippos (Sussita) of the Decapolis, located 2 km east of the shores of the Sea of Galilee. The most prestigious and the best-researched is the Saddle Necropolis located along Hippos' main approach via the saddle. The recent excavations make this necropolis one of the most prominent examples of Roman cemeteries in Israel. The Saddle Necropolis stretched for ca. 150 meters from the south, where it met the Roman road to the north, where it ended with a ditch cut in the middle of the saddle. It incorporated hundreds of *nari* and basalt sarcophagi, numerous pit graves cut into the bedrock, a dozen burial caves, and a few more substantial funerary architectural creations. In the recent years the Lion's Mausoleum, the Flowers Mausoleum, a unique series of funerary podia, two burial caves and several sarcophagi were excavated. All are dated to the Roman period and were apparently destroyed during the 363 CE earthquake. Recently, the field investigation of the Flowers Mausoleum has been completed. More than 80 of its fine-sculptured basalt elements have been gathered, allowing a first glance into the superb provincial craftmanship of one of the most unique Roman mausolea in Syria-Palaestina. The most distinct element of the necropolis' architectural remains is a series of 13 large funerary podia. It is the only example constructed as a series, standing in one line by the road, built with identical ashlars and in the same technique. The Hippos podia are unique in the Roman world, both in their dating, their architecture, and their multiplicity. The architectural design of this series of structures may be the first evidence of necropolis planning and erection of funerary monuments by the polis itself within the Roman world.

Sidewalk Inscriptions from Caesarea Maritima

Peter Gendelman, Israel Antiquities Authority, and Rivka Gersht, Tel Aviv University

Three tessellated sidewalk inscriptions were recently exposed at Caesarea Maritima by Israel Antiquities Authority archaeologists. All three inscriptions are written in Greek letters; two are fully preserved, of the third only the first seven letters remain. The intact inscriptions share affinities; in both, the letters consist of black tesserae laid in a white

background, each refer to an individual named Elias who built and/or owned some sort of structure. Both are situated in front of an entrance, one of a Late Antique mansion, the function of the other is unknown since the space behind the threshold was not excavated. The differences between the two inscriptions —mainly in style and technique and the title *comes* mentioned in only one— raise questions regarding the dating of the inscriptions, the identity and status of Elias in each inscription, and the kind of constructions owned or built. The third inscription is of red *tesserae* on a white background; in spite of the state of preservation and the fact that only a small section of the sidewalk was excavated and almost nothing of the adjacent construction, it may be assumed that the individual mentioned in the fragmentary inscription had to do with constructing the sidewalk itself or the structure which faced the inscription. The paper will also discuss similar sidewalk formulas and the prevalence of the names mentioned in the inscriptions among Jews, Pagans and Christians in the region and beyond.

Thursday 20 /06/2024 9:30-11:00 Religion and Communication

Rejected Sacrifice and the Hybris of Polycrates (Hdt. 3.39-43, 120-125)
Keren Freidenreich, The City University of New York

Individual success and divine *phthonos* are persistent themes in Herodotus' *Histories.* It has long been noted that Herodotus' overly successful characters meet a harsh end; one such figure is Polycrates, the Samian tyrant. Enjoying unprecedented success, Polycrates receives advice from the pharaoh Amasis; the tyrant does as his friend said, throwing away a ring to show humility to the gods and thus to avoid "an evil end" (3.40.3). Yet, after rediscovering his ring, Polycrates meets a dreadful death (3.39-44, 120-125). Thus, Polycrates' extraordinary *tychē*, ring story, and demise fit Herodotus' pattern perfectly. In this paper, I construe Polycrates' story as a case of Rejected Sacrifice. Naiden (2013) classifies types of rejection from the gods, where a reason for Severe Rejection might be disregard for the god's inherent rights – an attitude that also incurs *phthonos*. Moreover, Naiden recognizes an option for atonement: a second, improved sacrifice. The possibility for redemption also arises in Amasis' advice, who tells Polycrates to repeat the ritual until certain the god is pleased (3.40.4); yet, when the ring returns, Polycrates opts to accept it as a show of favor from the god (van der Veen 1996). Polycrates' behavior leads to another matter: *hybris*. Although

Herodotus does not treat *hybris* in-depth, it functions in the *Histories* as an underlying concept, especially in the punishment of excessive individuals (Mikalson 2003). Significantly, Cairns (1996) shows the link between *phthonos*, immoderate human success, and impieties by emphasizing the appropriate attitude to success, rather than success itself. By acting inappropriately, the individual shares the gods' *timē*, thus committing impiety. As I show, Polycrates' disposition leads him to view the ring's return as another success, which in turn reveals Polycrates' *hybris* and seals his fate – thereby exposing another case of Rejected Sacrifice as well as the *hybris* of individuals in Herodotus' *Histories*.

