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חדר אירוח וייספלד, בנין פלדמן 301,
אוניברסיטת בר-אילן

ABSTRACTS

תקצירים

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Seleucus I and the origin of the Seleucid dynastic ideology

This paper aims at re-evaluating the contribution of Seleucus I in laying foundation of the Seleucid imperial ideology. Not trying to diminish the role claimed by some modern scholars for his son Antiochus I in establishing various facets of the Seleucid image-building, this paper shows that two cornerstones of the Seleucid ideology were laid under Seleucus I: presenting the Seleucids as direct heirs to Alexander the Great and the beginning of the dynastic cult of Apollo.

An early Hellenistic Pamphlet, followed by *LDM* and Ps.-Callisthenes, shows Seleucus' appointment to Babylon by Alexander. It can be deduced from later sources, from Tatian's testimony on Berossus through 1 Macc. to Ammianus and the *Excerpta Barbari*, that there was also a very early pro-Seleucid tradition showing Seleucus as the successor to Alexander and Philip Arrhidaeus, to disadvantage of Alexander IV and other Successors.

Although the canonical image of Apollo on omphalos dominated the Seleucid coins only from Antiochus I, the beginning of the dynastic cult of Apollo falls under Seleucus. It was not based on his personal beliefs and accounts of ancient authors about Apollo's early prophecies for Seleucus should be disregarded. Apollo (of Didyma) was introduced into the Seleucid family quite late, ca. 300 B.C., through the efforts of Demodamas of Miletus, a general and friend of Seleucus. Evidence, mostly epigraphic but also numismatic and some anecdotal (Malalas), show a sudden rise of importance of the cult of Apollo within the Seleucid family from this year on. This development resulted in Seleucus becoming son of Apollo and Apollo the tutelary god of the dynasty.

Thus, with Seleucus' authorization the template for Seleucid ideology came into being, making his kingdom the very successor to Alexander and eventually the fourth empire of Daniel.

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Roman M. Frolov
P.G. Demidov Yaroslavl State University, Russia

Better than (when) a magistrate? Caesar's suspension from office in 62 B.C. and its aftermath

Suetonius' account of Caesar's suspension from office in 62 B.C. raises a number of questions about the political role of those, who found themselves at the moment of transition from a position of a *magistratus* to that of a *privatus*, and vice versa. What exactly was the procedure, by which the praetor Caesar was compelled to leave his magistracy, if he was at all? An allegedly spontaneous gathering (*coetus*) offered him help in recovering his position. Unexpectedly he restrained the crowd, and the grateful senate itself restored him to his rank. How was Caesar able to control the mass gathering, if he was technically a *privatus*? Were his duties as a *pontifex maximus* important in this context? Did the senate praise Caesar for actions appropriate for a good private citizen or for a good magistrate? If the former, then would that not amount to the approval by the senate of exactly that political move, which it, theoretically, would hardly allow to a *privatus* without preliminary authorization – a political speech (or a call to (in)action) in a mass public meeting? If the senate praised Caesar for acting as a good magistrate, would this mean that from the senators' point of view the one, whom they themselves suspended from office, appeared to be actually 'better', than those holding magistracies (including Caesar himself when he still was a praetor), exactly in respect of responsible political leadership, reserved in

theory to *magistratus*, not to *privati*? I suggest as a starting point that Suetonius' passage deserves serious attention, is not entirely unique and in the light of the relevant evidence on some parallel cases may allow better understanding of the nature of individual power and political success in the Roman Republic.

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Joseph Roisman
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What Moved Our Sources to Accept or Reject the Story of Alexander's Encounter with the Amazon Queen?

The story of Alexander's encounter with the queen of the Amazons is one of the better known in his history. Briefly, it tells of this queen's arrival with an Amazonian guard at Alexander's camp in Hyrcania, where she requested to sleep with him so she could give birth to a child prodigy. Alexander dutifully obliged for thirteen days, at the end of which she returned home. Except for Justin (2.4.33) the sources lose interest in the queen after her departure.

