

DISCENTES



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DISCENTES

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The undergraduate magazine for the
Department of Classical Studies at the
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CONTENTS

FROM THE EDITORS	5
NEWS	7
SENIOR COLLOQUIUM	
A Sample of Senior Abstracts	13
RESEARCH	
Not Art But Truth: A Brief History of Mummy Portrait Reception By Alethea Roe	16
Roman Nobility and the Power of the Spectacle By Madeleine Brown	33
Humanity Unbound: Hope for Mankind in a Bleak Drama By Benjamin Nicholas	39
Storm Imagery in Senecan Poetry and Prose By Allison Letica	50
CONVERSATIONS	
Professor Julia Wilker	61
Amy Conwell	65

FINAL THOUGHTS

Senior Musings:

What I'm going to tell the hordes of people in 'the real world' who will inevitably ask 'Why'd you major in *that*?'

By Alethea Roe

67

The Five Stages of Thesis:

An Epistolary Adventure

By Molly Hutt

69

Vergil and Sir Mix-A-Lot:

Daydreaming in Latin 309

By Laura Santander

74

FROM THE EDITORS

“It’s a dangerous business, Frodo, going out your door. You step onto the road, and if you don’t keep your feet, there’s no knowing where you might be swept off to.”

-Bilbo Baggins, J.R.R. Tolkien’s The Fellowship of the Ring

This is the second issue of *Discentes* to be published. The magazine has come some distance to arrive at this point. When we set out to create a publication for the Penn classics community almost a year ago, grand ideas filled our minds. Some can be found on the pages of this issue; some can not. As with any human endeavor, the end result is not as we planned it, but in this case, we feel confident in saying it is better.

Our first issue featured a piece by James Levy entitled “Why I’m a Hellenist.” In his casually hilarious prose, James described his passion for the “cultural conquerors of the Mediterranean” and an accompanying distaste for the “jack-booted thugs”¹ (Romans) who succeeded them. James’ piece spoke directly to the classics experience at Penn, revealing a new area to which *Discentes* could contribute. The magazine could be more than a venue for undergraduates to publish research papers; it could also be a means of adding to the Penn classics culture and community. In this second issue, Molly Hutt, Alethea Roe, and Laura Santander build upon James’ example, expressing the angst of thesis-writing, the frustration of dealing with the perceived worthlessness of a classics degree, and the surprising connections between Latin literature and the hip-hop artist Sir Mix-A-Lot. *Discentes* offers undergraduates an opportunity to voice these experiences—the struggles and joys of being a classics

¹ We thank Professor McInerney for this delightful and—in these editors’ minds—woefully unfair characterization.

student at Penn—and share them with fellow students.

Still, the research papers remain the core of the magazine. In this issue, Alethea Roe discusses the problems in the acquisition and interpretation of mummy portraits in “Not Art But Truth.” Madeleine Brown assesses Livy’s use of spectacles in his history, focusing on the kidnapping of the Faliscan children in Book V. In “Humanity Unbound,” Ben Nicholas examines Prometheus’ dedication to helping humankind and the less apparent but still significant devotion of Zeus. Finally, Allison Letica traces storm imagery through Seneca’s corpus and explores how the author uses these motifs to illustrate the ideals of Stoicism.

In addition to the research and light-hearted fare, our second issue features an interview with Professor Julia Wilker with whom we were honored to sit down to discuss her interests and her perspectives on classical studies and Penn. We are also grateful to post-baccalaureate student Amy Conwell for sharing her own experiences and goals. Professor James Ker and Renee Campbell continue to provide invaluable support and encouragement.

Discentes continues to evolve. The form that the magazine will take a year from now is unlikely to be identical to the issue presented here. The road is laid out before our feet, and we must follow the example of the bold and brave hobbit Bilbo Baggins:

*...far ahead the Road has gone,
And I must follow, if I can,
Pursuing it with eager feet
Until it joins some larger way
Where many paths and errands meet.
And whither then? I cannot say.*



Carson Woodbury



Laura Santander

NEWS

The spring semester was filled with exciting classics-related events on Penn's campus.

March 21st saw the inauguration of what promises to be a vibrant new tradition as the department devoted the week's colloquium to celebrating the work of all forty of its graduating seniors, each of whom was required to submit a paper for the occasion—many drawn from the senior theses that ten haggard but triumphant students had submitted the previous Monday. Faculty members presented the students' work to the audience, offering a brief summary of each student's project and, as professors tend to do, posed their own thought-provoking questions in response. Several students were also invited to speak about how they had grown intellectually and expanded their individual interests through their work in the department. Elliot Rambach quoted James Joyce's *Ulysses* in his remarks: "Every life is many days, day after day. We walk through ourselves, meeting robbers, ghosts, giants, old men, young men, wives, widows, brothers-in-love, but always meeting ourselves." On the quote and his own experience, Elliot had these words:

I read Joyce's quote and immediately feel like I 'get' Stephen Dedalus, and Odysseus, and Aeneas, and we all could potentially hang out. If you squint hard enough at my experiences at Penn—an epic Latin course on Vergil's *Eclogues* in my first semester, another on the *Aeneid* in my last, some comedy and tragedy in between—you might see where I'm coming from, sort of.

The first senior colloquium revealed just how staggeringly varied the scope of scholarly inquiry can be, and how critical

and creative classics students have been in carving out their own unique intellectual niches in both contexts. A sample of abstracts submitted for the colloquium by seniors may be found on page 13.

This semester also saw the Classics Undergraduate Advisory Board continuing two of its favorite traditions.

First, a dramatic reading of Plautus's *Casina* was presented on April 15th. This follows the Board's readings of *Medea*, *Lysistrata*, and *The Trojan Women* in previous semesters. Faculty and student performers convened in College Hall 200, and, with the aid of the odd prop and a script in hand, collaborated to bring an ancient play to life. This time, the audience was treated to Plautus's rollicking, racy tale of mistaken identity and comedic comeuppance. Molly Hutt (who also provided the production's mustache artistry) was Cleostrata, the wronged but wily wife of Lysidamus (played by Alethea Roe), a lecherous old man who has his wandering eye on Casina, a family slave also loved by his son. Lysidamus hatches a plan to marry Casina to his bailiff and co-conspirator Olympio (played by Laura Santander, who also designed and sported an impressive pair of muttonchops for the part). Cleostrata's attempts to foil her husband are aided by her resourceful slaves Pardalisca (Madeleine Brown) and Chalinus (Carson Woodbury). Christian Gilberti was Myrrhina, the matron next door. Professor Rosen, along with delivering the prologue, performed the role of Alcesimus, Lysidamus's reluctantly enabling neighbor.

Second, Certamen, our very own classics-themed quizzo tournament took place on April 5th. Certamen traditionally gives a team of undergraduates, a team of grad students, and a team of professors the opportunity to compete for top honors and a year's worth of glory. In recent years, the grad students have carried off the laurels, but this year the

undergraduates scored a not-so-Pyrrhic victory by default. However, the undergrads are spoiling for a *real* upset next year. If you'd like to learn more about UAB and how your Herculean labors of classics trivia valor can contribute to the undergraduate cause, contact Carson Woodbury, UAB chair, at wocarson@sas.upenn.edu.

Classics graduate students partnered with their colleagues from the Religious Studies and East Asian Languages and Cultures departments to organize a conference called "Ephemeral Relics," dedicated to, in the words of speaker Efstathia Athanasopoulou, the exploration of perception as a cultural versus a purely physiological process. Talks spanned everything from obsidian in Maya culture to Roman baths.

For those interested in archaeology, material culture, or the broader cultural contexts of Greece and Rome, the Art and Archaeology of the Mediterranean World graduate group again hosted lecturers every Friday at noon in the Penn Museum, with talks covering a variety of topics within the study of the ancient Mediterranean and Near East. As if that were not enough of a draw, lunch was also provided. A list of upcoming lectures can be found at <http://www.sas.upenn.edu/aamw/>. To receive weekly notices of these and other similar events on and off campus, join the Center for Ancient Studies' listserv by sending a message to ancient@sas.upenn.edu. (Use "subscribe" as the subject of the email, and please include your full name and affiliation in the body of the message.)

The Classics Department also holds a weekly colloquium open to the public on Thursdays at 4:30 in Cohen Hall. Although the colloquium sometimes features speakers from the department or the university at large, it also often features speakers from a variety of other academic institutions the world over. The talk is preceded by a coffee hour at 4:00

in the Classics Lounge. If you are interested in receiving email notices of these and other events from the department, go to <<https://groups.sas.upenn.edu/mailman/listinfo/clst-announcements>> to join the listserv.

The UAB also hosted two “Favorite Pages” symposia with classics faculty. Professor Murnaghan traced the rich afterlife and evolution of Homeric similes in English literature. Professor Wilker examined Josephus’ account of Alexander the Great meeting the Jewish High Priest, teasing out the multicultural realities revealed by this very fictional story.

The spring semester also inaugurated the first ever Poetry Slam (or Metrical Reading Event) on February 12th. Undergraduates from Latin and Greek courses of all levels congregated to read lines of Greek and Latin poetry in meter, as well as professors and graduate students to witness the gathering. Presentations ranged from an acted rendition of Vergil’s dactylic hexameter to Catullus’ hendecasyllabics. Professor Ker even tickled our fancy with scansion challenges, a raffle, and some papal Latin.

The Penn Museum, as ever, continues to play host to a wide variety of scholarly events such as the Great Battle series (free for students). The series heavily features classical topics, including the upcoming

- May 1st, “Thermopylae: The Battle for Europe?” (Jeremy McNerney)
- June 5th, “Hannibal’s Secret Weapon in the Second Punic War” (Patrick Hunt)

In addition, the Museum welcomed a touring exhibition of panels from the Lod Mosaic, a sprawling, extremely well-preserved Roman floor mosaic from Israel, dating from the late 3rd century CE. The mosaic, discovered during highway construction near Tel Aviv, will remain stationed in the 3rd floor Pepper Gallery of the Museum until May 12th, at which

time it will cross the Atlantic to be displayed at the Louvre. A ribbon-cutting ceremony and lecture were held on February 10th to celebrate the mosaic's sojourn at the Museum, and a panel discussion "The Lod Mosaic in Context" was held April 21st, featuring Dr. C. Brian Rose, Curator-in-Charge, Mediterranean Section; Dr. Annette Reed, Assistant Professor, Religious Studies; Dr. Julia Wilker, Assistant Professor, Classical Studies; and Dr. Ann Kuttner, Associate Professor, History of Art, who discussed historical, artistic, and religious contexts in which the mosaic was created.

The Museum also showcased its sense of fun with a screening of the endlessly amusing cinematic train wreck *Clash of the Titans* (2010). A reception in the museum café prior to the screening invited attendees to "pin the tooth on the Kraken," to pose as Hercules slaying the Nemean lion with the help of a cardboard cutout, and to randomly select their own Homeric epithets. The main event, however, was a screening of the movie with commentary provided by Professor Rosen and grad students Matthew Farmer and Sam Beckelhymer, at turns sardonic, incredulous, informative, and always hilarious; audience members also chimed in with their own commentary via the Museum's Twitter feed. The evening was greatly enjoyed by all (especially The Strong One, The Curse of Men, and The Shepherd of the People). A similar screening of *Troy*, with commentary provided by Professor Struck, took place on April 17th.