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Were there God Fearers in Late Ancient Africa?

Hagith Sivan, The University of Kansas

No less than two imperial laws, issued in CE 407 and 409 respectively, refer to an otherwise mysterious group of Judeo-Christians, likely in Africa, labeling them as heretics. The group is named *Caelicolae* (Heaven Worshippers). Amnon Linder translated the term as God-Fearers, a well-known and hugely controversial denomination ordinarily applied to polytheists favoring Judaism. But is this really the case? Did the God-Fearers of the eastern provinces of the empire resume a novel, albeit brief resurgence in the African provinces of Late Antiquity? What characterized the Caelicolae's Jewishness? How much or how little did they have in common with the God Fearers of, say, Aphrodisias?

Twitter and Instagram in the fourth century

Hartmut Ziche, University of Guyana

It is often claimed that the advent of social media, allowing the dissemination of individual points of view to a wide, potentially universal audience, is transforming our capacity to grasp socio-political, socio-economic, and hence historical reality. While

there is an accompanying concern about 'fake news', the removal of all filters is supposed, at least in principle, to provide a both more complete and at the same time more 'realistic' picture of what actually 'is'. In terms of historiographical theory, this claim is akin to the positivist postulate that only the neutral accumulation of historical 'facts' can produce historical meaning and analytical value. This paper intends to discuss this assumption on the basis of an individual example, the career of Julian between 356 and 363 CE. While we cannot know whether other emperors, too, perhaps extensively communicated their personal take on what was going on to a contemporary audience, at least as far as extant writings are concerned, Julian appears by far the most social-media savvy emperor. While there are only a handful of instances of 'official' communication – i.e. imperial constitutions – with the Roman public, there are more than 150 other 'tweets' accompanying and commenting, often very personally, on Julian's short career. To this steady stream of written commentary can be added the images Julian diffused in his coinage. Discussing specific examples, including 'personal' writings like the *Caesars* or the *Misopogon*, it is our contention that while Julian may be the by far 'best documented' emperor, his social media presence does not produce a fuller of more realistic snapshot of imperial government in the fourth century. Indeed, like modern social media users, Julian produces a highly filtered 'reality' of his empire and imperial action — often at odds with overtly filtered historical accounts by, for instance, Ammianus or Zosimus.

Thursday 20/06/2024 11:15-12:45 Language and Experience

Between Noetic and Experience: The Measures of Language

Ronald J.J. Blankenborg, Radboud University

This paper argues for *metron* as a cognitive means, evolved from musical concerns, to account for the ratio between the parts and the whole of speech. In its normative, noetic application as in, e.g., Plato's *Theaetetus* and *Republic*, *metron* deliberately restricts language's relativism. In both ancient Greek linguistic and ethical considerations, *metron* indicates the 'unseen though normative measure', an immediate, exact, and experimental mirror of the outside world (Prier 1976). In itself noetic, *metron* suggest actual measurability. Non-linguistic *metron* preceded linguistic *metron*, though: only from Aristoxenus' constitution of rhythmical feet (to outdo the non-measurable syllable in the divorce of *mousike* and philology) could the *metron* evolve into a 'part of speech',

as it is found in the extant epitome of Hephaestion (Luque Moreno 1995). Rhythm's ethical values are thus tied in with the poetic structuring of speech (Crivelli 2019): prose is supposed to equally structure its relatively 'looser' speech-act unities (Vatri 2016; Renaud 2022). Soon enough the linguistic and nonlinguistic *metron* of language became intertwined, both from the musical (Hagel 2018; Gurd 2022) and from the literary-critical point of view (Ford 2002). With respect to poetic language/metrical text, the imaginary bar-like *metron* and its derivative 'metrical rhythm' rationalize meter's ontology in rhythm to an extent that cognitive 'chunking' appears to be the norm rather than the experience of over-regulation. In accordance with its other noetic applications, linguistic *metron* thus defies language's capacity for relativism of what constitutes 'wholes'. On a par with the equation of non-relativism and ethical virtue, as found in Plato's political and epistemological considerations, linguistic *metron* is also suggestive of the experienced value of speech structuring.

