



המחלקה להיסטוריה, פילוסופיה ומדעי היהדות  
Department of History, Philosophy and Judaism

**The 44th Conference  
of The Israel Society  
for the Promotion of Classical Studies**  
June 3-4, 2015

**הכנס ה־44 של  
האגודה לקידום הלימודים הקלאסיים בישראל**  
ט"ז-י"ז בסיוון תשע"ה, 3-4 ביוני 2015

**ABSTRACTS**  
**תקצירים**

The Open University of Israel, 1 University Road, Ra'anana  
Neudorfer Auditorium  
האוניברסיטה הפתוחה, דרך האוניברסיטה 1, רעננה  
אודיטוריום נוידרפר

# Conference Program

## WEDNESDAY, June 3

REGISTRATION AND REFRESHMENTS 9:00-9:30

OPENING SESSION: GREETINGS 9:30-10:15

**Prof. Aviad Heifetz**, Executive Vice President for Academic Affairs, Open University

**Prof. Mustafa Kabha**, Head of the Department of History, Philosophy and Judaic Studies, Open University

**Prof. Margalit Finkelberg**, President, Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies

**Prof. Erich Gruen**, University of California, Berkeley

COFFEE BREAK 10:15-10:30

SESSION ONE 10:30-12:00

Chair: **Lisa Maurice**, Bar-Ilan University

**Marek Węcowski**, University of Warsaw

When did the symposion die? On the decline of the Greek aristocratic banquet

**Manuel Caballero González**, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich

Greek myth on the map: the case of Athamas' myth

**Eyal Meyer**, University of Pennsylvania

Alexander the Great at the Olympic Games according to the Greek Alexander Romance

LUNCH BREAK 12:00-13:15

SESSION TWO: KEYNOTE ADDRESS 13:15-14:15

Chair: **Margalit Finkelberg**, Tel Aviv University

**Helene Foley**, Columbia University

Reconsidering the performance of choral odes in Greek tragedy

COFFEE BREAK 14:15-14:30

SESSION THREE 14:30-16:00

Chair: **Vered Lev Kenaan**, University of Haifa

**Ioanna Papadopoulou**, Democritus University of Thrace

Aeschylus as historian: the riddle of the Messenger's speech in the *Persians*

**Giulio Iovine**, University of Urbino

The queen in tears: a century of Sophocles' Εὐρύπυλος (1912-2012)

**Valeria Tezzon**, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin

"The Big Fish": new considerations about P.Duke 1984.7

COFFEE BREAK 16:00-16:15

SESSION FOUR (HEBREW) 16:15-17:45

The Chorus in classical Greek tragedy:  
from page to stage

Chair: **Nurit Yaari**, Tel Aviv University  
With: **Rina Yerushalmi, Yossi Yzraeli,**  
**Zvika Serper**

מושב רביעי 16:15-17:45

סוגיות במעבר מטקסט לבמה:  
המקהלה בטרגדיה

יו"ר: **נורית יערי**, אוניברסיטת תל-אביב  
בהשתתפות: **רינה ירושלמי, יוסי יזרעאלי,**  
**צביקה סרפר**

#### THURSDAY, June 4

SESSION FIVE (HEBREW) 9:30-11:30

Chair: **Raz Mustigman**, Open University  
**Yosef Z. Liebersohn**, Bar-Ilan University  
τὸ κατ' ἐνδείαν ἀλγοῦν and the Epicurean  
καταστυγματοῦν ἡ δόνη  
**Yael Young**, Hebrew University,  
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev  
The oil as dress in Archaic and Classical Athens  
**Nahum Cohen**, Achva academic College  
P. Berol. inv. no. 25100: a private letter  
from Byzantine Egypt  
**Hava B. Korzakova**, Bar-Ilan University  
Forgotten hints of the Talmud

COFFEE BREAK 11:30-11:45

GENERAL ASSEMBLY 11:45-13:15

LUNCH 13:15-14:30

מושב חמישי 9:30-11:30

יו"ר: **רז מוסטיגמן**, האוניברסיטה הפתוחה  
**יוסף ליברזון**, אוניברסיטת בר-אילן  
τὸ κατ' ἐνδείαν ἀλγοῦν וההנאות הקטסטמטיות  
לפי אפיקורוס  
**יעל יונג**, האוניברסיטה העברית  
ואוניברסיטת בן-גוריון בנגב  
השמן כלבוש באתונה הארכאית והקלאסית  
**נחום כהן**, מכללת אחוה  
פפירוס ברלין מק"ט 25100: מכתב פרטי  
ממצרים הביזנטית  
**חווה ברכה קורזקובה**, אוניברסיטת בר-אילן  
הרמזים הנשכחים של התלמוד

אסיפה כללית 11:45-13:15

בחירת נושאי תפקידים  
דו"ח כספי  
דו"ח ועדת הביקורת  
דו"ח מערכת SCI  
דיון בדיגיטציה של SCI  
שונות

SESSION SIX 14:30-16:30

Memorial Session for Samuel Scolnikov

Chair: **Donna Shalev**, Hebrew University

**Deborah Gera**, Hebrew University

Plato reads Herodotus

**Ivan Jordović**, University of Novi Sad

Xenophon on *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* in the *Memorabilia* of Socrates