If you are an operatically inclined classicist, remember to look out for the final broadcast in the Metropolitan Opera's Live in HD series, which broadcasts live performances at the opera house to movie theaters around the world, including The Rave on 40th and Walnut. April brings us Handel's baroque delight *Giulio Cesare* (fully and properly titled *Giulio Cesare in Egitto*, as the opera centers on Julius Caesar's participation in the Alexandrian wars and his

notorious liaison with Cleopatra VII). David Daniels, the world's leading countertenor, sings Julius Caesar opposite French soprano Natalie Dessay's Cleopatra. Promotional shots of Daniels accompanied by a legion of redcoats suggest Sir David McVicar's production is heavily informed by the legacy of the British as well as the Roman Empire. Broadcasts will occur on April 27th and May 15th.

SENIOR COLLOQUIUM

A SAMPLE OF ABSTRACTS

The Cry of Winnie Mandela: A South African reimagining of
Homer's Penelope

By Nnesochi Ajukwu

This project explores Njabulo Ndebele's novel *The Cry of Winnie Mandela* as a contemporary interpretation of the theme of the waiting wife in Homer's *Odyssey*. Ndebele's work examines the lives of five women in post-apartheid era South Africa, who are described as "the descendants of Penelope" because they also waited indefinitely for their absent husbands. In his work Ndebele provides insight into the mind of a "waiting woman" and ultimately calls into question the virtue of waiting indefinitely for a husband who may or may not return. Thus, this paper explores Ndebele's interpretation of the *Odyssey* as a critique of the paradigm of marital fidelity embodied by Penelope.

Ambiguity in Bucolic Poetry and Satire: The Treatment of
Country and City in the *Eclogues* and *Sermones*

By Kenny Puk

In this reading of Vergil's *Eclogues* and Horace's *Sermones* with special attention to *Ecloga* 1 and *Sermo* II.6, I argue that the treatment of country and city expands both works beyond the traditional bounds of their respective genres to create more robust, less insular works that incorporate the

circumstances under which each were written. I show that the *Sermones* should be read with a “two-voiced” narrator casts ambiguity which not only enriches the satire’s perspective on the country-city spectrum, on which the genre is traditionally skewed toward the city, but also creates humor. I also show that the representation of Arcadia in the Vergil’s *Eclogues* is not conform to an ideal pastoral world but instead a world that incorporates the darkneses of the city and country in additional to its traditional pastoral setting.

The Polychromatic Tradition in Roman Sculpture: Origins, Methods and Modern Recreations

By Alexandra Gradwohl

This paper examines both the prevalence and the importance of polychromy in Roman sculpture. After exploring the origins of the polychromatic sculptural tradition, different methods of including color are addressed, including paints, stones, metals, glasses and other natural materials. A number of modern efforts to recover evidence of and recreate classical polychromy are also discussed, as well as what these projects may mean for modern interpretations of Roman art. Certain pieces are also addressed as case studies, examining how color may have altered how Roman audiences understood and interpreted their statuary.

The Traveling Hero: Rapper Oddisee as a Contemporary Odysseus

By Amelia Cornfield

Rapper Amir Mohamed chose the stage name Oddisee to craft

a persona based on the Homeric hero Odysseus. Releasing albums such as *Traveling Man*, Oddisee describes himself as a traveler who makes destinations accessible to listeners through observation-based music. Oddisee often recalls Homer's *Odyssey* in his lyrics by mentioning the Adriatic and portrays himself both as a soldier suffering after the war and as a leader laying snares. He identifies with Odysseus as a fellow wanderer and as someone who becomes wiser through travel; however, he rejects several heroic objectives that are central in the *Odyssey*—status, wealth, and fame.

Isis' Prices: 'Truthonomics' and Moral Transformation in
Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*
By Elliot Rambach

I chose this essay for our Senior Colloquium because it speaks across the disciplines that define study of the classics—sources from history, philosophy, and literature inform its approach to the episodic journey of Apuleius' narrator Lucius. At the conclusion of Book 11 Lucius has progressed from buffoon to ascetic, but readers are left to question the validity of his contentment. My essay explores how social and intellectual traditions affect the trajectory of Apuleius' narrative, then negates that conversation almost entirely to examine the possibility that *Metamorphoses* is an exercise in literary sleight-of-hand, and the joke's on us.

RESEARCH

Not Art But Truth: A Brief History of Mummy Portrait Reception

By Alethea Roe

Since the Italian adventurer Pietro della Valle (1586-1652) in his 1615 expedition to Egypt purchased two portrait mummies and brought them back to Europe,² the “Fayum”³ mummy portraits have been as fascinating as they are fraught for scholars and laymen alike. The portraits, thought to have emerged as a genre early in the Julio-Claudian period⁴ and to have persisted for several centuries,⁵ depict individuals clad in Greco-Roman attire, with women often mirroring imperial styles in their hairstyles and jewelry. They are typically painted on wooden panels using encaustic or tempera and show the deceased at bust-length. (Later portraits also regularly include the upper torso and hands.) Typically, the panels were then inserted into the mummy wrappings or occasionally painted directly on the wrappings; from the middle of the first century CE, they also appear in

² Published in two volumes, 1650 and 1658.

³ Also transliterated as “Faiyum,” “Fayoum,” or “Fayyum.” This paper will employ “Fayum” throughout.

⁴ S. E.C. Walker (1997) 23: “mid-first century.”

⁵ Their exact termination is debated; K. Parlasca (1996, 35-36) argues they endured until the fourth century. CE; Borg (1996, 108) argues for the mid-third century CE.

the form of full-body shrouds.⁶

Historically, the intense interest generated by mummy portraits has fueled centuries of collecting, underhanded dealing,⁷ and even formal excavations whose material consequences were not greatly distinguishable from all-out looting. Famed Egyptologist W.M. Flinders Petrie is, on the whole, a “laudable exception” to a sadly general rule: his 1888 and 1911 excavations at Hawara were systematically documented and promptly published.⁸ In the main, however, the loss of so much archaeological context in the excavations of the past—truly the great challenge, bugbear, frustration, and perverse fascination of studying the mummy portraits—has left many questions about them likely, perhaps even doomed, to remain open.

This has not, however, much dampened enthusiasm for the approximately one thousand portraits and fragments known to be extant and scattered throughout the museums of the world. Indeed, the impassioned intricacies of the many scholarly debates surrounding them have, if anything, only intensified.

This enthusiasm typically features portraits being hailed as “naturalistic,” which seems to be generally understood to convey that their execution of the human form largely calls upon Greco-Roman rather than pharaonic Egyptian models as well as to articulate the portrait’s capacity to give the impression that one is in the presence of a

⁶ Shrouds are characteristic of the site of Antinoopolis, but are also seen at Hawara (Freccero [2000] 3).

⁷ Forgeries were, are, and likely will continue to be quite common (Thompson [1982] 12).

⁸ B. Borg and G. Most (2000) 65. Even Petrie conducted his excavations with a certain disregard for some aspects of contextualizing evidence, but on the whole he must be commended as rather ahead of his time.

carefully individualized personality.⁹ The latter effect has culminated in some rather ecstatic, indeed almost mystical strands of criticism. A characteristic example is given by Euphrosyne Doxiadis, who rhapsodizes, “they are not art, but truth.”¹⁰

This succinctly captures the enraptured sentiment that has historically been—and clearly continues to be—pervasive in mummy portrait reception. Doxiadis is not alone among moderns to make such declarations; Berenice Geoffroy-Schneider writes: “Not yet dead but no longer alive, the people depicted look us straight in the eye, without affect, desire or provocation, *in the nakedness of truth*.”¹¹ The portraits are even anthropomorphized as prophetic sages, speaking simultaneously as and on behalf of their ancient human referents, dispensing “silent reminders to us to seize the day.”¹²

The problem with taking such impulses too far (i.e., making the leap from art to “truth”) is that the mummy portraits are, of course, *not* “without affect, desire or provocation,” no more than any other portrait—and any art, for that matter, ancient or modern. Portraits of any era are the product of social as much as personal realities; “their imagery combines the conventions of behavior and appearance appropriate to the members of a society at a particular time, as defined by categories of age, gender...social and civic class.”¹³ However, viewers have long succumbed to the temptation to conflate the visual expressions of the ancient

⁹ Employing “naturalistic” wholesale to describe the corpus can obscure the fact that later tempera portraits are often highly stylized, as well as the fact that term “veristic” is slowly beginning to appear in the scholarship.

¹⁰ E. Doxiadis in J. Picton, S. Quirke, P.C. Roberts (2007) 143.

¹¹ B. Geoffroy-Schneider (1998) 17.

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ R. Brilliant (1991) 11.

social realities of Roman Egypt with modern artistic traditions and social realities. Where identities have been lost—as the majority have been—they have been readily supplied with contemporary analogues to their style and even lovingly detailed analyses of supposed personality of their subjects. Ulrick Wilcken’s enthusiastic statement that “The best of the portraits are of such a convincing truthfulness to life, so full of individuality,”¹⁴ is on the restrained side of such responses, when compared to elaborately imaginative frenzies such as those of German Egyptologist Georg Moritz Ebers:

Special interest has attached recently to the splendid Number 21.... It represents a man who has just recently passed beyond the borderline of youth. His hair falls deeply onto his forehead in casual, perhaps intentional disorder, and if we look into the eyes—which know many things, and not only permitted ones—and the sensual mustached mouth of this countenance which, though certainly not ugly, is restless, then we are include to believe that it belonged to a pitiless master who yielded all too readily when his lustful heart demanded that his burning desires be satisfied. It seems to us that this Number 21 is still in the midst of *Sturm und Drang* and is far removed from that inner harmony which the philosophically educated Greek was supposed to reach at an age of greater maturity.¹⁵

Petrie’s excavation journals from Hawara are also an endless fount of such amusing and opinionated character studies; one portrait (now unfortunately unidentifiable) receives the following treatment: “A man who was no beauty certainly

¹⁴ U. Wilcken (1889) 2.

¹⁵ B. Borg and G.W. Most (2000) 66.

anyhow, he looks as if he would have made a very conscientious hardworking curate with a tendency to pulpit hysterics.”¹⁶ Petrie also recorded, with some resentment, an anecdote regarding Egypt Department of Antiquities Director M. Eugene Grébaut, who appeared to claim several particularly engaging specimens of Petrie’s portraits on behalf of the Department: “When he had apparently done, I asked if he was now content; he hesitated, and then said that he ‘once knew a young lady like that,’ and therefore took one more of the best.”¹⁷

Also, in 1929, Mary Swindler, professor of archaeology at Bryn Mawr College, commenting on a portrait labeled “Hermione grammatike” (now in Girton College, Cambridge) used the latter epithet as evidence that Hermione was a “reader in classics,”¹⁸ and, after observing, “the face of Hermione is a joyless one” used that face as a sounding board for contemplations about her own profession: “We do not know whether to sympathise with the young who came under her eye or regret, rather, that the profession was so uninspiring. In any case the Hermione type seems to be self-perpetuating.”¹⁹

Such reactions call to mind Richard Brilliant’s penetrating observation that, “so many viewers feel compelled to ascertain the identities or names given to the images of men, women, and children in portraits—once the art works are known to be portraits—when the same viewers feel no similar compulsion to do so in their encounter with art works in other genres.” Ebers’s and Petrie’s personality profiles, Grébaut’s reverie, and Swindler’s reflections reveal

¹⁶ J. Picton, S. Quirke, and P.C. Roberts (2007) 36.