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Divination and Intellectualism in Xenophon's Memorabilia

Florencia Castro Possi, Bar-Ilan University

In this paper, I aim to establish a connection between divination and a form of Socratic intellectualism present in *Memorabilia.* This deals with the issue of *akrasia*, the

problem of human ignorance, and with the role of divination as a tool or *téchne* to acquire knowledge through communication with the gods. Xenophon presents Socrates's defense in *Memorabilia* I, which "rests on two fundamental Socratic traits, piety and self-mastery (*enkrateia*)" (Johnson, 2020, 417). *Enkrateia* is extremely important in Xenophon's defense of Socrates because it is not a trait that can be effortlessly learned by studying. On the contrary, it is best learned by following an example. This is the way in which Xenophon's Socrates taught not virtue itself (Mem.1.2.3) but self-mastery. Thus, self-mastery becomes the ground or the basis for the acquisition of virtue and appears as something different from knowledge. In *Mem*.1.5.4, Socrates defines self-mastery as the foundation of virtue (*enkrateia aretes krepis*). *Enkrateia* is a disposition different from virtue and wisdom and, as Dorion characterized it, plays a critical role in the intellectualist debate because it works in solidarity and inseparably with weakness of will (*akrasia*). They would be analogous to the two sides of a coin. But is there a denial of *akrasia* in Xenophon's Memorabilia? How do these traits come into play? If a person is *enkrates*, then are they disposed to a virtuous behavior? how can there be *akrasia* then? There are two important and debated sections in Memorabilia that serve as expressions of Socratic intellectualism: *Mem*.3.9.4 and *Mem*.4.6.6. In *Mem*.3.9.4, Xenophon presents his version (Waterfield) of the intellectualist theory of motivation already seen in Protagoras, that "all people always choose, from the options available to them, the one they believe most advantageous to themselves, and do it." But in *Mem*. 4.5.6, Xenophon's Socrates presents a form of pre-deliberation *akrasia*, that prevents humans from making a judgment about what the correct course of action would be. In *Memorabilia* I and IV, Xenophon mentions and describes divination as a form of communication with the gods, who know everything, in order to access information that cannot be accessed with the powers of human intelligence. The role of divination is clearly expressed in *Mem.*4.7: whenever human wisdom is insufficient, Socrates advised to resort to divination, which is how gods help men. The main claim in this presentation is that divination appears as a way to preserve *enkrateia* and human knowledge by accessing information given by the gods.

On the First Stasimon of Sophocles' *OT*

Zoia Barzakh, Bar-Ilan University

The first stasimon of Sophocles' *OT* has attracted relatively little attention. However, close analysis demonstrates its key importance in the context of the tragedy. The chorus in this stasimon assumes the position that is close both to the spectator and to the hero, thereby demonstrating the universality of the hero's situation and its relevance for the spectator. In general, we share the opinion of those scholars who believe that chorus in tragedy "expresses, through its fears, hopes and judgments, the feelings of the spectators who make up the civic community" (the formulation of J.-P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet). In particular, the chorus in this stasimon assumes the position of the responsible citizen of democratic polis, and even of the judge of the criminal court, which is familiar to the spectator from their own experience. On the other hand, in its preference of human common sense and wisdom over allegedly divinely-inspired, but unprovable and dubious prophetic knowledge, the chorus is similar to the hero. Verses 503-504 σοφίᾳ δ' ἂν σοφίαν παραμείψειεν ἀνήρ must be understood in this sense: σοφίᾳ here is human intellectual skills and ingeniousness, as opposed to mystical knowledge, just as γνώμη, in which Oedipus prides himself before Teiresias in the previous scene. In this reliance on the human common sense the chorus, as well as the hero, falls into the fatal ignorance, stressed by multiple tragic ironies. This last aspect is further enforced by the usage of light and darkness imagery in the ode.

Thursday 20/06/2024 13:45-14:45 **Keynote Address**

Honour and the Rhetoric of Slavery in Herodotus

Douglas Cairns, University of Edinburgh