**Menahem Luz**, University of Haifa

The rejected versions of the *Symposium*

**Donna Shalev**, Hebrew University

Socrates playing with Meletus: the genesis and afterlife of a *χρεια* in Greek and Medieval Arabic sources

COFFEE BREAK 16:30-16:45

CLOSING SESSION 16:45-18:15

Chair: **Merav Haklai**, Ben-Gurion University

**Łukasz Niesiołowski-Spano**, University of Warsaw

Athens and Jerusalem, again: on the paradigm of intercultural relationships

**Ilaria Bultrighini**, University College London

Hebdomas/Septimana: seven-day week cycles in antiquity

**Federica Ciccolella**, Texas A&M University

What did Diodorus write? Friendship and literary criticism in the School of Gaza

CLOSING REMARKS



**Bultrighini, Ilaria**

University College London

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## **Hebdomas/Septimana: seven-day week cycles in antiquity**

Although the practice of dividing the days of the year into cycles of seven days, and to name each of these days is generally considered as a universal habit that reaches far back into antiquity, before the early Roman Imperial period neither Greeks nor Romans nor, as it seems, any other ancient civilisation used to measure time in this way. Even the Biblical seven-day week does not appear to have been used for practical purposes, and certainly not as part of dating formulae, much earlier than that period. The seven-day week made its first appearance in Graeco-Roman sources in the first century BCE, and became increasingly widespread throughout the Roman world in the course of the first centuries of our era. Even though we are lacking any official recognition of the employ of the seven-day week, by the fourth century CE the habit of measuring time in cycles of seven days, each of them either numbered or dedicated to one of the seven planets, became universal or at least general all across the Roman Empire. Earlier research into the origins of the seven-day week and the process of its diffusion and standardization in the Roman Empire has been sporadic and unsystematic. As a result, the subject is still controversial and very poorly understood. Using artifactual, epigraphic, and literary evidence, this paper sheds new light on the theme by presenting the preliminary results of an on-going study of the origins and history of the seven-day week in the Roman world. I discuss the earliest evidence related to the use of the seven-day cycle, which goes back to the early Principate and consists of a few allusions to the planetary week in literary sources, Pompeian graffiti, and fragmentary fasti from different towns in Latium; I then address the process of diffusion and standardization of the seven-day cycle, both in its planetary and numerical forms, which started from around the second century CE, culminated with the conversion of the Empire to Christianity, and is especially attested by Christian epitaphs.

**Caballero González, Manuel**

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**Greek myth on the map: the case of Athamas' myth**

Athamas, son of Aeolus, was a very famous character in Classical Antiquity. Indeed, he became a prototype of madness and fury, as the writings of Cicero clearly show. This is however not the only mythical story about Aeolus' son: there exist three versions, into which Athamas' myth can be divided. In the Ino-Phrixus-Helle-Version, Athamas can be regarded as *homo sacrificans* because he is the man who accepted the oracle of Delphi and took his children to the altar of the sacrifice. This part of the myth is very interesting for the purpose of this congress because the story of Phrixus' and Helle's sacrifice, their rescue by the well-known Golden Fleece and the adventures of Phrixus in the distant eastern land of Colchis can be understood according to the geographical map of the ancient world.

The aim of my exposition is to classify this version of Athamas' myth in consonance with three different parts of the ancient world: firstly, Greece, where Athamas plays a very important role as responsible for the planned death of his children (in this area there is a further difference between this version, mainly located in Orchomenos, and the version of the furious Athamas, mainly located in Boeotia); second, the sea, the name of which depends on Helle's fall (some aetiological names in this travel can be explained by reference to Phrixus and the ram); and third, Colchis, the destination of Phrixus and the land of the Golden Fleece (indeed, the extreme east part of the world known in this time).

**Ciccolella, Federica**

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### **What did Diodorus write? Friendship and literary criticism in the School of Gaza**

Eighteen of the 169 letters of the rhetorician Procopius of Gaza (5th-6th c.) known to us are addressed to a Diodorus, a *scholastikos* (i.e., lawyer), born at Gaza, who studied with Procopius at Alexandria and exercised his legal profession at Caesarea. Procopius, who considered Diodorus as one of his best friends, wrote to him letters in a light and humorous tone. In addition to memories and acquaintances, the two friends apparently shared a sort of metaphorical language that creates serious problems to any modern scholar attempting to interpret Procopius's letters.

In letters 98, 133, and 140 (ed. Garzya-Loenertz), Procopius thanks Diodorus for sending him shoes. While letters related to exchanges of gifts were not unusual in antiquity and beyond, the context of letter 140 suggests that "shoes" should be intended not literally but as some kind of literary compositions. Indeed, in Procopius's letters it is possible to identify a reference to "shoeless" Socrates in Plato's *Symposium* and, especially, quotations from Herodotus and Old Comedy. The same quotations can be also found in two letters to Diodorus by another rhetorician of the same circle, Aeneas.

My paper will offer an interpretation of the letters to Diodorus by Procopius and Aeneas. Using these letters as a point of reference, I will reconstruct some aspects of the literary production of the School of Gaza as well as the approach to ancient literature, the literary interests and tastes, and the aesthetical program pursued by the scholars operating in that environment.