¹⁷ W.M.F. Petrie (1932) 95.

¹⁸ Many other glosses of “grammatike” have been offered; it may merely denote the fact that she was literate (Montserrat 1997 b, 224).

¹⁹ M. A. Swindler (1929) 323.

another telling aspect of this transfixion—it is nearly always implicated in contemporary anxieties, needs, fantasies, or situations; this compulsion to learn about is, nearly always, also a compulsion to project onto. One must wonder how much the sheer intensity of the interest in ascertaining (or inventing) as much as possible about their human referents can simply be attributed to momentum triggered by the initial identification of these works as portraits. Certainly, the Petrie and Swindler types also seem to be self-perpetuating, as present-day attempts are made to identify “a young man with sensual lips and the beginning of a moustache like a figure from a film by Pasolini...a woman who looks bored, an Emma Bovary of another age, steeped in gentle melancholy immortalized by the brush of some Leonardo or Rembrandt.”²⁰

Ancient social realities have also been obscured by a different, but equally problematic reaction—the determination to identify them with the *right* past, that is, whatever past is presently in vogue, both among scholars and the public at large. Attempts mounted to “redeem” the portraits from the “decadence under the Romans” by identifying them as the forerunners of Coptic icons have also been unrelenting, glossing over the significant problems with crowning the mummy portraits as icons’ immediate artistic forerunners (perhaps most glaringly the lapse of time between the cessation of mummy production and the emergence of the icons).²¹ Georg Moritz Ebers—consulted by Viennese antiquities dealer Theodor Ritter von Graf to authenticate the decontextualized portraits he assembled for an exhibition that toured throughout Europe—was determined to claim them for the then-popular Ptolemaic period: “Some of the most

²⁰ B. Geoffroy-Schneiter (1998) 5.

²¹ J. Fleischer (2001) 54. See also K. Weitzmann (1978), 8 and Parlasca (1966) 209-212.

beautiful are of such a high standard of execution that they may be ascribed to the time of the Ptolemies, when the flower of Alexandrian art was only just beginning slowly to fade, rather than to the period of decadence under the Romans in the Christian era.”²² (This has even been accused, probably unfairly, of being a “calculated error” to increase the selling price of the portraits.²³) Petrie, on the other hand, described the first of his discoveries at Hawara as “a beautifully drawn head of a girl, in soft grey tints, entirely *classical*.” Egyptologists and classicists have long debated that the portraits are rightly assigned as the province of their discipline.

Consequently, the mummy portraits have all-too-often been more or less regarded as “prizes” in various scholarly tugs-of-war. As with so much in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, they have been subject to power plays between classicists and Egyptologists, as well as between scholars of the “classic” and later periods of both disciplines.²⁴ With the encouraging ascendancy of the “growing school of thought which sees Hellenistic culture generally in terms of juxtaposition rather than of mixture”²⁵—in which one tradition triumphantly and definitively supersedes another—debates have become, in the main, more nuanced and comfortably interdisciplinary than of yore, but disconnects between the disciplines are by no means a thing of the past.

Steadily increasingly dialogues between the fields are certainly one reason why recent years have proved an exhilarating time to study mummy portraits. Another is that the necessary cataloguing groundwork is falling ever more

²² B. Geoffroy-Schneiter (1998) 7.

²³ A. Freccero, (2000) 2.

²⁴ One thinks, for instance of the debates as to whether the Greek Magical Papyri should be regarded as more the product of Egyptian or Greco-Roman cultural milieux.

²⁵ R.S. Bagnall (1982) 18-19.

into place. Parlasca's Herculean efforts in assembling the *Ritratti di mumie* series for A. Adriani's *Repertorio d'arte dell' Egitto Greco-romano* must take pride of place here; but Susan Walker's *Ancient Faces*, the Petrie Museum's *Living Images* and Barbara Borg's *Mumienporträts*, and the stunning full-color photographs of Euphrosyne Doxiadis's *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits*, ought also to be acknowledged among the valuable entries in an ever-widening field.

Perhaps most encouragingly, one can cite a proliferation of scholarship (to which this paper hopes to have contributed) that forcefully demonstrates that emphasizing social realities over supposed verisimilar individuality in ancient art such as the mummy portraits does not, as it may seem to do, erode the viewer's connection to the expressions of ancient identities, though it may require reconsiderations of certain assumptions about the content of that expression, such as supposedly ethnic distinctions. Rather, it is much more likely to reveal something of the portrait subjects' thought-world than any amount of physiognomic or psychoanalytical communions with them (communions that historically have and, as we have seen, still frustratingly *do* dominate certain strands of discourse surrounding the portraits).

Then there are the biases the archaeological record seeds in our reception of ancient art. In antiquity, panel paintings were highly prized as an art form; unfortunately it was only the arid climate of Egypt that ensured the survival of the mummy portraits, one of the all-too-scant examples remaining to us of a vibrant, integral, and fairly commonplace artistic tradition of the ancient world. Were we more accustomed to the sight of such paintings, the mummy portraits would, perhaps, not seem quite so anomalously akin to contemporary pictorial art.

That the mummy portraits are, in fact, also the "only corpus of coloured representations of individuals to survive

from classical antiquity”²⁶ is also critical. The mere fact that they are painted gives them a vibrant novelty so seductively different from, for example, the monochromatic marbles and bronzes of Greece and Rome. Such sculptures, of course, looked quite different at the time of their creation. Most would have been brightly painted and many would have had colored inlays; it is only the passage of time that has rendered them monochromatic. Reconstructions, based on chemical remnants of pigments, consequently seem garish, and continue the cycle of an idea of painted sculpture is still “widely ignored in scholarship and not well known to the public.”²⁷ It is, perhaps, this potent combination of color (which now seems so much more exceptional than the norm it was in ancient art) and the idea of the portrait—especially the fascinations of the funerary portrait—further strengthened by the fact that the fame of pharaonic mummies such as “King-Tut” influenced stereotypes of what mummies “look like” that gives the mummy portraits much of the mystique and allure, as well as the perception that they possess a unique and undeniable “truth.” One wishes that works on mummy portraits pitched to the general public—as many often are—might spare a contextualizing sentence or two to help rectify this skewed perception of ancient aesthetics. One might also wish treatments of mummy portraits were little more forthcoming about the extent to which, due to conservation and restoration efforts of the past, we experience the portraits through a materially altered lens. These factors, perhaps as much as any, are to blame for the “not-art-but-truth” school of responses that can be greatly entertaining and entrancingly creative, but rarely very informative about their ancient referents.

Any study of the mummy portrait corpus consequently

²⁶ S.E.C Walker in M.I. Bierbrier (1997) 1

²⁷ R. Panzanelli, E. D. Schmidt, K. D. S. Lapatin (2008) 100.

must go hand in hand with an acute awareness—and a vigilant interrogation of—the ways they have been appropriated and sentimentalized in the past, in order that we may steadily shed the biases of the past, and effectively critique those of the present. Historically, mummy portraits’ perceived unconventionality as ancient art objects has tilted their study toward the superficial, and occasionally even the sensational. Few authors can resist appropriating them—however tangentially—to make one point or another, exploiting the portraits’ uncanny power to entrance their every audience. As a further case study, I will explore one such topos that has stubbornly lodged itself into portrait reception—the idea that a work known as the Tondo of the Two Brothers is a depiction of two ethnically distinct “brothers.”

The tondo almost certainly could not have been used as a “mummy portrait,” in the sense of being affixed directly to the individuals it depicts. Not only is it far too large (with a diameter of sixty centimeters²⁸) and unwieldy to have been inserted into an individual’s mummy wrappings, but it also bears no traces—common in other portraits—of having been so used: the portrait has not been cut down to accommodate insertion into the mummy wrappings, nor have fringes been left unpainted in anticipation of their being covered by the wrappings. It is also unstained by the embalming substances that often dot portraits.

One has to wonder whether it was funerary in nature at all, especially since all we know of its context is that it was excavated by Alfred Gayet at Antinoopolis in 1888-1889, though his excavations did unearth many shrouds and panel portraits. However, despite its unusual form, it is possible the Two Brothers Tondo might have still been intended for

²⁸ Doxiadis (1997) 211.

eventual appropriation for the mummy. The tondo in fact consists of two separate pieces of wood joined between the two portraits, leaving the possibility that it could have been cut down and converted into two discrete panel portraits.²⁹ The garment of the younger man (proper right), however, seems to extend over into the other man's panel, weakening the force of such an assertion. Yet there are other indicators that point to a funerary purpose:

The date Pachon 15, inscribed next to the man at proper left, likely, though not necessarily, records the date of death. Parlasca's identification of the gods that flank the men as Osirantinous (a syncretization of Osiris and Antinoos) and Hermanubis (a syncretization of Hermes and Anubis) would have held strong funerary connotations. A tondo-style portrait might well have been displayed in a funerary chapel or banquet hall.³⁰ Dominic Montserrat muses, reconciling its probable funerary function to its puzzling form, that its "unique format and array of symbols might commemorate something unusual about the two deceased men, such as the circumstances of death."³¹

That sense that there is "something unusual" commemorated in the tondo has long dogged the reception of the portrait. French connoisseur Emile Guimet in 1912 declared "sans doute" that such a dual representation must imply the two were be brothers, and the idea has remained largely unchallenged, even becoming enshrined in the designation "Tondo of the Two Brothers" most commonly used to refer to

²⁹ A. Haeckl (2001) 77.

³⁰ D. Montserrat in M.L. Bierbrier (1997) 33-44, op. cit.

³¹ A. Haeckl (2001) 78.

the dual portrait.

This durability is due in part, no doubt, to the impossibility, in the near-total absence of any context, to disprove such an assertion. However, the identification has held all the more fascination for the fact that the two men possess distinctly different skin tones; the idea that such—ostensibly ethnic—variety could exist even with the bounds of the family, and be so frankly depicted must have exercised a shocking, even scandalous allure in an era when miscegenation was ostracized—if not illegal—and racial heritage obsessively and self-consciously quantified via terms such as “quadroon” and “octoroon.” In recent years, as Western societies attempt to refashion and celebrate themselves as “post-racial,” the appeal of the “brothers” identification has, if anything, strengthened. The two “brothers”—and the multi-ethnic family and racially tolerant society extrapolated from them—have become an ideal modern society seeks to emulate; in short, they have become poster children as much as portraits. They “seem to embody all the important elements of the long story of Graeco-Egyptian co-existence on Egyptian soil.”³²

Anne Haeckl complicates this enduring assumption of ethnically mixed brotherhood by offering the intriguing—although, as she rightly admits, absolutely unprovable—possibility that the tondo depicted not fraternal siblings but lovers. Antinoopolis would perhaps be the most logical site to find such a document of such a relationship, as it would have emulated the imperial example of Hadrian and his young male favorite Antinoos, in whose honor Antinoopolis was founded after his untimely drowning in the Nile.

Admittedly, not all segments of society would have embraced the obvious parallel to Hadrian and Antinoos, as

³² E. Doxiadis (1995) 212.