Ever since antiquity, this episode has served as a litmus test for the quality of the sources on Alexander. Those who report it have been deemed untrustworthy, while those who have ignored or disputed it have been credited with accurate reporting and a healthy critical approach. Most scholars agree that the Amazons, as described in our sources, are fictitious, but differ on the origin of the story of the queen's visit, the reasons for its promulgation, and even whether encounters with Asian female warriors might have led to such tales. This paper, while profiting from these discussions, heads in a different direction. It asks why our extant sources, namely Diodorus of Sicily, Strabo, Curtius Rufus, Arrian and Justin, accepted or rejected the story. The paper argues that each author's decision whether to treat the story as truth or fiction was not based simply on his trust in his sources. Issues outside Alexander's history, such as attitudes towards masculinity, belief in the historicity of the Amazons in different periods, and narrative considerations affected both the authors' attitudes toward the story and the way they presented it.

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SESSION THREE: ANCIENT GREEK POETRY AND ART

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Am I my Sister's Keeper? – Artemis and Apollo in the Homeric Hymns

The paper examines the Homeric hymns to Artemis and Apollo and how they portray these gods and their relationship. The hymns display a consistent hierarchy between Apollo and Artemis, and their familial status is craftily used to present Apollo as stronger and as superior to his sister, as he plays a pivotal role in her hymns, while she plays only a minor role in his. Moreover, their interaction is missing the reciprocity and equality of other pairs of mythological twins such as the Dioskouri or the Aloadae.

While the Homeric Hymns to Artemis (IX, XXVII) begin by portraying her as a fearless and fearsome goddess, her power is not absolute, since she eventually places herself under her brother's authority. Instead of triumphantly returning to her own sanctuary, Artemis goes to one of Apollo's temples, where she organizes choral dances in his honor and even hangs her bow on his temple wall, symbolically dedicating to him the emblem of her power. Thus, Apollo mediates her transition from the wilderness, tames her, and incorporates her back into civilization.

While hymns IX and XXVII depict a close familial bond between the two gods, this does not recur in Apollo's hymns. Artemis is not mentioned in his short hymns (XXI, XXV), and in his long hymn (III) their relationship is consistently downplayed. Apollo mainly operates independently from his sister, who is neither vital nor central to his character or to the hymn. Apollo is first and foremost associated with Zeus and Leto, and only after his greatness and importance had been established, Artemis is introduced into the hymn. Although she is part of the celebrations in the Delian festival, the hierarchy between the siblings is neither challenged nor interrupted since Artemis shares her brother's festival, and it is not a mutual festival for the both of them. The fact that she appears only four times throughout this long hymn is another demonstration of her marginality.

I conclude my paper by arguing that the portrayal of Artemis and Apollo in the Homeric Hymns had been heavily influenced by their depiction in the *Iliad* and that Homer's bias towards Artemis, perceiving her as a weak goddess who, unlike her brother, neither belonged to the battlefield nor assisted heroes, has established, if not canonized, her literary image, as the Homeric Hymns demonstrate so well.

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Andrea Rotstein
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Cretan *nomoi*?
Archilochus fr. 232W without Heraclides Lembus

Archilochus fr. 232W reads as follows:
νόμος δὲ Κρητικὸς διδάσκεται
a Cretan law is taught (?)
The fragment is transmitted in Heraclides of Lembus' epitome of the
Aristotelian *Constitutions* (14 Dilts = FHG II 211 Müller).

ὅτι δὲ ἀρχαιοτάτη τῶν πολιτειῶν ἡ Κρητικὴ ἐμφαίνεικαὶ Ὅμηρος λέγων· τὰς πόλεις αὐτ ῶν εὖ ναιεταώσας(*Il.* 2.648) καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ἐν οἷς ἐπισκώπτων τινά φησι·νόμος δὲ Κρητι κὸς διδάσκεται (fr. 232 West).
Homer too indicates that the Cretan is the eldest constitution, as he says "their cities, well-inhabited", and Archilochus says, in those lines in which he mocks someone, "the Cretan law is taught". (A.R.)