### **פפירוס ברלין מק"ט 25100: מכתב פרטי ממצרים הביזנטית**

פפירוס ברלין מק"ט 25100 עדיין לא פורסם והוא יוצג בהרצאה זו לראשונה. המסמך הוא מכתב פרטי, כתוב יוונית על הצד האחורי (צד סיבי האורך – verso) של דף פפירוס שצורתו מלבנית, כך שגובהו קצר מרוחבו. במכתב פונה משורר בשם אפה/אבה ליוס לאדם מסוים, ייתכן שהוא מטיבו, (השם אינו מפורט בטקסט) ומבקש את חסדו ורחמיו.

למרות היות המסמך מכתב פרטי הוא שייך למה שמקובל לכנות פפירולוגיה דוקומנטרית. צורת הפפירוס, כתב היד, תוכן המסמך וסגנונו מעניינים מאוד. מחלק מן הנתונים הללו ניתן להסיק כי המכתב חובר בתקופה הביזנטית. יחד עם זאת אין במכתב כול רמז, אשר ישפוך אור על תאריך הטקסט. המכתב נמצא במצרים וסביר להניח ששם גם נכתב. הוא כתוב במאונך לתוואי סיבי האורך של הפפירוס, כאשר הצד האחר (צד סיבי הרוחב – recto) ריק למעט שני צלבים בחלקו הימני העליון. זו דוגמה לתופעה אשר ביחד עם אחרות דורשות הסבר.

במכתב נעשה שימוש רב בדימויים מן הברית החדשה ויש התייחסות למספר שמות קדושים (Sacra Nomina). למרות שלכאורה קריאת הטקסט כמעט הושלמה, במקומות רבים קיימות בעיות שונות, אשר עדיין לא באו על פתרון.

בהרצאה אציג את הטקסט ותרגומו וכן אדון במספר שאלות רלבנטיות. תקוותי היא שאוכל להסתייע בהערות שאשמע מפי החברים, על מנת לפתור חלק מהן.

### **P.Berol. inv. no. 25100: a private letter from Byzantine Egypt**

P.Berol. inv. no. 25100 is an unpublished document which will be presented in my paper for the first time. The manuscript is a Greek Byzantine private letter inscribed on the back side (verso) of a rectangular papyrus sheet with its width longer than its height. In this letter Apa/Aba Liou, a poet, addresses someone, could be his benefactor (the name is not disclosed) asking for his pity and benevolence.

In spite of being a private letter, this text belongs into the vast body of manuscripts usually known as documentary papyri. The form of the papyrus, the hand of the text, its contents and style are very interesting. Some of these characteristics reveal the manuscript to be a Byzantine document. Even so it offers no clue that might shed some light on its date beyond the general inference that it was written in the Byzantine period. The letter was found in Egypt and was probably written there. The text was inscribed against the fibers of the verso of the papyrus sheet with its other side (recto)

blank, except for two crosses at its upper right half. This is just one example of several phenomena encountered in this papyrus requiring proper explanation.

The writer employs many phrases from the New Testament and several Nomina Sacra. Though it seems that the reading of the text has been completed, various problems remain unsolved.

My paper will present the text and its translation along with a discussion of relevant issues hoping that the comments of the audience will assist me better address some of these issues.

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**The queen in tears: a century of Sophocles' Εὐρύπυλος (1912-2012)**

In 1912, Arthur Hunt published into volume IX of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* the 107 fragments of a tragedy by Sophocles, whose title was perhaps Eurypylus. The number of fragments arose in 1927 to 121 with P.Oxy. XVII 2081(b); most of them the size of a stamp, only few of larger extent. The dramatically fragmentary status of this papyrus has perhaps been a hindrance to the scholarly efforts towards the reconstruction of a tragedy which is the best preserved among the lost works of Sophocles on papyri, and which represented (and represents) an invaluable chance for understanding his technique and the stages of his dramatic career. From Radt's edition (1975, frs. 206-222b18 R.2), scholarship has been almost silent on the topic.

After more than a century, this paper aims to open a new season for studies on Eurypylus. A close inspection to the module of the letters, their inclination and the colour of ink seems to confirm Hunt's suspicion, that not all the fragments in P.Oxy. IX 1175+2081(b) belong to that Sophoclean tragedy; one can detect four main groups of fragments, each probably belonging to a determined tragedy, and only the first one (frs. 206-219a79, 222b5-8 R.2) is likely to host the remnants of the Eurypylus. Having then told the Eurypylus fragments from the others, the paper divides them in sub-groups using physical features, like wormholes on the surface, to reconstruct possible adjacent columns; it tries then to determine the actual title of the tragedy, its position in Sophocles' catalogue, its characters, the nature of its Chorus, and the tetralogy in which it was included. It argues, eventually, that the leading role of this tragedy was Astyoche, the hero's mother and the main responsible of his death; the plot was built around her guilt and punishment.