Clement of Alexandria's criticism of the famous liaison as "a passion which took no account of shame" demonstrates. Even this criticism, however, seems less directed at the homosexual nature of the liaison itself, than at the excess of its expression.

Would such a liaison therefore mark a clear, comparatively uncomplicated case of Greco-Roman self-affiliation? It is true that homosexuality seems traditionally to have been somewhat frowned upon in Egypt, as it is featured in the negative confession in the Book of the Dead, in which the deceased asserts their innocence of particular misdeeds.³³ However, there are also (rare) textual attestations of homoerotic relationships in dynastic Egypt, but they were never formulated as a full-fledged and universally accepted cultural institution as pederasty was in classical Athens. Even in the Ptolemaic and Roman times, "[h]omosexuality is never mentioned as being an important component of social or educational life among the élite."³⁴ The most well known of such fleeting references in Egyptian history is the tale of an illicit liaison between a pharaoh and one of his generals. Though the affair is conducted in secret, the relationship is laid out rather matter-of-factly, and the author does not offer any condemnation of its nature. The tale could imply that Egyptian formulations of homosexuality—though whether pharaonic literature would have much influenced attitudes millennia later is an open question—could also encompass such relationships between coevals, strikingly at variance with the Hellenic practice of pederasty.³⁵

Such a relationship being depicted in a funerary context would, however, from a traditional Egyptian perspective, present something of theological conundrum, as

³³ Chapter 125: "I have not done wrong sexually, or committed homosexuality." Cited in D. Montserrat (1993 b), 140.

³⁴ D. Montserrat, (1993 b) 139.

³⁵ D. Montserrat (1993 b), 140.

emphasizing the deceased's *reproductive* sexuality was typically of paramount importance in Egyptian funerary art, and deeply intertwined with conceptions of divinely mediated and divinizing rebirth—most importantly, the topos of the Isis and Osiris myth, in which Isis's magical restoration of Osiris's phallus enables her to conceive the god Horus.

Depicting the “Two Brothers” as lovers would divest the funerary image of magically resurrective potency, and hence undermine deceased's emulative rebirth as an Osiris or Isis/Hathor figure. If the image is indeed funerary, such a scenario would represent an instance in which Greco-Roman values take clear and culturally transformative precedence over pharaonic religious beliefs. Unfortunately, as it bears reiterating, this cannot be proved, and the starkness of its opposition to Egyptian funerary values seems at once one of the potential weaknesses and tantalizing possibilities of such a theory.

Another important aspect of Haeckl's theory that bears on the question of verisimilitude is that it could undermine the typical reading of the skin tones as being attempts to capture ethnic distinctions. Skin tone was deeply tied to sex and gender roles—women were routinely depicted with pale skin; men with tan—establishing visually encoded connotations of active versus passive roles that were carried over in homoerotic contexts. Haeckl points out how closely the features of the young ephebe in the tondo maps onto Martial's “wish list” for a young male lover (at least in comparison to the older man), potentially destabilizing assumptions that the manner in which the man is depicted more or less mirrored his actual appearance:

...Hear, Flaccus, what sort of boy I should like to ask for. First, let this boy be born in the land of the Nile; no country knows better how to give naughty ways. Let him be whiter than the

snow; for in dusky Mareotis that complexion gains beauty in proportion to its rarity. Let his eyes rival stars and soft tresses float upon his neck...curly hair is not to my liking. Let his forehead be low and his nostrils not too large and slightly aquiline...³⁶

Although we must be wary of falling into circularities, the converse of Haeckl's argument would also hold true—if the two *are* lovers, their “portraits” would be subject to assimilation to the cultural ideals of what an *erastos* and an *eromenos* should look like. Since only a very particular manifestation of homosexuality was socially acceptable in Hellenized contexts—the older, experienced male as active sexual partner to a passive, callow youth—adhering to such visual tropes would be especially critical to vindicate the liaison and remove (or at least mitigate) any suggestion of impropriety. Thus Haeckl suggests the tondo presents “more the portrait of a relationship rather than of two individuals.”³⁷

This prompts a further question that is of course equally unprovable. Given the obvious importance of the story of Antinoos (and his relationship with Hadrian) as the “founding myth” of Antinoopolis, it seems natural that the story of Antinoos would be appropriated to process—and add divinizing connotations to—the untimely deaths of young Antinoopolitan men. And given the curious—not necessarily significant, but at least noteworthy—fact that the date (of death?) is positioned next to the young man, as though it were not relevant to the older man, could this be intended *solely* as funerary portrait of a youth who was of age to have been an *eromenos*, and not yet old enough to marry, and the reason the date is not applicable to the older one, or a different one not

³⁶ Martial. *Epigrams*. trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA and London 1993), 311.

³⁷ A. Haeckl (2001), 77.

added is because the other man never actually existed?

That is, the older man is a visual prop to the “story” of the young man’s tragically young demise, further denoting the deceased’s age category. Hence the tondo would represent a portrait of a *real* relationship, but rather of a relationship that *could* have existed, that *would* have been age-appropriate. That it was, in short, necessary to round out the Antinoos narrative with a Hadrian, even if a particular “Antinoos” was never actually involved with an *erastos*? The Two Brothers demonstrates perhaps better than any work of Roman Egyptian portraiture just how labyrinthine the questions of cultural affiliation and depicting “reality” are.

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Roman Nobility and the Power of the Spectacle

By Madeleine Brown

Livy's purpose of writing history is commonly found in ancient historiography, but its illustration in the story of the Falisci children is nonetheless visually and morally striking. Livy states his purpose, character education, in his Preface: "The special and salutary benefit of the study of history is to behold evidence of every sort of behavior set forth as on a splendid memorial; from it you may select for yourself and for your country what to emulate, from it what to avoid, whether basely begun or basely concluded." Another purpose is "to celebrate...the history of the greatest nation on earth." "[T]here has never," writes Livy, "been any state grander, purer, or richer in good examples, or one into which greed and luxury gained entrance so late." His examples occur through a series of character portrayals and spectacles. Livy places a number of characters and actions on a pedestal for the education of his audience—the new Augustan Rome. One such educational spectacle is that of the kidnapping of the Faliscan children.

In 5.27, Livy tells a peculiar story. In the Greek custom, large groups of Falisci children were taught by one educated man. In 394 BCE, Rome was at war with the Falisci, and the teacher of the noble children seized, he thought, an opportunity. He brought the Faliscan noble children to the Roman commander, Camillus, so that the Romans could negotiate a victory using the children as hostages. Camillus, however, takes the moral high ground:

A villain yourself, you have come with a

villainous gift to a people and a commander unlike yourself...There are laws in warfare, as there are in peace, and we have learned to follow them with as much justice as with bravery...You have defeated the Faliscans in the only way you could—by unheard-of treachery. I shall defeat them in the Roman way—by courage, siegeworks, and arms, as I did at Veii.

The story, however, does not stop here with a mere declaration of Roman moral superiority. The Roman commander gives the Falisci a visual sign, a *spectaculum*, of Roman fairness. The wicked teacher is swiftly stripped and bound, and the children, armed with switches, drive him back to the Falisci. The spectacle thus becomes the central moment of this scene: “The people at first rushed to catch sight of the spectacle; then the magistrates convened the senate to discuss the strange turn of events.”

Only after the Falisci witness this spectacle do they convene their senate and make a decision. They come to a surprising decision: the entire population, swayed by Roman fairness, demands peace. The Falisci would rather live under upright Roman law than under their own government. Livy’s lesson is articulated by the Faliscan envoys to the Roman senate: “The conclusion of this war teaches mankind two salutary lessons: you preferred fair dealing rather than taking advantage of the victory offered you, while we, under the stimulus of this fair dealing, have presented you with that victory.” In the end, Camillus is rewarded with a spectacle of his own: a triumph.

This scene is spectacular in several respects. First, the juxtaposition of evil in the face of innocence makes this scene remarkable. The Falisci had accorded the highest degree of trust and confidence in their children’s teacher. He was, after all, employed to raise and educate the future of their race and

society. In one stroke, he proved himself to be base and self-serving, in contrast to the innocence of his charges. The scene leading up to the main spectacle (the teacher being whipped back to town) is itself a spectacle: the reader has to pause and wonder at the strangeness of the scenario: “by telling stories and engaging them in play, he strayed further away than usual, ultimately bringing them to the outposts of the enemy and from there to Camillus at his headquarters.” Livy creates a picture of teacher and students engaging in normal, benign activities, but the purpose of the teacher’s seemingly innocuous activities is to use the children for his own perfidy.

Camillus, however, counteracts this display of corroded character with nobility, in another spectacular aspect of this scene. Though the Romans may believe they are right in the end, Camillus’ ultimate motivation is higher than mere victory: he behaves according to a code, the laws of warfare. So as not to behave unfairly, he gives up an advantage that could win him the war. We expect self-sacrificial nobility of this kind to be futile, and merely gestural. In this case, the Romans take a moral high ground while giving up a tactical high ground and are rewarded for it. As unusual as this noble display is in warfare, even more unexpected is the response: gratitude and capitulation. This story is ancient legend: it almost certainly did not happen as reported, and Livy has free rein to tell it as he wishes. That he brings us this particular and spectacular example of noble principle in his study of character is revealing. As Livy says in his Preface, he is writing in order that his readership may choose to emulate or to disparage certain behaviors.

Finally, we come to the visual spectacle itself. For the purpose of Livy’s message, it might have been enough to end with Camillus’ admonition. Livy, however, creates a dramatic conclusion to the tale. It would have been anticlimactic had such a treachery been capped with a simple return of the

children. The magnitude of the treachery has to be met with an equal retribution, and Livy accomplishes this brilliantly. And what a strange turn of events, indeed. The teacher is now subordinate to his pupils: stripped of his vestments (much less those of authority), he is driven back to face the citizenry he sought to betray. The children, his former subordinates, are now the masters: they turn him back to the town in a reversal of power that is no less amazing and instructive for being amusing. This may represent the turnabout of Roman fortunes: in 5.26, Livy points out that the Romans had “lost momentum” in this war. This story then involves a reversal within a reversal: the about-face in the children’s fortune is framed by the change in the Romans’ success in the war.

This spectacle works well with the kind of history Livy was writing—essentially a series of micro-episodes that contribute to large-scale lessons. This small episode instructs the audience about the importance of nobility on personal, community, and state levels. It seems the opposite of the spectacle in 9.4, in which the Samnites had captured the Roman army and refused to release it on the advice of their most respected elder. The Samnites are judged in this instance as hotheaded and foolish in opposition to Camillus’ rational, moral actions.

There are other such spectacles in Livy’s work that, like the episode of the Falisci children, turned the tide of the history about which Livy is writing. Three notable examples are the Battle of the Triplets in 1.25, the episode of Horatius Cocles blocking enemy entrance into Rome in 2.10, and the spectacle of the geese that alerted Marcus Manlius to the presence of the Gauls on the Capitoline Hill in 5.47. In Book 1, there occurs a decisive battle between the early Romans and the citizens of Alba Longa. The war is ultimately decided by a battle between a set of triplets from each side. One of the Roman triplets eventually wins in a public spectacle. Rome

may not have gone on to secure itself as a dominant power in Italy without this victory. In Book 2, the only force stopping the Etruscan enemy from crossing into Rome was one man, Horatius Cocles, standing in its way: “[I]t was Rome’s good fortune to have had him as her sole bulwark on that day,” declares Livy, after describing this spectacular and heroic effort. Finally, when the Gauls, besieging Rome in Book 5, are about to scale the Capitoline Hill and destroy the last of the Roman strongholds, a commotion caused by sacred geese awakes Marcus Manlius, who is able to rouse enough Romans to push the Gauls off the Capitoline cliff. Each of these episodes, like the instance of the Faliscan children, exemplifies a spectacle in Livy’s work that significantly alters the history he is writing.