Thus far Archilochus' fragment has been examined in the context of Heraclides' citation. Would it be legitimate to disconnect it from it? If so, could the fragment actually belong to a completely different semantic field? After examining all poetic quotations in the Politiae, which display a marked tendency towards decontextualization, I argue that Heraclides' or his source does not reflect on Archilochus' original poem, and propose to read the fragment in the context of *mousike*. Indeed, early *nomoi* refer generally to pieces of music, or more specifically, to certain melodic patterns. Given both the attestation of *nomoi* in a musical sense in the 7th cent. BCE (Alcman 40, Terpander) and the nature of Archilochus' metapoetic statements (Rotstein, 'Archilochus' Poetics'), interpreting fragment 232 in a musical context would make perfect sense. The fragment would then read as follows:
he learns / is learning Cretan melodies
perhaps even
he is skilled in Cretan melodies

That Crete may have been associated with a certain musical mode may be supported by a fragment from Cratinus' *Trophonius* (ἔγειρε δὴ νῦν, Μοῦσα, Κρητικὸν μέλος, *Now then, my Muse, stir a Cretic song*, fr. 237 PCG). Similarly, a Cretan style appears in a metapoetic fragment of an hypoerchema usually attributed to Pindar (fr. 107b). If my suggestion is right, Archilochus could fill in, along with Alcman, the "virtual absence" of the term *nomos* in its musical sense before the Classical period.

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Hanna Roisman
Colby College

The *Rhesus* — A Prosatyric Play?

Scholars still debate the date and authorship of the *Rhesus.* We will probably never have an unequivocal answer to these questions. Regardless of whether it was written by Euripides, who was known for experimentation, or by someone else, could we reasonably consider it a prosatyric play, due to similarities with the *Alcestis* in its treatment of serious themes, certain satyric features, and some of the play's unconventional elements, such as lack of pathos, deflation of ethos, and the humor of some scenes?[1] Could the play have been presented in the place of the burlesque satyr-play which usually provided humor and release from the tragic tension created by the three preceding full-scale tragedies performed in the *agōn*? We know that in 438 BCE Euripides presented the *Alcestis,* which is neither a satyr-play, nor a full-fledged tragedy, as a prosatyric play. Although the authorship of the *Rhesus* is uncertain, the possibility that the play was prosatyric and by Euripides would support the view advanced by some scholars that Euripides preferred prosatyric plays to satyr-plays, and would thus help explain the low number of satyr-plays (eight) in the catalogue of Euripides' works. Whether the *Rhesus* was by Euripides or not, and whether or not it preceded the *Alcestis*, there are some common generic and thematic features between the two plays, which I would like to explore in my paper.

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Andras Karpati,
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Child contestants: role assignment in Greek musical iconography

In the collection of the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts, there is an Attic red-figure calyx-krater (51.836), unpublished, with a scene of musical contest. A young musician is depicted with the so-called *hybrid* (or 'Thracian') kithara the iconographic role of which in contest scenes is uncertain to this day. All contestants with hybrid kitharas are represented as young boys. What we need to ask is not only about the relationship between young musicians shown with hybrid kitharas and the Thracian singers of mythology. When an Athenian viewer saw an unusual instrument in the hands of a *kitharōidos* that was not only a statement, but also a negation: he is *not* playing the well-known concert kithara which was the proper instrument of professional musicians. In iconography, painters had to seek unambiguity and the details of the depictions of musical contests were changeable only moderately due to their century-long iconographic past. The hybrid kithara, however, could serve as a device of 'iconographic role assignment'. A couple of depictions on Anthesteria *choes* seem to confirm that a special musical instrument – neither a

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[1] Gilbert Murray has already suggested this in the Introduction to his translation of the play in 1913: vii-x; Burnett 1985: 188. Note 116 also raises the possibility that *Rhesus* was performed in fourth position.

kithara nor a lyre – was needed in order to secure an autonomous place for the contest for *paides kitharistai* in the spectrum of representations and to make the same distinction as does the prefix *paides* on the famous Panathenaic inscription (*IG* II² 2311). The stringed instrument associated with mythical Thracian singers seems to be perfect for this purpose in the musico-political intellectual atmosphere of the last decades of the 5th century BC. Today, along with the so far unknown vase in Budapest, eleven musical contest scenes with hybrid kitharas are known, all made between 440 and 390 BC. The calyx-krater of the Mykonos painter belongs to the earlier ones, which increases its significance.