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## **הרמזים הנשכחים של התלמוד**

שני סיפורים ידועים מהתלמוד הבבלי ניתן ביתר דיוק בעזרת החומר הקלאסי. הראשון הוא על רבי (ר' יהודה הנשיא) ואנטונינוס (אחד הקיסרים הידיוניים כלפי היהודים). אנטונינוס רוצה שבנו ישלוט תחתיו, ורבי בתשובה מבקש לפתור את העיר טבריה ממסים. אנטונינוס אומר כי את שתי הבקשות יהיה לו קשה להעביר בסנאט, ורבי רומז בעזרת פעולות סמליות כיצד ניתן לעשות זאת. לאחר מכן מתלונן הקיסר על אצילי רומא, ורבי, שוב בעזרת פעולה סמלית (כיוון שאינו יכול לדבר על הנושא בגלוי) מראה לו מה עליו לעשות: הוא מוציא צנן (פוגלא) אחד מהערוגה בכל יום, פעולה המסמלת הריגת הרומאים האצילים אחד אחרי השני.

הסיפור השני הוא על אלישע בן אבויה אשר "יצא לתרבות רעה" והלך לזונה. היא שואלת אותו הלא אלישע בן אבויה הוא (שהוא החכם המפורסם). בתשובה הוא מוציא צנן מהערוגה ומושיט לה. התלמוד מציין כי הדבר קרה בשבת, והפרה של דיני שמירת השבת מראה כי אלישע מעכשיו הוא "אחר".

עבור היוונים הצנן לא היה סתם ירק אלא גם סמל לענישת הנואפים, היה להם אפילו פועל מיוחד לפעולה זאת –  $\rho\alpha\varphi\alpha\nu\delta\acute{o}\omega$ . אם לוקחים בחשבון את המשמעות הזאת של המלה בתרבות היוונית אשר הייתה מוכרת היטב לרבנים המוקדמים, אנחנו יכולים לראות כי אלישע בעזרת הפעולה הסמלית שלו קורא לעצמו "נואף", ואולי אף טוען כי אם מגיע לו עונש על עבירת חילול השבת, הוא מעדיף שיקבל גם עונש על חטא הניאוף הנעים יותר לביצוע.

נראה כי גם רבי לא רק רומז לקיסר כי יש להרוג את בני האצולה הרומיים אחד אחרי השני אלא גם מצביע על נקודת התורפה שלהם – הניאוף. המלה "צנן" והפועל הנגזר ממנה מופיעות לעתים קרובות בקומדיה היוונית אשר הייתה מוכרת לרבנים בארץ ישראל. אחת ההוכחות היא המלה התלמודית "קורדקין" (נעלי בית) אשר באה משם הריקוד הרומי "קורדקס". [1]

## **Forgotten hints of the Talmud**

Two well-known stories from the Babylonian Talmud can be interpreted more precise with a little bit help from the Classics. The first one is a dialog between Rabbi (r. Yehuda ha-Nasi) and Antoninus (one of the Emperors who was Jewish-friendly, according to the Jewish tradition). Antoninus wants his son to rule after him, and Rabbi asks that he will make the town of Tveria free of taxes. But Antoninus says that he cannot pass both of the requests in the Senat. Rabbi shows him a solution by symbolic gestures. Then Antoninus complains on the Roman nobles, and Rabbi shows a solution, also by symbolic gesture, since he is no free to speak on this matter loudly: he pulls radish

(pugla) out of a bed, one for day. The gesture clearly symbolized killing the nobles one by one (Avoda zara, 10b).

The second story is about the notorious Elisha ben Avuya, who "came out for the bed culture" and went to a prostitute. She asked him whether he is Elisha (known previously as a great sage). He answers with almost the same gesture as Rabbi in the first story – pull a radish out of a bed. The Talmud indicates that it happened in Shabat, and this action which violates the Shabat laws, clearly indicates for the prostitute that Elisha became another person (Aher).

For the Greeks the radish was not just a vegetable but also a symbol for the adulterers' punishment. They even had a verb derived of it - ῥαφανιδόω. If we take in consideration the meaning of the radish in Greek culture which the early rabbis were well familiar with, we can see that Elisha actually calls himself "an adulterer" and probably claims that if he deserves a punishment for the violation of Shabat, he prefer to deserve also a punishment for the lechery which is more pleasant sin.

It seems also that Rabbi in his dialog with the Emperor not only says that the later should kill the nobles one by one but also points on their weak spot – the adultery.

The word "radish" and the verb "to radish" (i.e. to punish adulterers) is frequent in the Greek comedy which was popular in Palestine. One of the examples of its popularity is the word kordakin (slippers) which comes from the Greek comic dance kordax[1].

[1] См. Marcus Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Bavli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature. London – New York, 1903.

### τὸ κατ' ἐνδεΐαν ἀλγούον and the Epicurean κατὰσθηματικὴ ἡδονή

ההנאות על פי תורתו של אפיקורוס מתחלקות ל"קניטיות" ו"קטסטמטיות". ברם, ישנה חלוקה נוספת של הנאות – בסיסית ומקובלת על כולם – ל"גופניות" ו"נפשיות". אפיקורוס מקבל גם חלוקה זו ומכאן שעליו להציג תת-חלוקה של גוף-נפש להנאות הקניטיות ולהנאות הקטסטמטיות. בכל הנוגע להנאות הקטסטמטיות, שבהן אעסוק בהרצאה זו, אנו מוצאים אצל דיוגנס לארטיוס עדות לפיה *ataraxia* ו-*aponia* הן הנאות קטסטמטיות ולא קשה לשער שהראשונה קשורה לנפש והשנייה לגוף. אולם השאלה עדיין במקומה: מהי משמעותן של שתי תת-הנאות אלה? ובעיקר, מהו הציר לפיו אנו מחלקים בין *ataraxia* ו-*aponia* בתוך קבוצת ההנאות הקטסטמטיות?