The episode of the Faliscan children works beautifully for Livy’s larger purpose. He uses it to further his relationship with his audience. By placing human behavior on display, he leads and induces his readers to develop moral judgment and incorporate his lessons into their lives. The stark apposition of the decayed, cynical character of the teacher against the nobility of Camillus and the innocence of the children, teaches Augustan Rome the meaning of true nobility, heightened the more when it comes at a seeming disadvantage. Nobility, Livy subtly suggests, can be more than a mere gesture. This is one of the characteristics of Rome that makes it “the greatest nation on earth,” as Livy maintains in his evocative version of this spectacular legend.

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Humanity Unbound: Hope for Mankind in a Bleak Drama

By Ben Nicholas

“O sky divine, and winds swift-winged, and river-springs, and ocean waves’ bright laughter beyond counting, and earth the mother of all...look upon the kind of suffering I have, a god at the hand of gods!” shouts Prometheus, freshly chained to a distant, lofty cliff face in the empty and unforgiving wasteland of Aeschylus’ *Prometheus Bound* (88-91).³⁸ His cry expresses frustration at what appears to be a grand cosmic injustice. Prometheus assisted Zeus and his divine compatriots in overthrowing and replacing Prometheus’ own brethren as the rulers of all existence. But as the one member of the Greek pantheon who actively sought to place the needs of mankind above those of the gods, Prometheus now suffers the cruelest and most protracted punishment conceivable by the orders of his former ally Zeus (107-8). As the captain of this new divine regime, Zeus serves the role of the distant tyrant. Though totally absent from the events of the play, his agents enthusiastically carry out his vindictive and unrelenting will. At first, ancient and modern observers of Aeschylus’ drama may wonder alike: what has become of the relationship between man and god? If the cosmic ruler of Greece has fettered the one and only divine benefactor of mankind, what hope can there be for the fate of the mortal world? Although Aeschylus appears to paint a bleak theological picture through a fettered Prometheus and a distant, oppressive Zeus in his *Prometheus Bound*, the

³⁸ All translations of Aeschylus are from Christopher Collard, trans. *Persians and Other Plays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

interactions between Prometheus and the other characters of the play reveal that hope for mankind can be found not only in the Titan's relationships with said characters and in the ambiguous character of Zeus but also in the potential for reconciliation between the two deities.

It is difficult to deny that the events of *Prometheus Bound* are built upon a foundation which could initially leave an observer with a grim view of mankind's future. Aeschylus' play is related to a particular episode of Hesiod's *Theogony*, a work which describes the genealogies and activities of the ancient Greek deities. In it, we are given the story of Prometheus with which ancient observers of *Prometheus Bound* would have been familiar. Hesiod indicates that Prometheus, the clairvoyant Titan son of the Titan Iapetus, is by nature a "crooked-schemer" whose promortal activities tend to receive more punishment for both himself and mankind than are worth the effort (Hesiod *Theogony* 545-49).³⁹ After realizing that Prometheus had attempted to fool him into accepting the lesser-quality cut of a sacrifice so that the better portion would be left for the humans, Zeus punitively deprives mankind of fire. Ever the proponent of mankind, Prometheus clandestinely retrieves the confiscated flame and returns it to the humans, though this only invites further Zeus' wrath. In retaliation, Zeus exacts vengeance upon mankind by calling on the other gods not only to craft the first woman, "a bane for mortal men," but also to fetter the slippery Prometheus to a distant mountain, his cunning now useless before the power of the gods (535-610). Hesiod states that Prometheus will one day be rescued by Heracles (a descendent of Zeus; 525-30), but otherwise paints an admittedly disheartening picture in which the race of man suffers the collateral damage of a conflict

³⁹ All translations of Hesiod are from M. L. West, trans. *Theogony and Works and Days*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

between their only divine benefactor and a seemingly misanthropic Olympian. If Aeschylus relates the same story in *Prometheus Bound* as Hesiod in his *Theogony*, how can the playwright give any more hope to us than the poet?

Aeschylus first begins to reveal Prometheus' association with hope for mankind through the Titan's interactions with the chorus. Shortly following his fettering and abandonment by Hephaestus and the agents of Zeus, Prometheus is startled by the approach of the chorus, made up of the daughters of the sea god Oceanus. The chorus laments the suffering Titan, asking why he had been shackled. Prometheus responds that he received this punishment from Zeus for opposing the god's plan to destroy mankind, but later explains that his support of mortals involved more than simply giving them fire (Aesch. *PB* 226-41). He also made significant cultural contributions to the development of the human race, such as granting them intelligence and various skills (436-71, 476-506). So great was Prometheus' compassion that he even abolished the ability of mortals to foresee their own deaths by instead implanting "blind hopes" within their minds (247-50). Finally, Prometheus reveals to the chorus how he may once again freely serve man in this capacity as he possesses knowledge of how Zeus may be dethroned (167-71), how the Titan himself will be released (870-3), and how he and Zeus may come to terms in the future (190-2). Thus, Aeschylus' Prometheus embodies hope for mankind both as the source of all human progress and also as a literal giver of hope to mortals who may one day freely return to his pro-human agenda without Zeus' opposition. But there can be no hope for the human race unless we know with certitude that on the day of his freedom Prometheus will engage in the same advocacy of humanity which earned his imprisonment. How can we be sure this traumatic experience will not break the goodwill of this Titan?

Prometheus' unbending desire to assist others is revealed during the play through a series of paradoxical episodes of the imprisoned helping the free. Following Prometheus' lamentation with the daughters of Oceanus, the sea god himself majestically arrives on a griffin. Drawn to Prometheus' plight out of a sense of divine "kinship," Oceanus proceeds to dispense lofty advice to the chained deity (283-90). Oceanus counsels Prometheus to set aside his anger (so as to avert further punishment from the chief god) and allow the sea god to negotiate with Zeus for Prometheus's release. Oceanus' overconfidence in his own advice reaches condescension as he proclaims himself the "teacher" of the tortured Titan (307-29).

Though leaving behind his anger may one day prove useful, Prometheus recognizes the fatal misstep Oceanus is poised to take by attempting to dissuade an infuriated and powerful Zeus from his current design. "No," exhorts Prometheus, "stay quiet, and keep yourself out of the way; for even in my misfortune, I would wish it to harm as few as possible" (344-6). Oceanus remains unconvinced until Prometheus instructively likens the sea god's "wasted effort and simple-minded foolishness" to that which earned the Titan his current punishment (376-88). "Your disaster is my teacher, Prometheus!" exclaims Oceanus (391). Humbled by the superior wisdom of the *true* "teacher" on the stage, he mounts his griffin and vanishes. Though Prometheus may have profited from an attempt made at intercession on his behalf, his own selflessness directs him to steer an aspiring savior away from destruction at the hands of an angered god.

Following more lamentation from the chorus, the mortal Io rushes onto the stage in the form of a maddened cow. Once a beautiful Argive maiden who had caught the lustful eye of Zeus, Io suffered the wrath of a jealous Hera through transformation into a heifer driven across the world

by the unrelenting bites of a gadfly (640-85). As the only mortal character in this play, Io serves as the sole representative of a human race which now shares in the pain of Prometheus (as the chorus proclaims; 411-4). If she can be saved, so can mankind.

In her torment, Io begs the clairvoyant Prometheus to reveal to her how much longer she must endure her agony before it finally ends (605-6). In an attempt to comfort her, Prometheus responds with the requested vision of the future. Though she still has a long and perilous road to travel, she will someday be healed by Zeus and give birth to a line which will become a royal family in Argos (a member of which will be the one to unfetter Prometheus himself). Io expresses dismay at her future perils, and the bites of the gadfly eventually compel her to rush away in reignited madness, leaving us little reason to believe Prometheus actually succeeded in calming her (823-86). But Prometheus' words have indeed benefitted the afflicted mortal, as she now knows that her painful journey will one day end and will also lead her to the motherhood of a prosperous family which will rescue man's divine benefactor.⁴⁰

The episodes of Oceanus and Io reveal that although Prometheus currently suffers for helping mankind, his torture is insufficient to bend his character away from the same selflessness which earned him the punishment in the first place. His inevitable freedom will indeed be mankind's salvation with the exception of one obstacle: the opposition of a vengeful Zeus. If this god remains a misanthropic tyrant and the struggle between the two deities persists, the Titan's freedom will be meaningless to the welfare of mankind.

Since the character of Zeus is totally absent from the events of the play, it is clear that he is a distant figure in

⁴⁰ Stephen White, "Io's World: Intimations of Theodicy in Prometheus Bound." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 121 (2001): 121.

Prometheus Bound, but is he truly tyrannical? The first to answer “no” to this question may very well have been an Athenian viewing this play as it was performed for the first time onstage. Aeschylus presents a Zeus in his drama who may have seemed totally alien to the version of Greek mythology presented by Hesiod. While the Hesiodic Zeus possesses supreme power and exerts an inescapable will on mortals, he is not necessarily depicted as malignant.⁴¹

Despite Zeus’ absence from the stage, his agents Power, Force (a mute character), and Hermes—all of whom collectively represent his will—reinforce an image of an apparently tyrannical god. At the start of the play, Power relentlessly commands a reluctant Hephaestus to fetter Prometheus as tightly and painfully as possible; he is overbearing and unforgiving in his efforts to fulfill Zeus’ designs (2-81). At the end of the play, Hermes interrogates Prometheus in a manner which has been likened to that of “contemporary brainwashing techniques”⁴² and announces the cataclysm sent by Zeus which engulfs the obstinate Prometheus at the end of the play (943-1035).

However, these very same episodes which appear to paint a picture of a despotic Zeus also undermine such an image. As Hephaestus hesitates in shackling Prometheus, Power presses the god onward by asking him if he does not fear the retribution of Zeus should he fail in his task more than he fears betraying his divine relative Prometheus. Hephaestus replies “Yes, but you are always ruthless and overbearing” (36-42). It is *Power*, not Zeus, who compels Hephaestus to chain the Titan to the cliff. Similarly, although the great disaster at the play’s end is supposedly delivered by

⁴¹ William Allan. “Divine Justice and Cosmic Order in Early Greek Epic.” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 126 (2006): 28.

⁴² C. J. Herington. “Introduction to *Prometheus Bound*.” *Arion* 1, no. 4. (1973/1974): 650.

Zeus, it is *Hermes*, not Zeus, who is physically associated with it by cruelly heralding its onset (1015-7). Even as the representatives of an apparently tyrannical god, Power and Hermes offer only a peripheral picture of a Zeus who, in the words of Stephen White, “never appears or utters a word; all we hear is what others say about him.”⁴³ The total absence of the character of Zeus from Aeschylus’ drama and the displacement of his negative qualities on others creates a depiction of Zeus which is necessarily ambiguous. Is he really a tyrant who will forever oppress mankind? A closer reading of the major episodes of this play reveals quite the opposite.