מושב רביעי : "כי בתחבולות תעשה-לך מלחמה" – חידושים בחקר הצבא ההלניסטי והרומי"

גיא שטיבל, אוניברסיטת תל-אביב

"האיש הקטן-גדול הזה" – בעקבות אלכסנדר מוקדון בארץ-ישראל

שני מסעותיו הצבאיים של אלכסנדר מוקדון ג' בארץ-ישראל (332/1 לפסה"נ) בישרו את עלייך ההלניזם במרחבינו. האירוע האמור היה צבאי באופיו ועד לאחרונה הידיעות אודות הכוחות הצבאיים שהרכיבו את צבאו של אלכסנדר הגיעו ממקורות היסטוריים בלבד. בעשור האחרון הולכות ומצטברות עדויות חומריות הנקשרות במסעות האמורים. ממצאי ציוד צבאי שנחשפו באתרים בני התקופה, חלקם בשכבת חורבן, מאפשרים לראשונה לשפוך אור חדש על זהות הלוחמים בצבא אלכסנדר ובמיוחד לדון בזהות חיילי חיל השכירים. זאת ועוד, ממצאי התרבות החומרית הצבאית האמורה מסייעים בשחזור נתיב תנועתו של צבא אלכסנדר בארץ ישראל שרב היה הנסתר לגביו על הגלוי.

Guy Stiebel, Tel Aviv University

"The Little Great Man": In the Footsteps of Alexander the Great in the Land of Israel

The two military campaigns of Alexander the Great in the Land of Israel (332/331 BCE) forms a marked turning point in the history of the land. These events were military and thus, naturally, much scholarly attention was paid to the theme of Alexander's army. Nevertheless, until very recently the data concerning its nature depended on historical sources alone. In the past decade a growing number of artefactual finds associated with Alexander's campaigns were uncovered in Israel. Military equipment that was found in well-dated destruction layers shed light for the first time on the identity of the warriors in Alexander's army, most notably its mercenaries' units. Furthermore, the martial material culture provides indications for Alexander's route, a subject that has been a matter of much dispute and speculation.

דורון בן-עמי, רשות העתיקות

האם נתגלתה החקרא בירושלים

לאחרונה נחשפו בחפירות חניון גבעתי שבעיר דוד שרידיה של מערכת ביצור משוכללת. מערכת זו כללה חומה מוצקה, מגדל בנוי אבני גזית וחלקלקת עפר המשתפלת לכיוון ערוץ הטירופיאון. המטבעות שנתגלו בקונטקסט הנדון ומתוארכים החל מימיו של אנטיוכוס הרביעי אפיפאנס (164-175 לפנה"ס) ועד לימיו של אנטיוכוס השביעי סידטס (129-138 לפנה"ס) מאפשרים לקבוע את זמנה לימי השלטון הסלאוקי בירושלים.

בשל מיעוטם של השרידים האדריכליים שנחשפו בירושלים המתוארכים למאה השנייה לפנה"ס בכלל וכאלו אותם ניתן לשייך במידה רבה של ודאות לזמן הנוכחות הסלאוקית בעיר בפרט, התבססו הצעות השחזור שהועלו בנוגע למיקומה האפשרי של החקרא הסלאוקית על המקורות ההיסטוריים ובהקשר ישיר להם גם על הנתונים הגיאוגרפיים. הנתונים הארכיאולוגיים החדשים מחניון גבעתי מאפשרים לראשונה להציע את מיקומה של המצודה הסלאוקית לראש גבעת עיר דוד, חולשת מקרוב על דרכי הגישה אל הבית והמקדש. ראשי חיצים מברונזה ואבני קלע מעופרת, כמו גם אבני בליסטראות שהתגלו למרגלות המגדל ועל החלקלקה הם עדות לניסיונות כיבושה עד לנפילתה לידי החשמונאים בשנת 141 לפנה"ס.

Doron Ben-Ami
Israel Antiquities Authority

"Has the Acra Fortress been found in Jerusalem"?

Recently, the remains of an impressive fortification system came to light in Jerusalem, in the Givati excavations at the City of David hill. The fortifications consisted of a massive wall, a tower and a glacis. The many coins that originated in this context are dated to the time of the Seleucid rule in Jerusalem, ranging from Antiochus IV Epiphanes to Antiochus VII Sidetes.
Due to the, so far meager, archaeological remains dated to the second century B.C.E. in Jerusalem in general and to the Seleucid presence in the city in particular, many of the reconstructions dealing with the location of the Seleucid fortress, the Acra, were based primarily on historical and geographical criteria rather than on solid archaeological evidence. The new archaeological discovery offers a firsthand glance of this fortress, located only a stone's throw south of the Temple. Bronze arrowheads, lead slingshots and stone ballistae found at the foot of the fortification system are evidence for the conquest efforts aimed at this fortress until it surrendered to the Hasmonean in 141 B.C.E.