תשובות שונות ניתנו לשאלה זו כאשר הנחת היסוד היא שמדובר בהנאות הכרחיות, קרי הנאות שמסלקות כאב. בהרצאה זו אנסה להצביע על הציר המדויק על פיו יש לחלק את ההנאות הקטסטמטיות לגופניות ונפשיות. אצביע על ניסוח מעניין המופיע מספר פעמים בקורפוס האפיקוראי ומשום מה לא זכה כלל להתייחסות בספרות המחקר – τὸ κατ' ἐνδεΐαν ἀλγούον. בעזרת פראזה זו אטען שיש לחלק בתוך קבוצת ההנאות הקטסטמטיות (= הכרחיות שמסלקות כאב) בין שני סוגים של כאב – "כאב בשל מה שחסר" ו"כאב בשל מה שישנו". בקבוצה הראשונה – ההנאות הגופניות – יש להשלים את החסר. בקבוצה השנייה – ההנאות הנפשיות – יש להחליף את הקיים.

### τὸ κατ' ἐνδεΐαν ἀλγούον and the Epicurean κατὰσθηματικὴ ἡδονή

The Epicurean pleasures are usually divided into 'kinetic' and 'katastematic'. Yet there is another division – that between body and soul – which is a basic and universally accepted division. Thus, Epicurus is expected to supply us with a subdivision of body and soul for each of his groups, 'kinetic' and 'katastematic'. Concerning katastematic pleasures we find in Diogenes Laertius 10,136 a testimonium which tells us that *ataraxia* and *aponia* are *katastematikai* pleasures", but the question still awaits us: what was Epicurus thinking of when he used the term *ataraxia* as a katastematic pleasure concerning the soul as against *aponia* as a katastematic pleasure concerning the body?

Many attempts have been made to define *ataraxia* and *aponia*, all based on the fact that these terms refer to necessary pleasures, namely pleasures which remove pain. In this paper I shall try to disentangle the exact axis by which one is to divide the 'katastematic' pleasures into body and soul. This I shall do by pointing to an interesting phrase which appears few times in our sources but so far been wholly neglected by

scholars - τὸ κατ' ἐνδείαν ἀλγοῦν (= pain due to want). While every necessary pleasure is a pleasure which removes pain, this pain can be due to want or due to what is. This I shall argue is the axis which divides necessary pleasures concerning the body from necessary pleasures concerning the soul. In the first group one has to fill in what is absent, i.e. hunger with food; in the second group one has to change what exists, i.e. false opinions such as "Gods punish mortals" into true philosophy. In both cases pain is being removed.

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### **Alexander the Great in the Olympic Games according to the Greek Alexander Romance**

The purpose of the present study is to analyze how certain elements in the episode in which Alexander the Great participates in the Olympic Games, according to the Greek Alexander-Romance, reflect a favorable portrayal of the Olympic Games. Accordingly, I argue that this episode expresses one of the ways through which the organizers of the Olympic festival grappled with new challenges which arose during the Hellenistic Period.

The Alexander-Romance constitutes a compilation of stories concerned with the exploits of Alexander the Great, from his upbringing in Pella to his death in Babylon. One of these stories recounts Alexander's participation in the Olympic Games and how he won the prestigious chariot race. This anecdote, which appears only in the Alexander-Romance, evokes several questions. Is it based on a historical event? If not, how did such a story emerge? Who was the author? And what motivated him to fabricate a story in which Alexander becomes an Olympic victor? Consequently, I argue that the remarkable spread of the Greek athletic tradition and the subsequent foundations of new pan-Hellenic festivals in the 3rd and 2nd centuries CE intensified the competition between the various festivals, which resulted in substantial decline in the popularity and prestige of the Olympic Games.

The aforementioned interpretation entails two important implications. First, in spite of the fact that many elements in the Romance probably originated from an Alexandrian source(s), it remains plausible that the origin of several episodes, which seem to be self-contained units, is not necessarily Alexandrian. Second, the suggested erosion in the position of Olympia as one of the foremost Panhellenic centers in the Greek orbit might reflect a general decline in the importance of mainland Greece in the Hellenistic era.



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### **Athens and Jerusalem, again: on the paradigm of intercultural relationships**

Recently, the growing number of scholars point out the various analogies between the biblical literature and Greek heritage. This phenomenon has been studied extensively on many aspects, including historiography, mythology and poetry. However, some studies concentrate only on the parallels on thematic, formal, or narrative level, without any attempt to propose a paradigm, with the aim to explain the intercultural relations (cf. e.g. Brown, *Israel and Hellas*, vols. 1-3; Wajdenbaum, *Argonauts of the Desert*).