While Prometheus presents his own predicament to Oceanus as evidence for why the sea god should abandon his endeavor of interceding on behalf of the Titan, he employs other examples as well. As further evidence for Zeus’ ability to malign others, Prometheus describes how this captain of the gods not only punished Prometheus’ brother Atlas by obligating him to hold up the sky but also brutally burnt and imprisoned the monster Typhon (344-72).⁴⁴

Overtly, Oceanus seems to turn tail for fear of receiving similar retribution for opposing the designs of Zeus. However, Oceanus’ departure instead reflects a higher mythical understanding. Atlas’ weighty task is necessary to keep separate the mortal and divine realms while Typhon’s imprisonment is crucial for relegating the beast’s destructive forces to a “netherworld” of sorts. In this light, Zeus’ actions appear not as acts of retribution but as acts of creation necessary to establish a world differentiated into earth, heaven, and hell. This is not a world of divine retribution; it is simply an ordered world that man can inhabit. By this logic,

⁴³ White, Stephen. “Io’s World: Intimations of Theodicy in Prometheus Bound.” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 121 (2001): 109.

⁴⁴ Both of these accounts are verified by Hesiod (Hes. *Th.* 516-21, 820-68).

Prometheus' struggle with Zeus may be symbolic of a moment in the development of the cosmos in which intellect and power must first be diametrically opposed before order can be achieved.⁴⁵ Oceanus did not flee the captive Titan's cliff face for fear of Zeus' wrath but rather for fear of disrupting a necessary process of creating an ordered world. Zeus the tyrant becomes Zeus the creator.

The episode concerning Io can be read in a similar light. Io suffers, but only *indirectly* by the machinations of Zeus. Her immediate maligner was in fact Hera, and Prometheus predicts that her *direct* healer will be Zeus. Furthermore, he predicts that it is Zeus who will unite with Io to plant the seed of the royal Argive line to which she shall give birth—the same line from which Prometheus' rescuer will emerge (844-76). In the *Suppliants*, another play by Aeschylus, we learn the conclusion of Io's tale from the proclamations of her very own Argive descendants: "Taking Zeus' freight in her womb.../ she bore him a son without fault, /...whence the whole land cries out, / 'Truly this is the child of Zeus, / who makes life grow!'" (Aesch. *Supp.* 580-5). These are not the cries of mortals suppressed by a despot but rather those of humans grateful for the munificence of their chief god. He has healed the afflicted Io and impregnated her with the first of a line of humans who will rule over their own realm. This Zeus is no oppressor of mankind. Rather, his actions support mortal society and even grant it a degree of autonomous authority. Zeus the misanthrope becomes Zeus the savior.

While it was indeed a vengeful Zeus who threatened to

⁴⁵ David Konstan. "The Ocean Episode in the 'Prometheus Bound.'" *History of Religions* 17, no. 1 (Aug. 1977): 67-70. Konstan argues that, since Aeschylus would have witnessed the rise of democracy out of tyranny in his own city-state of Athens, it seems logical that he might have adopted the view that order can only be established as a resolution to tension and opposition.

extinguish mankind by confiscating fire and also ordered man's advocate chained, the ambiguity of his character in *Prometheus Bound* allows the reader to look beyond these actions and instead consider the greater significance of Zeus to humans in this play. In fact, his promotion of mankind as revealed in the episodes of Oceanus and Io demonstrates that his roles in both creating an ordered world in which mortals can exist and also in overcompensating humans for the wrongs of other gods far surpass even Prometheus' advocacy for humans.

Hope still endures for mankind. Prometheus will, on the day of his inevitable release, endeavor to support the mortal world with the same fervor as before, and given the true nature of Zeus, the god of gods will not oppose him. Still, we are left with one final problem. Among his many predictions, Prometheus foresaw the dethronement of Zeus at the hands of the chief god's own son, born to the sea goddess Thetis, who is fated to "bear a son mightier than his father" (Aesch. *PB* 752-67). Prometheus is faced with a choice: exact vengeance upon his indomitable adversary by withholding the identity of the fatal consort (and in so doing risk destabilization of the cosmic order which depends upon Zeus), or warn Zeus of his potential folly for the sake of preserving mankind. Unfortunately, the Titan's decision is not concretely known as the sequel in which it occurs—*Prometheus Unbound*—has been lost save for a few fragments. However, reconstructions of the sequel's plot by classicists seem to indicate that Prometheus most likely chooses to set aside the one thing he has not yet sacrificed for mankind—his pride—and warns Zeus of the impending danger to save his beloved mortal race.⁴⁶

Though *Prometheus Bound* begins with a struggle

⁴⁶ George Thomson. *Aeschylus and Athens: A Study in the Social Origins of Drama*, 2nd ed. (New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1972), 331-6.

between a benefactor of mankind and an uncharacteristically malevolent god, the play reveals that the Titan is unshakable in his service to man, and that Zeus is not inherently malevolent but rather a greater servant of humanity than Prometheus himself. These revelations suggest that both deities will set aside their differences and reconcile in the sequel, ensuring the survival of mankind. Aeschylus thus offers his audience much hope in this drama, and an ancient audience would have been able to enjoy an entire trilogy of Aeschylus' optimistic theology. Only the first play has survived the course of history, however, leaving the moment of Prometheus' possible reconciliation with Zeus forever in the dark. Regardless of this limitation, our Promethean inheritance from Aeschylus sufficiently communicates his message through the single play of *Prometheus Bound* by giving his modern audience nothing less than hope itself.

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Storm Imagery in Senecan Poetry and Prose

By Allison Letica

The image of a storm, daunting and disorderly by nature, is a common and widely used literary theme. Its various aspects combine to form a complex and multiform figure: the dueling winds drive the cresting waves as the thundering lightning slices through the striking rain. In Seneca's vast body of work, this storm imagery appears in both his prose and poetry, or more precisely, in his essays, letters, and tragedies alike. In each investigation of the storm, whether direct or through metaphor, Seneca reveals particular aspects of the imagery and how it relates to his view of human nature and the mind. The context within which Seneca frames his works adds a larger dimension to his use of this imagery, placing the passages within the greater Stoic philosophy. In this way, Seneca not only uses storm imagery as a direct comparison for aspects of human nature, but also expresses his Stoic ideals through this figure.

As storm imagery appears throughout the body of Seneca's work, it is necessary to examine both poetry and prose in order to fully comprehend its role. In *De Tranquillitate Animi* and *De Ira*, Book III, Seneca uses prose to explore human nature in relation to turbulence and tempests. Reflective of the thoughts in both of these works, the tragedy *Medea* explores the role of the tempest in the representation of anger and uncertainty. While more opaque than direct comparisons, Seneca's descriptions of storms, in particular in the tragedy *Agamemnon*, shed light on the greater role of storms in Senecan theory. Particular passages within each of these works comprise a reservoir of imagery,

with which Seneca pursues the idea of the Stoic self in which the individual is connected to the greater cosmic world. Further, as the rage of the storm stands for human anger and the confusion for human wavering and uncertainty, his storm metaphor comes to be a converse figure of the ideal Stoic self.

In the context of Seneca's work, the trope of the storm is reflective of his style, interests and values. Firstly, Seneca's use of metaphorical language fits into the broader category of his use of *exempla*. The metaphor of the storm is one of many figures that Seneca uses to represent ideals in a less overtly didactic, and, as he himself claims, more effective manner. As Shadi Bartsch argues, Seneca's metaphors are not ornamental, but rather contain "cognitive content" that "maps onto theory in a way that enables the listener to grasp an abstract concept via an experience familiar to him or familiar to the world he lives in."⁴⁷ The storm metaphor provides a contrast rather than a direct correlation to Stoic values, emphasizing Seneca's inclination toward discussion of vices and negativity. Irrespective of what the image of the storm might precisely imply in his work, the very theme of nature is critical to the Senecan and Stoic tradition. For Seneca, nature-inspired metaphors are particularly striking because of his apparent fascination with nature. His *Quaestiones Naturales*, comprised of seven books that each attempt to explain natural phenomena, is the ultimate demonstration of his interest in physics, or the study of nature. As one of the three main Stoic studies, this topic of physics and the idea of living in accordance with Nature and one's own nature are crucial to the greater context of Seneca's work. In these ways, the imagery of the storm is not a mere isolated metaphor, but rather a figure that intertwines itself into both Senecan theory

⁴⁷ Shadi Bartsch, "Senecan metaphor and Stoic self-instruction," *Seneca and the Self*, eds. Bartsch and Wray (Cambridge, 2009), 213.

and style.

The significant role of the storm metaphor is enhanced by the preliminary examination of storm imagery in Seneca's works. While the *Quaestiones Naturales* offer explanations of phenomena, including precipitation (Book IV) and winds (Book V), the bulk of vivid storm imagery is located in Seneca's other works, especially his poetry. In his tragedy *Agamemnon*, Seneca depicts a scene of a storm rolling onto the sea toward the forthcoming disaster of the Greek fleet returning from the Trojan War. It is worth noting here, and in many other circumstances, that the notion of the storm is inextricably connected to that of the sea, combining to form the image of a sea-storm. In this particular work, Eurybates, the messenger of Agamemnon, recounts the sea-storm that few but Agamemnon have survived, with vivid detail:

Then a grave murmur, threatening worse things,
falls from the highest hills, and the shore and
the crags groan with a long drag; the wave,
agitated by the coming winds, swells (*agitata
ventis unda venturis tumet*)...dense fog buries
the darkness, and with all light led away, the
sound and sky mix. From every direction
simultaneously, they (the winds) press against
and seize the sea, turned over from its deepest
bottom, West wind against East, South wind
against North. Each sends its own weapons and
the disturbed winds exert themselves on the
water; a whirlwind swirls the sea (*sua quisque
mittunt tela et infesti fretum/emoliuntur; turbo
convoluit mare*): Styrmonian Aquilo whirls the
lofty snow and Libyan Auster puts the sands in
motion, as does Syrtes, which does not remain
against Auster; Notus, made heavy with clouds,
enlarges the waves with rain; Eurus, shaking

(*quatiens*) Nabatean kingdoms and the curves of dawn, disturbs the morning sun...He has torn the whole world from its bases...the surge resists the wind and the wind revolves the surge backward; the sea does not take hold of itself, and rain mixes waves and their tides (*uento resistit aestus et uentus retro/aestum reuoluit; non capit sese mare:/undaeque miscent imber et fluctus suas*). (Seneca *Agamemnon* III.466-89)⁴⁸

The language in this passage depicts the storm as violent, aggressive and chaotic. In his portrayal of the winds in a duel, Seneca expresses these main features of his figure. With their *tela*, the winds are violent and aggressive in the sense that they are personified as actively fighting one another. In his usage of words such as *infesti* and *convoluit*, Seneca expresses a sense of confusion in the dueling. The repeated use of forms of *misceo* in this storm scene also heightens the feel of disorder. Both violence and confusion exude from the imagery of the surge and wind pushing against one another at the end of the passage. While these features will be extremely significant in the context of the storm metaphor, the passage is significant in other ways as well. Seneca shows the cohesiveness of his body of work by using the various names of the winds, thereby linking this scene to his long discussion of winds in *Quaestiones Naturales*, Book V. Such links enable the reader of his works to have a complete comprehension of his treatment of storm imagery across his poetry and prose. This isolated passage, however, while perhaps lacking metaphorical meaning in itself, can be taken as a metaphor in the context of the entire tragedy. As it appears fairly early in the work, the storm scene, which depicts past disaster, also foreshadows the coming downfall

⁴⁸ Translations are my own throughout the paper.

of Agamemnon at the hands of Clytemnestra. Therefore, the storm could come to symbolize the forthcoming rage of Clytemnestra that leads to the slaughter of Agamemnon. While this particular theme is not necessarily consistent with the rest of the discussion, it is important to note the emergence of the storm as a metaphor, even in an unlikely context.