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יותם תפר (יחד עם ג'ונתן דיוויד ומתיו אדאמס), אוניברסיטת חיפה ורשות העתיקות

מחנה הלגיון בלגיו – כפר עותנאי

מחנה הלגיון בלגיו–כפר עותנאי נזכר במקורות היסטוריים וידוע כי הוקם בראשית המאה השנייה לסה"נ. בעקבות סקרים ארכיאולוגיים שנערכו באתר ועונת חפירות שנערכה במהלך שנת 2013 הוצע לזהות את מיקומו בגבעת אל-מאנאך מצפון-מערב לצומת מגידו המודרנית.

העונה השנייה של חפירות מחנה הלגיון הרומי השישי בלגיו שליד תל מגידו נערכה בחודשים יוני– יולי 2015 כחלק מפרויקט המחקר של עמק יזרעאל (JVRP), מטעם מכון אולברייט בירושלים ובתמיכת רשות העתיקות. נפתחו שני שטחי חפירה במדרון המזרחי של הגבעה, באזור המזוהה על ידינו כמרכז המחנה.

בשטח החפירה התחתון, באזור שבו נחשפו השרידים הארכיאולוגיים על פני השטח ממש, נחפר רחוב ראשי, שרוחבו כעשרה מטרים ומשני צדיו נחשפו שרידי מבני גזית ויסודות של מבנים נוספים. בשטח החפירה העליון נחשף רחוב נוסף שלצדו קירות חצובים ובנויים ששרדו לגובה של כמטר אחד. בחפירה תועדו אבני גזית ופריטים ארכיטקטוניים. הממצאים הבולטים בשטח זה הינם מתקן שירותים (לטרינה) שרצפתו בנוייה מלבנים טבועים בטביעות צבאיות, ומערך של תעלות ניקוז וצינורות מים.

בהרצאה נסקור את ממצאי החפירה ואת תרומתם להבנת תכניתו הפנימית של מחנה הלגיון ושלבים בתולדותיו. כל אלו מאפשרים להציע כי לראשונה נחשף בתחומי ארץ ישראל מחנה לגיון צבאי במתכונת מלאה כמו אלה המוכרים במערב האימפריה.

Yotam Tepper (with Jonathan David and Matthew J. Adams)
Haifa University and the Israel Antiquities Authority

The Roman Legionary Base in Legio-Kefar 'Othnay

The Roman legionary Base in Legio-Kefar 'Othnay is noted in the historical record, from which, we learn that it was founded in the early 2nd century CE. Following extensive archaeological surveys and an excavation season during 2013 we have suggested identifying its location with El Manakh hill, north-West of the modern Megiddo junction.

The second season of excavations of Legio VI Ferrata base at Legio took place in June-July 2015, as part of the Jezreel Valley Research Project (JVRP) on behalf of Albright Institute and with the support of the Israel Antiquities Authorities (IAA). The excavations focused upon the suggested center of the legionary Base, in two areas of the eastern slope of the El Manakh hill.

The eastern area, in which the archaeological remains were literality on the surface, a main road was uncovered. The road was found to be 10m in width, along the sides of which we have uncovered the foundations of several buildings; the remains of an ashlar-stone structure are in particular noteworthy. The western area was found to be occupied by an additional road alongside of which hewn and stone built walls have been preserved to the height of 1m. Of particular interest are the remains of a latrine, which featured a stamped tile floor and a web of drainage channels and water pipes.

The lecture will be devoted to the presentation of the new finds and their contribution to our understanding of the Base inner plan. The recent discoveries allow us to assert that for the first time a legionary base, similar in size and plan to the western specimen, was uncovered in Roman Palestine.

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חיים בן-דוד, מכללת כנרת ורשות העתיקות