It seems, there is no working general hypothesis proposed in this matter. Nothing on theoretical level can be now compared to the old hypothesis by Arnaldo Momigliano, aiming to explain the relationships of Greek and biblical historiography. Despite the fact that Momigliano's hypothesis has not gain much support in recent scholarship, it shall not be overlooked, as it proposed the general model. Recently, such a broad approaches are usually replaced by more analytic and detailed studies.

On the one hand, some scholars ignore the studies pointing out to the parallels between Greek and biblical literature. On the other hand, simplistic explanations are offered, by down-dating the biblical literature, and re-date the process of intercultural relations from the Classical to Hellenistic period.

The paper aims to overview the current research in this field, with an attempt to offer a new proposal for understanding the mechanisms of intercultural relationships between Greek and Judahite cultures.

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### **Aeschylus as historian: the riddle of the Messenger's speech in the *Persians***

The sea fight in Salamis is a historical fact of 480 BC; Herodotus gives an account of the preparations, the decisions made by the involved sides (Xerxes, the court of the Great King, Atossa's influence – Themistocles, Athenian demos), and describes the fight itself and its aftermath (see, e.g., Her. Hist. 7. 1. ff; 8. 75 ff.).

Aeschylus does not claim to be a historian, and in his plays, and indeed in the oldest surviving tragedy "The Persians", he proves that he is, above all, a dramatic poet, the "creator of tragedy" (G. Murray, 1940), a "great showman". When producing the *Persians* in 472 BC, maybe he is more interested in furthering his teacher's Phrynichus, not extant, play "Phoenissae" (476 BC), or, perhaps, he aims, as often argued, to strengthen Themistocles', weak at that time, position in Athens. Thus, he put history into myth, and, among other dramaturgical inventions and staging twists, he puts Dareius' ghost "on the stage". Hence, the play bears the characteristics of a mythos.

Is it undisputable that history is totally absent from the play? Of course not, since the Messenger's speech gives a rather convincing – historically – account. Then, moreover, is it possible that the corrupted verses of the epirrhema between the Messenger and the Chorus (vv. 256-289) reveal a fact not mentioned elsewhere?

This paper will provide another reading of the verses 268-279, aiming to renew the discussion on the uniqueness of "The Persians" as the only tragic play based on history, and to add to the historical aspect put on the theater of Dionysus on the Great Dionysia of that year. Hybris, Ate, Nemesis are present, but Aeschylus was an eyewitness of the sea fight at Salamis: does he share any hidden facts about the sea fight with the also eyewitness Messenger of the play or with any other character?

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**“The Big Fish”: new considerations about P.Duke 1984.7**

The three columns of Greek text conserved on the recto of P.Duke 1984.7 conserve the comic fragment 1146 K.-A. VIII, also known as *comoedia dukiana*. The *editio princeps* was published 1992 by William Willis in "Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies". The text consists in a funny dialogue written in trochaic tetrameters where a fish called *silouros* is praised. The main speaker, after praising the exquisite quality of the fish, proceeds with instructions for cooking and serving the special dish. His interlocutor, on the other hand, seems to be amazed not only by the excellence of the food, but also by the extraordinary declamatory qualities of the main character.

According to the first editor, the fragment would be a dialogue between two cooks and it is ascribed to Archippus' comedy *Ichthues*. In an article published in "ZPE" in 1994, Eric Csapo accepts the proposal of the editor princeps, adding that "considerations of date and theme alone suffice to make Archippus' *Fishes* an obvious candidate". Nevertheless, some elements of the text, the style and the characterization of the characters, do not seem to match with the plot of the Archippus' comedy, and the statement of authorship is far from certain. This paper aims to discuss three aspects of the text: the style, the authorship and, finally, the identification of the characters.

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### **When did the symposion die? On the decline of the Greek aristocratic banquet**

The moment when the symposion went out of fashion in the Greek world is hard to ascertain, since both the terminology of the Greek aristocratic banquet and some typically sympotic customs continued well into the late classical and early Hellenistic times. Oswyn Murray states that “there occurred a gradual loss of sympotic culture in the 2nd and 1st centuries”, whereas Alan Cameron asserts that the third century BCE was “a new golden age of sympotic poetry”. In my paper, however, I will try to show that the twilight of the symposion is to be dated much earlier, around the mid-fourth century, and the origins of its decline can be traced back to some important cultural changes of the late fifth century BCE.

I would argue that a series of archaeological and intellectual phenomena might be adduced to this effect. First, Susan Rotroff observed the striking disappearance of the krater, the most emblematic vessel of the symposion, in the archaeological material from the Athenian Agora after ca. 300 BCE. Next comes the profound change in the spatial organization of the Hellenistic banquets towards rectangular and oblong halls with multiple entrances on one side of the room. Thirdly, there is a striking case of the antiquarianism of the generation of Aristotle’s disciples, who studied several crucial sympotic pastimes, thus evidencing that some of the most important elements of the symposion were already dead by the second half of the fourth century BCE.

In my paper, I will try to ascribe the decline of the symposion to a set of interconnected social and cultural phenomena of the late classical period, stressing among other things the impact of the arrival of the so-called “New Music” and that of the early Greek gastronomy.