In contrast to the embedded meaning in Seneca's imagery are his direct comparisons involving storms in the form of similes and metaphors. In examining several of these instances, a thematic trend emerges in the metaphor that follows the themes discussed in the language of Seneca's storm imagery. Rather than standing for a single emotional state, the storm metaphor has two key facets: one in which the rage and violence of the tempest stands for human anger and another in which the confusion of the storm represents human wavering and uncertainty.

With the former side of the metaphor, Seneca closely links the storm to anger, one of his most disdained vices. Similar to his usage of storm imagery, the storm as a metaphor for human wrath appears across his poetry and prose. Strikingly, in the very same work as the vivid storm scene appears, the storm is personified as containing anger and violence in such examples as "the raging sea" (*insanum mare*) (Sen. *Ag.* III.540) and simply *furor* (III.577). Even in his work on anger, *De Ira*, Seneca first uses this method of personification when he depicts the "storm raging" (*tempestas ...desaevit*) (Sen. *Ira* III.1.1). Through these instances and many others, the link between the storm and the concept of anger is permanently drawn. While the technique of personifying the storm with human emotion is representative of the overall theme, it is not nearly as effective as the direct comparisons. When discussing the ways in which anger differs from other passions at the beginning of *De Ira*, Book

III, Seneca proclaims:

Etiam si resistere contra adfectus suos non licet,
at certe adfectibus ipsis licet stare: haec, non
secus quam fulmina procellaeque et si qua alia
inrevocabilia sunt quia non eunt sed cadunt, vim
suam magis ac magis tendit. (III.1.4)

Even if a man is not able to halt his own
passions, his passions themselves, however, can
certainly stand still: this (anger) extends its
strength more and more, like lightening and
storms and all other things that are irrevocable
because they do not go, but fall.

In this direct comparison, Seneca equates anger with a storm in terms of its uncontrollable intensity. He depicts anger as a unique emotional state in that it inexorably builds until it crashes, rather than ceasing, as other passions might. Instead of using the standard term *tempestas*, Seneca opts for more descriptive terms in this passage, namely *fulmina* and *procella*, thereby increasing the vividness of the simile. This depiction of anger as a storm that intensifies without bound reveals a reason behind Seneca's contempt for anger. Out of all passions, anger is the most uncontrollable and unpredictable, as a storm. Accordingly, Norman T. Pratt emphasizes that the sea-storm is used "to describe insane passion," with "language of unrestraint."⁴⁹ As a Stoic, Seneca strives for consistency and moderation, values that cannot coexist with this image of anger as a raging tempest which seems to be Seneca's most apt *exemplum*.

The complementary side of the metaphor, in which the storm represents uncertainty, emerges primarily through the prose of *De Tranquillitate Animi*. Seneca, a proponent of the

⁴⁹ Norman T. Pratt, "Major Systems of Figurative Language in Senecan Melodrama," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 24, 1963: 210.

calm mind, describes the uncertain mind as having a thousand waves or fluctuations (*mille fluctus mentis incertae*) (Sen. *Tranq.* XI.10). While in this case Seneca does not directly portray a storm, his usage of the term *fluctus* is certainly suggestive of the sea imagery that is present in much of his storm description. Further, Seneca insists that many storms will inflict those who are inconsistent and wavering in that they do not focus on one path (*non potest umquam tanta uarietas et iniquitas casuum ita depelli, ut non multum procellarum irruat magna armamenta pendentibus*) (IX.3). In such a way, Seneca imagines the storm (*procella*) as a metaphor for the consequence of human uncertainty, again linking the two ideas. Near the end of the work, Seneca utilizes the image of the storm in a positive context—a rare occurrence in the scheme of his works. While describing the tranquility of Canus as he prepares himself for death, Seneca states, “Behold tranquility in the midst of a storm (*ecce in media tempestate tranquillitas*)” (XIV.10). Once again, Seneca uses the storm metaphorically to portray emotional turmoil, through which Canus remains calm. As Canus’ state of mind is the antithesis of the state of a storm, Seneca is giving Canus the ultimate praise. This statement stands in stark contrast with most of Seneca’s storm imagery, in which the storm is used solely to represent vices, through his two-sided metaphor.

The two components of the metaphor in conjunction with one another emerge through passages in Seneca’s *Medea*. Both the nurse and Medea herself refer to Medea’s crazed, unstable and angry state with storm imagery. The nurse, fretting about the unpredictable nature of Medea’s forthcoming actions, wonders:

haeret minatur aestuat queritur gemit.
quo pondus animi verget? ubi ponet minas?
ubi se iste fluctus franget? exundat furor.

(Seneca *Medea* III.390-2)

She sits fast, threatens, rages, laments, moans.
Where will the weight of her mind bend? Where
will she place her threats? Where will that wave
break itself? Her fury overflows.

Using the imagery of turbulent water and waves, Seneca combines Medea's anger and uncertainty into one powerful image. The waves, *fluctus*, are not only depicted as destructive, like anger, but also as uncertain since the nurse wonders *ubi* the waves will break. Turbulent waves in their very nature are wavering, unpredictable and free-flowing. Seneca, again writing with Stoic ideals, looks down upon this inconsistency or uncertainty at the same time as he looks down on anger. Later, Medea portrays her emotional state with the same characteristics: the themes of anger and uncertainty flood from one strong simile:

...anceps aestus incertam rapit;
ut saeva rapidi bella cum venti gerunt,
utrimque fluctus maria discordes agunt
dubiumque fervet pelagus, haud aliter meum
cor fluctuatur: ira pietatem fugat
iramque pietas. (V.939-4)

A two-headed surge seizes me, uncertain; just as
when the rapid winds wage savage wars, and
the discordant waves drive the sea on both sides
and the fluctuating sea rages, not otherwise my
heart fluctuates: anger puts love to flight and
love makes anger flee.

Seneca again employs the image of a sea-storm, yet here he uses the most direct comparison in the form of a simile. As in the discussion of the initial storm description, the winds are portrayed as violent and dueling, as they wage war (*bella... gerunt*) against one another. Further, the three words *dubiumque fervet pelagus* synthesize the two key aspects of

the metaphor: the sea is uncertain and fluctuating as it rages. In the latter part of the simile, Medea directly addresses this fluctuation of her heart, between anger, the vice, and love, the virtue. While uncertainty does play a crucial role, it is important to remember that Medea's anger is ultimately the victor of her internal battle. In other words, the storm imagery does primarily represent uncertainty in this passage, but as Medea's fluctuations cease and her anger takes the reign, the image of the storm can cycle back to represent her wrath.

This complex metaphor, with two separate components, becomes particularly cohesive when one considers its function in the broader Senecan theory. As Gareth Williams states:

Just as the whirlwinds and other forces of nature can bring chaos to the ordinary cycle of things, so the implication is that Seneca's human whirlwinds are themselves "natural" deviants, the ordinary workings of the human/social (Stoic) *ratio* overthrown by the excesses of these occasional but (experience tells us) inevitable transgressors.⁵⁰

The way in which Williams depicts Seneca's imagery of storm, in particular the whirlwind, suggests that the meaning of the metaphor does not necessarily rely on the specific emotions that are implied; rather, the very fact that winds are chaotic in their nature reflects on human nature which deviates from Stoic ideals in an often-chaotic manner. Thus, though anger and uncertainty are crucial as specific themes that emerge from Seneca's storm imagery, as a whole, the trope can merely be taken to represent the deviant nature of a non-Stoic mind. Seneca himself offers a kind of all-encompassing storm analogy in *De Ira*, Book III:

⁵⁰ Gareth Williams, "Seneca on Winds: The Art of Anemology in *Natural Questions* 5," *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 126, 2005: 422.

Nullum est argumentum magnitudinis certius quam nihil posse quo instigeris accidere. Pars superior mundi et ordinatio ac propinqua sideribus nec in nubem cogitur nec in tempestatem inpellitur nec versatur in turbinem; omni tumultu caret: inferiora fulminantur. Eodem modo sublimis animus, quietus semper et in statione tranquilla conlocatus, omnia infra se premens quibus ira contrahitur, modestus et venerabilis est et dispositus. (Sen. *Ira*. VI.1)

There is no evidence of greatness more certain than when there is nothing that can happen by which you are incited. The superior part of the world, both more orderly and near to the stars, is neither driven together into a cloud, nor pushed into a storm, nor turned into a whirlwind; it lacks all turmoil; the lower parts are flashed with lightening. In the same manner the sublime mind, always calm and stationed in a tranquil standing, pressing below itself all things from which anger is collected, is modest and venerable and put together.

Here Seneca offers the ultimate analogy of the human mind to the concept of storms: just as the upper atmosphere is free from disturbance in the form of storms and winds, the ideal Stoic mind, lofty and great, is free from deviants such as anger, wavering, and uncertainty. As in all his work, Seneca follows through with his Stoic philosophy, including “projecting personal emotion into a cosmic frame,”⁵¹ as stated by Charles Segal. By equating the mind to the atmosphere, Seneca achieves this traditionally Stoic connection of the self to the universe. More importantly in the context of this

⁵¹ Charles Segal, “Boundary Violation and the Landscape of the Self in Senecan Tragedy,” *Seneca*, ed. Fitch (Oxford: 2008), 136.

discussion, Seneca provides us with a synthesis of his various storm imagery, scattered throughout his works and across his pages: he fashions the figure of the storm into the antithesis of the ideal Stoic mind.

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CONVERSATIONS



JULIA WILKER

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF CLASSICAL STUDIES

Discentes: Where are you from?

Julia Wilker: I was born in Germany. I received my education there and my PhD. I was teaching in Berlin before I joined Penn in 2011.

D: That's a big change! Is there any particular reason why?

JW: There are a variety of reasons to come to Penn. I prefer

the academic system here and the general liberal arts curriculum. When I was a student, the first degree you obtained was the MA; this has changed over time and now an undergraduate degree has been introduced. However, the major difference is still that you have to declare your major at the time of your application.

D: How are you finding Penn? What's it like teaching ANCH 027 versus seminars?

JW: Well, the Rome lecture is different from small seminars. Both involve a different way of teaching, but they are both challenging and rewarding. In a seminar, you have time to discuss certain things in much greater detail. In the big lecture, the focus is more on structuring the material to accommodate different interests. There are students who are taking the class to satisfy a college requirement and those who are more classics-oriented.

D: What other courses have you taught?