"היי דרומה" – עדות אבני המיל ומתקני הצבא מהנגב, הערבה וארץ ערב

מבט כולל על תפרוסת אבני המיל בדרומה של ארץ ישראל מלמדת שמצפון לקו אשקלון – שיפולי דרום הר-חברון מוכרות למעלה מ-600 אבני מיל לאורך מערכת הכבישים הרומית, בעוד שמדרום לקו זה אבני המיל נדירות ביותר ואינם מצויות גם לאורך כבישים רומיים מרכזיים (דוגמת מעלה דרגות – מלחתה – ממשית או הדרך מאשקלון ודרומה). דווקא באזורים מדבריים היינו מצפים להשתמרות יתר של אבני מיל לו אכן הוצבו, כפי שנשתמרו היטב בקטעים המדבריים של ויה נובה טריאנה בירדן. נראה שהצבת אבני מיל שתפקידן בין היתר היה פרסומי/תעמולתי הוצבו בעיקר בתחומי ארץ נושבת מקום בו נפח התנועה רב. בשנת 1994 נמצאו בחולות שמדרום לקיבוץ יהל שבערבה שלוש קבוצות של אבני מיל (8– 12 אבנים בכל קבוצה) במרחקים של בערך מיל רומי אחת מחברתה. רוב הכתובות היו בצבע אדום בלבד ורק מיעוטם היו חרותות. כל הכתובות מציינות את שמו של דיוקלטינוס או קונסטנטינוס ומרחב זמנם נע בין 293 ל- 324 לסה"נ. בכל הכתובות מצויינת Osia כנקודה ממנה

נמדדו המרחקים, אך רק בקבוצה האמצעית ניתן היה לפענח את המרחק בוודאות – 12 מיל, הוא המרחק המדויק למצודה הרומית ביטבתה.

המצודה הרומית ביטבתה, בה נתגלתה כתובת הקמה מימי דיוקליטיניוס, לא שימש כבסיס הרומי הגדול ביותר באזור, שאותו יש לקבוע כמובן באילה מקום מפקדת הלגיון העשירי מאז שלהי המאה השלישית לסה"נ. אף-על-פי-כן, אבני המיל מתייחסות לאוסיה = יטבתה ולא לאילה. בהרצאה נציע שלפנינו עדות להצבת אבני מיל על ידי יחידה צבאית מקומית בקטע מסוים הקרוב לבסיסה. כך יש להבין, לתפיסתי, את כל יתר ההופעות, הבודדות יחסית, של אבני המיל בדרומה של ארץ ישראל כולל אלו של נתיב דרך הבשמים ובמזרח ירדן – אבני מיל שהוצבו בזיקה למחנות או למצודות הצבא הרומי ולא לאורך תוואי הדרך כולה.

Chaim Ben-David, Kinneret College and the Israel Antiquities Authority

"Go South" –
Milestones and Military Instillations from the Negev, Arabah and the Land of Arab

An examination of the milestone spatial distribution in the southern part of Roman Palestine indicates that north of the line of Ashkelon-Mount Hebron's southern outskirts, we are familiar with some 600 specimens along the Roman road system. South of that line the milestones become extremely rare and are not found even along the main Roman roads. This is a surprising phenomenon, for we would expect a better preservation of milestones had they indeed been erected, like along the desert sections of the Via Traiana Nova. It appears that the erection of milestones that served among other purposes as propaganda focused upon locations with a greater volume of traffic. In 1994 three clusters of milestones were discovered in the dunes south of Kibbutz Yahel (8-12 stones in each), about one Roman mile away from each other. Most of the inscriptions were red painted and only a minority was incised. All inscriptions mention the name of Diocletian or Constantine and appear to date between 293 and 324 CE. All inscriptions note Osia as the point from which the distances were measured, but it is the central cluster in which the distance was decipherable – 12 miles – the exact distance to the Roman fort at Yotvata.

The Roman fort at Yotvata, in which a foundation inscription dated to Diocletian' reign was uncovered, did not function as the largest Roman base in the area. This function should be clearly attributed to Aila, ever since the late 3rd century CE. Nevertheless and quite surprisingly, all the milestones mention the name of Osia = Yotvata and not that of Aila. In my lecture I will suggest that this evidence should be applied to all southern isolated examples, and that the mechanism in the Negev, Arabah and east Jordan for setting milestones was commonly on a local level, by local units with a linkage to their bases, rather than to the entire road.

מושב חמישי: מהומרוס לשיר השירים רבה

עילם אלוני
אוניברסיטת תל אביב

"פייר פליי (fair play) " *באיליאדה*

את הרצאתי אפתח בביאור מושגים מרכזיים, כגון: מהו משחק? מהו פייר פליי? וכיו"ב, ולאחר מכן אעבור לסקירת העדויות הרלבנטיות תוך התמקדות בשירים 3, 7, ו-23 מתוך האיליאדה.