### **השמן כלבוש באתונה הארכאית והקלאסית**

מטרת ההרצאה לדון בשמן (oil) כסוג של לבוש בתיאורים חזותיים ומילוליים באתונה הארכאית והקלאסית. הפרשנות של השמן כלבוש מבוססת על הגדרת המונח "לבוש" שהציעו החוקרות האמריקאיות מארי אלן רואץ'-היגנס וג'ואן ב' אייכר: "dress of an individual is an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body". הגדרה זו רחבה וניטרלית וכוללת בתוכה כל שינוי – זמני או קבוע – וכל תוספת שהיא לגוף האנושי. היא משמשת ככלי ניתוח המאפשר לקשור בין תיאורים שונים שעד עתה נדונו בנפרד.

בהרצאה אבחן דימויים בהם נראים גברים מושחים עצמם בשמן או מגרדים אותו מגופם. תיאורים של גברים מושחים עצמם בשמן מופיעים באמנות החזותית במחצית המאה ה־6. הראשון לתאר כך גברים היה צייר היידלברג. השוואת התיאורים הללו לתיאורים של גברים מתחמשים מצביע על תפיסה זהה של השמן כ"לבוש" אותו עוטה האתלט לפני האימון בגימנסיון ושל שריון השוק כ"לבוש" אותו עוטה הלוחם לפני צאתו לקרב. בסוף המאה ה־6 מופיע טיפוס איקונוגרפי חדש של אתלט המגרד שמן מגופו לאחר האימון. טיפוס זה מכונה במחקר "מגרד השמן" (Apoxymenos). סצנות אלו – של משיחת השמן והסרתו – מצביעים על כך שבאמנות האטית נתפס השמן כמעין לבוש שיש לעטותו לפני הפעילות הספורטיבית ולהסירו בתומה.

הדיון באמנות החזותית ילווה בדיון בתיאורים מילוליים של דמויות מושחות עצמן בשמן או נמשחות על־ידי אחרים. התיאור המפורסם ביותר נכלל בסצנת הפיתוי של הרה (איליאדה, 14: 186-170). בסצנה זו משיחת השמן מהווה חלק בלתי נפרד מסצנת ההתקשטות לקראת פיתוי של זאוס. תיאורים קצרים הרבה יותר קיימים באודיסאה כאשר גיבורים שונים מתוארים כנמשחים בשמן על־ידי נשים כחלק מסצנת ההתלבשות שלהם (טלמחוס – שיר 3: 465-467; לארטס – שיר 24: 365-367). הדיון בטקסטים מאשש את מה שניכר בתיאורים החזותיים: השמן הוא סוג של לבוש, פריט אחד משלל פריטים אחרים ששימשו את האדם כשהתלבש.

### **The oil as dress in archaic and classical Athens**

The purpose of the lecture is to discuss oil as a type of dress in visual and literary descriptions from Archaic and Classical Athens. The working definition of the term 'dress' is the one phrased by/follows Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins and Joanne B. Eicher: "dress of an individual is an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body". This definition is broad and neutral enough to include changes and supplements to the human body, whether temporary or permanent. It

serves as an interpretative tool to consider together various images hitherto discussed separately.

In the lecture I explore images depicting men rubbing themselves with oil or scraping it from their bodies. Scenes of men rubbing oil begin to appear in the visual arts at the middle of the 6th century BCE. The first painter to depict men performing this action is the Heidelberg Painter. I compare between scenes of men rubbing oil and scenes of men arming and argue for a similar conception/pattern of oil as a 'dress', which athletes don prior to the practice in the gymnasium, and the greave as a 'dress' that warriors don prior to battle. A new iconographic type of athletes scraping oil from their body after practice appears at the end of the 6th century. This type is called the 'oil scraper' or *Apoxyomenos*. These scenes – rubbing and scraping oil – suggest that in Athenian art, oil is considered a type of dress men don before sport activity and doff when the activity ends.

I support my discussion with literary depictions of figures rubbing themselves in oil or being rubbed by others. A famous depiction is that of Hera, in the elaborate dressing scene prior to the temptation of Zeus (Il. 14.170-186). In the *Odyssey* we find much briefer depictions of heroes being rubbed by various women as part of a dressing scene (Telemachus in Od. 3. 465-467; Laertes in Od. 24.365-367). These scenes support the evidence from vase paintings: oil is a dress item, just like other items men and women put on their body.

## **Memorial Session for Samuel Scolnikov**

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### **Plato reads Herodotus**

Commentators suggest that Plato was influenced by Herodotus' account of Gyges when fashioning his version of the tale (Republic 359b-362c; Hdt. 1.8-12). This paper examines three further instances of Platonic myths which seem to bear the mark of Herodotus. (1) The tale of Thamus investigating Theuth's inventions (Phaedrus 274c-275b) is viewed against the background of the Ethiopian king criticizing Persian gifts in Herodotus (3.20-22). (2) Solon's encounter with the Egyptian priests in the Atlantis myth (Timaeus 20d-25e) is compared to Croesus' words on the funeral pyre (Hdt. 1.86) and Hecateus' encounter with Egyptian priests (Hdt. 2.143). (3) The marketplace of lifestyles available to the souls in the myth of Er (Republic 617d-620d) is compared to Herodotus' musings on humans choosing the best customs or worst misdeeds from hypothetical collections of such qualities (Hdt. 3. 38; 7.152).