JW: Besides Intro to Ancient Rome, I teach a 100-level class on Ancient Mediterranean Empires. It deals with different types of empires, and questions like how Persia and Hellenistic kingdoms influenced Rome as an empire. We use a comparative approach, examining the differences and similarities. Do they learn from each other? Do they draw on each other's experiences? In the class, we try to define imperial rule and how it affects people. In my seminar on the Hellenistic and Roman Near East, the focus is on the Near East in Hellenistic and Roman rule and the mixing of Hellenistic and Roman culture with the local one. I also teach a 300-level class on Ancient Macedonia which spans from the 6th century BCE to the Roman period.

D: What topic are you passionate about?

JW: I'm interested in Hellenistic and Roman Judea—what happens when cultures interact, how this interaction influences the life of the people there, and how they perceive

the world. These people are in between cultures and have combined identities, but simultaneously do not belong entirely. It's these identities that I'm most interested in.

D: Does this phenomenon interest you in a modern context?

JW: It's interesting to see the spread of Western culture and how that influences others. It leads to many questions, but it's not the same as in antiquity.

D: What projects are you currently working on?

JW: I'm working on the role of women in the Jewish dynasties in the Hellenistic and Roman period, particularly how Jewish dynasties presented themselves. In the Hellenistic period, royal women in general gained more power and influence, which is also true for the Jewish dynasties, but their presentation of themselves is different. In the official propaganda, royal women are omitted. I am also interested in interstate relations of 4th century Classical Greece, particularly centering around the questions of what did the Greeks mean when they talked about concepts such as peace, autonomy, and freedom, and how are these concepts translated into the language of treaties. This period is seen as one of demise and decline, but if you look at it from a different angle, it is also a period of innovation and new ways of thinking and transformation.

D: Is there anything about you that you would like to share? Or advice you would like to give undergraduates?

JW: Everybody should take classics courses, especially at the undergraduate level! Besides the content and the ways it engages you to think about our very own culture, similarities and differences, what classics teaches you is the ability to think critically, to engage critically with the text, to think about how history happens. It is challenging because of the material we have; you can't produce new evidence; you have to look at the same texts over and over again and engage with what scholars have done already over the past hundred years.

It's awesome that we keep finding new aspects and thoughts. In general, I think what is interesting about classics is how it is very familiar—as the origin of Western culture—but also very foreign to our own. It's part of our culture, yet very different.

D: How do you find the Penn department contributing to this?

JW: I find the department at Penn is mirroring that very well. We have a broad variety of interests and so many people working on so many different things, but we all talk to each other about our interests, and this communication brings together so many different angles and perspectives that all contribute to a larger picture.

FEATURED POST-BACC



AMY CONWELL

Where have you been?

I graduated from Johns Hopkins University in 2012 with a Bachelor of Arts in Classics & Writing Seminars. Through my Woodrow Wilson Undergraduate Research Fellowship, I traveled to Glastonbury Tor, the rumored Avalon of Arthurian legend, and developed specific interests centering on manuscript studies and the Arthurian legend in Medieval

Latin and English literature. My manuscript work in the Free Library of Philadelphia culminated in an article tracing the provenance of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* in codex Lewis E 247. A Middle-English alliterative poetry reading course I took led to a screenplay adaptation of the Pearl Poet's Middle English "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight."

Why are you here?

As a student in the Post-Baccalaureate Program in Classical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, I solidified my decision to pursue graduate study. I strengthened my language skills through courses on Catullus, Lucretius, Ovid, and Plato, and by participating in the Post-Classical Latin Reading Group. I also specialized my manuscript knowledge by working with 18th century broadsides and folio pamphlets from the Duchy of Braunschweig and Lüneburg in Penn's Culture Cass Collection.

Where are you going?

Next year, I will be pursuing my Master of Arts in Medieval Literature at the Centre for Medieval Studies in the University of Toronto. I would like to study the Arthurian legend and its popular presence, foundation narrative, and ethnogenesis; Medieval Latin, Old English, and Middle English language and literature; and the history of writing and the book. I also hope to continue writing and publishing my poetry and to eventually write a young adult novel.

FINAL THOUGHTS

Senior Musings:

What I'm going to tell the hordes of people in 'the real world' who will inevitably ask 'Why'd you major in *that*?'

By Alethea Roe

As a graduating senior, I was asked to speak briefly at the Senior Colloquium about my experience in the department. This made a lot of people very skeptical and was generally regarded as a bad move⁵² as I tend to dissolve into a hobbit-sized pile of inarticulate jelly the moment I'm required to say something intelligent in front of people.

It did, however, have the advantage of giving me the opportunity to reflect on what I learned and how I had grown in my time as a classics major. If you asked me when I was a wide-eyed freshman why we study the past, I would probably have stared at you blankly and bleated something along the lines of "It's cool!" I might even have summoned enough thought to trot out the old truism that looking back helps us avoid the mistakes of the past. That's not to say there is no value (or place for) that instinctive, joyful geekiness or for using the past to illuminate present situations and dilemmas, but that is only the beginning of what the studying the past stands to teach us.

I've learned a great deal about the ancient world since

⁵² With apologies to Douglas Adams.

becoming a classics major, but if I had to distill one overarching lesson I've taken away from my years here, it would be that the past isn't some bounded, monolithic thing that is. It's something we appropriate, process, and ultimately construct to reflect our own identities as historians, as aesthetes, as members of our own particular society at a very particular time.

When we do something so reflexive (well, at least for classicists!) as cataloguing the historical inaccuracies of movies about the history or mythology of Greece or Rome or giggling incredulously at, well, everything, in *Clash of the Titans*, we are laying the groundwork for a highly complex reflection on who we are and how those identities determine the shape taken by the past in our present. The past is never neutral and always relevant: we filter the past to find precedents to bolster our values, metaphors for our poetry, raw material our culture and our imagination shape into ideals and "inaccuracies."

In studying classics, I learned to say the words of the Oracle in Greek, but more than that, I unwittingly found I learned to obey them: γνῶθι σεαυτόν, "know thyself."

The Five Stages of Thesis: An Epistolary Adventure

By Molly Hutt

Denial

Dear Thesis,

After three long years of waiting, it is time for us to begin our life together. I think we're going to have a great time. I mean, I've come up with an interesting topic and chosen an adviser who I'm sure will kick my butt into gear. Really, what's the average length of a thesis? Seventy pages? The entire thesis process takes somewhere in the neighborhood of 300 days, so really that's less than a quarter of a page per day! I can do that! What could possibly go wrong?

Now, I know I've been forewarned by other thesis students. "It's going to be hard," they say. "You're not going to like it," they insist. "WHAT ARE YOU DOING, YOU CRAZY FOOL?" they rudely inquire. But what do they know? How could they possibly understand my love for you? They could never have adored their thesis topics the way I adore my vague and ill-defined notions of what my paper may or may not look like ten months from now.

Additionally, as we both know, I am a paragon of organization and self-discipline just like all other college seniors. Surely I will finish my thesis in no time! I am so looking forward to the fruits of our blossoming relationship. I know it will be a wonderful journey.

Ignorantly yours,
Molly

Anger

Dear (#%!*ing) Thesis,

^%#@#\$^%\$#&\$*\$^%\$&%^& you.

Angrily yours,

Molly

Bargaining

Dear Thesis,

It's not you. Okay, it's kind of you, but it's also me. I renewed my library books today, and I realized that the new due date is in the same month as my thesis deadline...sorry, our deadline (we're in this together). We've come a long way since we first met last May—we've changed topics; we've grown by seventy-three pages and a whole bookshelf. We've traveled together both across the Schuylkill and across the Atlantic. We've stayed up all night together, chugging Red Bull and dreading the oncoming dawn (with her rose red fingertips).

But I have to ask, Thesis, where is this going? I feel like we just don't have a direction anymore. I know our relationship has an expiration date, but that's no reason to give up now. You should know that I will be there for you until the bitter end, giving you up only to have you bound at Campus Copy before I give you away to some anonymous grader who I hope will love you even half as much as I do. And I do love you, really, even if you are unwieldy and difficult to buy, even if I'm not so sure what you say is even right.

So please, my dear Thesis, tell me where this relationship is going. Tell me that we have a future together, even if it can only be for another month and a half. Tell me that you won't give up on me before we're through and that you will not resist my tender typing, my loving assertions. If you promise me this, I will give you all that I have, from now until March 18th at noon.

Nervously (but lovingly) yours,
Molly

Depression

Dear Thesis,

After all I have done for you, all I have given you (e.g., my heart, my soul, my blood, sweat, and tears), this is all you give in return? You strand me here in Van Pelt, crushed under the weight of countless library books, a slave to the twelve-hour limit on the locker key I took out.

I now subsist entirely on Red Bull, bourbon, and Chinese food. What, really, is the point of feeding myself when I am but an undergraduate cog in the machine of academia, working on my thesis night and day, seemingly without end? Will my sorrow ever cease? I feel I may never know.

Oh, by Herakles and the gods, what will be our fate, Thesis? I feel I am drowning in an endless sea of disaster, surrounded by misery on all sides, like Odysseus and his men passing between fierce Scylla and savage Charybdis! Is there no escape from your torments?

I have sacrificed myself to you, and yet you endlessly ask for more! What more do you think I have, Thesis? I have given you everything that is mine: my soul, my sanity, my girlish figure. I weep, Thesis, for what I once was and what you have made me.

Hopelessly and miserably yours,
Molly

Acceptance

Dear (Completed) Thesis,

The road we've traveled together has been long and hard, but I feel we've come quite a way in the last ten months. In my time with you, I have grown both in character and in weight. You have helped me improve myself in so many ways, including research skills, time management, and alcohol tolerance (the last of these being by far the most drastic change and the most important). Through you, I have forged new friendships, both with other thesis students and with the bartenders at Tap House. Truly, you have opened so many doors for me.

I now understand why you tested me as you did. You simply wanted me to become a stronger, better, fatter person. You tried my resolve and my sense of self-worth, and though you tore them to quivering shreds, they only grew back stronger in the end. Thesis, I know you love me (almost) as much as I love you, even if you have unusual, disconcerting, sadistic ways of showing it.

Thesis, thank you for all you have done. You are the truest of true frenemies.

Yours until grad school,
Molly

Vergil and Sir Mix-A-Lot: Daydreaming in Latin 309

By Laura Santander

CLASSROOM BONDING PRESENTS...

LATN309: Nisus and Euryalus ♥



Jammy J. Paul

SPOTLIGHT



“Fayum” mummy portraits emerged as a genre of Egyptian funerary art in the early Julio-Claudian period. They take their name from the Fayum Oasis of Egypt, although they have been discovered throughout Egypt. They were typically painted on wooden panels, which were subsequently inserted into the mummy’s wrappings—as this one was—but were sometimes painted on shrouds or directly on the linen wrappings (see article on page 16). The Penn Museum’s portrait depicts a matron lavishly dressed in purple, with Venus rings on her neck and a hairstyle that suggests a second century date. The portrait’s use of the encaustic technique (the application of heated pigmented wax) is unusual for its provenience of Er-Rubayat, traditionally identified as the necropolis of the Fayum city of Philadelphia, where portraits tend to employ tempera. Mummy portrait. Object #E16214. c. 100-200 CE University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia. *Penn Museum*. Web. 18 April 2013.