פייר פליי, אם לנסח זאת בקצרה, הוא עיקרון שנובע מתוך עמדה אתית מסוימת, לפיה ניצחון במשחק תחרותי הוא בעל ערך רק אם הוא מושג כנגד יריב ראוי ושווה ערך בתנאים הוגנים ושוויוניים לשני הצדדים. המוטיבציה העיקרית של הגיבור ההומרי להשתתף בתחרות היא להתעלות על האחר ולהיות הטוב ביותר בענף מסוים כפי שמלמד הציווי ההומרי הידוע " αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων", ועל כן הגיבור בדרך כלל לא יבקש ליהנות מיתרון שהושג באופן לא שוויוני אלא דווקא יתעקש להעניק לעניין ליריבו הזדמנות שווה. כל זאת על מנת שלא ידבק שום רבב בניצחונו ולא יתעורר שום ספק באשר ליכולותיו האישיות.

עיקרון הפייר פליי מקבל את ביטויו בחברה ההומרית בשני אופנים מנוגדים למדי: א) בצורת כללי משחק רבים ופרוצדורות נלוות שנועדו להבטיח עיקרון זה ואף לאזן באופן שוויוני יתרונות מקדמיים שקשורים במבנה התחרות (כמו רכיבה במסלול הפנימי במרוץ המרכבות ואחרים). הללו יודגמו על ידי מגוון התחרויות הרב במשחקים לכבוד פטרוקלוס באיליאדה 23, כמו גם על ידי שני הדו קרבות באיליאדה 3 ו-7. ב) בצורת גינוי חריף מצד נציגי הקהילה הבכירים של האינדיבידואל אשר מעז להפר עיקרון זה. מקרה המבחן המרכזי בעניין זה יהיה מרוץ המרכבות באיליאדה 23 (במיוחד האפיזודה שבין אנטילוכוס ומנלאוס).

העיסוק בשאלה הזו דומני מציג פן נוסף וחדשני, שלא נחקר עד עתה דיו, בכל הנוגע לאתוס התחרותיות בחברה ההומרית. כמו כן, דיון זה מאפשר התבוננות מחודשת במושגים מרכזיים בשפה היוונית בכלל ובתחום זה בפרט, כגון: μῆτις, δόλος ואחרים.

Eilam Aloni
Tel Aviv University

"That's not fair": the concept of fair play in the *Iliad*

This paper aims to illustrate that, contrary to what is usually supposed, the concept of 'fair play' formed an integral part of Homeric society's ethics as portrayed by the *Iliad* (and to some degree by the *Odyssey* as well). As is suggested by its very name, the concept of fair play is deeply rooted in the sphere of games and competitions. Therefore this paper will concentrate mainly on two types of competitive games: the eight different competitions in the funeral games for Patroclus in Iliad 23, and the two duels (as will be shown, the duel exhibits all the formal characteristics of a 'game') of Paris vs. Menelaus and Hector vs. Ajax.

The first part of this paper will be dedicated to the definition of this work's two central concepts: what is a game? (a definition that rests heavily on Johan Huizinga's remarkable work in his *Homo Ludens* while adding new and original ideas), what is fair play? And other principles like "leveled-playing-field", "handicapping" and so on, that are crucial for the upholding of fair play. The rest of the paper will be dedicated to two major tasks: first, to examine the formal structure of various competitions (focusing on the games in Iliad 23 and the two duels in Iliad 3 and 7) and detect rules or procedures that are designed to ensure fair play. Secondly, to examine the reaction of prominent members of the community to an infringement of fair play by one of its members, insofar as such infringement occurs. The focus of this investigation will be on the episode between Menelaus and Antilochus in the chariot race.

This paper claims that fair play is the product of a certain ethical stance, according to which victory in competition is meaningful and worthy only if it is gained in a proper and fair manner. My conclusion is that various and abundant manifestations of fair play and of the ethical stance from which it stems, are evident throughout the *Iliad* in all the competitions held by Homeric society.