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### **Xenophon on *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* in the *Memorabilia* of Socrates**

The *Memorabilia* of Socrates is probably Xenophon's most complex ethical text. Numerous studies have shown this to be a carefully written work. Since Socratic literature, is not "history" (Geschichte), but rather "poetry" (Dichtung), the *Memorabilia* of Socrates, as a typical example of the *logoi Sōkratikoí*, primarily reflects the views of its author Xenophon. The examination of the *Memorabilia* of Socrates reveals that it is not only an ethical, but also a political work, crucial for a proper understanding of the foundations of Xenophon's political thought. The impression gained from sources of the late 5th and early 4th century B.C. is that there was a widespread notion of two paths, two ways of life and education which could be chosen by the youth of the upper classes. In Aristophanes' *the Clouds* the Better and Worse Arguments compete over which way is better and more useful. At the same time there was, as Thucydides and Euripides illustrate, a debate on the place of *apragmosynē* and *polypragmosynē* in Athenian democracy. One of the central questions of this debate is the opposition between the man who is heading towards public life and the man who opts for a life that is withdrawn, devoted to the pursuit of knowledge and art. While Plato's Socrates in *Gorgias* personifies the path which leads to a philosophical way of life and turns its back on the daily political life of the polis, Xenophon's Socrates rejects altogether the *bios praktikos/bios theōrētikos* dichotomy. The examination of the discussion between Socrates and Aristippus in the second book of the *Memorabilia* of Socrates shows that Xenophon did not seek to in any way discredit the traditional approach to politics, but to improve it. This improvement implied the linking of the ethical elements of Socrates' thought with the traditional pragmatic understanding of the political.



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### **The rejected versions of the of the *Symposium***

Apollodorus' prelude to Pl. *Symp.* is a complex rejection of earlier accounts of Socrates' participation in a symposium. This can be examined contextually as a literary mannerism, or sub-textually as a rejection of previous literary versions of this topos. Neither approach contradicts the other, but scholars have found difficulties in finding any earlier author who could have been rejected. Recently, it has been argued that Xen. *Symp.* preceded Pl. *Symp.* acting as a catalyst for Plato's work. However, if neither was the first on a sympotic theme in a Socratic dialogue, we need not presume that Apollodorus referred to Xenophon, but rather that both responded to an earlier author. Scholars suggest various candidates although none has been proven. However, one source has not attracted attention: two anecdotes recorded in PFlor 113 where Antisthenes depicts both Socrates and himself as critical of symposia in general. Plato's dramatization of such an event is not only more complete and complex, but awards Socrates a place for turning a symposion into a more positive and philosophical discussion in contrast to Antisthenes' more critical and less polished examination of this theme. The conclusions of my paper are that the contents of these anecdotes can be seen as the raw kernel out of which both Xenophon and Plato could have responded. Xenophon's contribution is no less interesting with Plato's composition before him at least at one stage. However, his creation of a place for Antisthenes in this work both utilizes the latter's written philosophy and turns him into an active participant in a symposium itself. Antisthenes' criticism of anti-philosophical symposia and his depiction of Socrates as agreeing with this can be seen as the raw kernel from which the two later authors reworked this theme.

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**Socrates playing with Meletus: the genesis and afterlife of a *χρεία* in Greek and Medieval Arabic sources**

Socrates' ἐρώτησις of Meletos has been mentioned and reproduced in a variety of formats, discourse modes, and levels of detail in Ancient Greek sources, including Plato's *Apology*, Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and Diogenes Laertius' *Lives*. Details in motif and argument have been discussed far more frequently than format, the focus of this talk, in particular in the version given in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, as an example encapsulated and packaged in the form of a *χρεία* ("Socrates, Meletos having denied... said '...'"). After a brief mention of the witty context, framing, and dramatization of the Meletos interlude in Plato's *Apology* vis-à-vis the place of the Meletos *χρεία* in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, I will devote the rest of the paper to the *χρεία* in *Ari.Rhet.III.18*; to the relation between the *χρεία* format and the function of an instructive example in a technical text (and in progymnasmatic testimony); to the late Greek reworking of the passage; and to its medieval Arabic translation and exegesis.

I address the treatment of examples and other illustrative materials the medieval Arabic translations of Classical Greek sources: this leads to questions about strictly faithful translations of Aristotelian texts, in contrast with licenses and compromises made when translating the examples, quotations and other illustrative materials within those texts. The *χρεία* form of the original is unpacked not only in Ishāq b. Hunayn's Arabic translation of this passage, but before that in the Greek exegetical tradition. I will briefly review examples of Greek *χρεῖαι* and of wisdom literature in Arabic sources featuring Greek sages, whose formats are reminiscent of *χρεῖαι* but never fully formed.

The unpacking of these *χρεῖαι*, both in the Arabic *Nachleben*, and in the Greek exegetical tradition, involve language constraints, literary convention, issues of culture and *paideia*, the interplay between *oratio recta* and *oratio obliqua*, and other factors. Finally, I propose an interpretation to a puzzling crux in the Arabic rendition in this passage of the *Rhetoric*.