■■

דויד לב
אוניברסיטת בר-אילן

"מה שאתה אוכל זה מה שאתה": מזון כמייצג מוסר אישי של הקיסרים בחיבור "חיי שנים-עשר הקיסרים" לסווטוניוס

גאיוס טרנקווילוס סווטוניוס (סביב 69 – 130 לספירה) בחיבורו הביוגרפי על אודות הקיסרים מיוליוס קיסר ועד דומיטיאנוס, הידוע בשם "חיי שנים-עשר הקיסרים" (Vita Caesarum), בוחן ומעריך, בעיקר, את תכונותיו החיוביות והשליליות של כל קיסר וקיסר ביחס לתפקידו הציבורי כקיסר. סווטוניוס מתאר את האמצעים אותם נקט הקיסר ביחסו לרומא, איטליה והפרובינקיות, הסנאט, האצולה והחברה הרומית (חקיקה, מיסוי, מסעות צבאיים, מפעלי בנייה, קיומם של משחקים וכדומה).

ההערכה הכללית של סווטוניוס את קיסרי רומא מיוליוס קיסר ועד דומיטיאנוס מתחלקת לשלוש דרגות הערכה: חיובית לחלוטין (אוגוסטוס וטיטוס, למשל), שלילית לחלוטין (לדוגמא: קאליגולה ונירו) והערכה משתנה משלילית לחיובית באופן כרונולוגי המקביל למסלול חייו של הקיסר (וספאסיאנוס).

בנוסף להערכה הציבורית של כל קיסר וקיסר, אנו למדים גם על המוסר האישי של כל קיסר וקיסר. סווטוניוס משתמש בתיאורי מזון, אכילה ושתייה כאמת מידה מוסרית לאורך כל חיבורו בתיאור אופיו המוסרי, מעלותיו וחסרונותיו של הקיסר. אידיאלים כגון 'מוסר האבות' (mos maiorum), תכונות אופי חיוביות (virtus) כגון מידתיות, חסכנות, רצינות ותכונות אופי שליליות כגון תאוות בצע, בזבזנות ופריצות מוצאים את ביטויים באמצעות תיאורי מזון ומנהגי אכילה.

מכאן עולות שאלות שעליהן אני מתכוון לענות בהרצאתי: האם ישנה התאמה בין 'קיסר טוב' מבחינה ציבורית לבין 'קיסר טוב' באופן מוסרי? האם אדם שאינו מתנהג לפי אמות המידה המקובלות או הראויות יכול לשמש כקיסר טוב? האם העובדה שכעת – בתקופת הקיסרות – שעה שכל הכוח והסמכות מרוכזים בידיו של אדם אחד, חל איזשהו שינוי בתפישת המוסר האידיאלי מימי הרפובליקה שדגל במתינות, מידתיות וחסכנות? כיצד תרמו והוסיפו תיאורי המוסר להערכה הכללית של הקיסרים בחיבורו של סווטוניוס?

David Lew, Bar-Ilan University

What you eat is what you are:
Food as personal moral standard in Suetonius' *Vita Caesarum*.

C. Tranquillus Suetonius, in his collection of imperial biographies known as "Lives of the Emperors", examines and evaluates, mainly, each emperor's virtues and vices which relates to his public role; he describes each emperor's measures with regard to the city of Rome, with regard to Italy and the provinces (measures such as legislation, taxation, military affairs, building and games and so on). Suetonius also looks at the relationships between the emperor and the Senate, the emperor and the knights and the emperor and the people.

I would like to show how food, eating and drinking habits in Suetonius' Lives were used to describe the emperor's personal moral qualities and values, and also his vices: how idea like "mos maiorum" (ancestral custom), how qualities such as parsimony, assiduity, moderation and gravity and how personal vices like greediness, luxury and avarice were illuminated by food.

Food, eating and drinking were used by Suetonius to complement his descriptions of the emperors, and by focusing on personal manners and behavior, virtues and vices, the biographer provides us with a more complete description of the emperors of Rome.

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רבקה ניר
האוניברסיטה הפתוחה

הרועים בסיפורי הלידה – סמל למאמינים הנוכרים הראשונים בקהילה הנוצרית הקדומה

לאחר תיאור הלידה של ישו בבית לחם, משלב מחבר האוונגליון השלישי סיפור על קבוצת של רועים שהתבשרו על ידי מלאך ה׳ על לידת המשיח: "הנני מבשר לכם שמחה גדולה אשר תהיה לכל העם. היום נולד לכם מושיע בעיר דוד, הוא המשיח האדון". הרועים הלכו לבית לחם שם הם מצאו את מרים, יוסף והתינוק השוכב באבוס. לאחר שהם השמיעו את הבשורה של המלאך אודות הילד הם חזרו כשהם מהללים ומשבחים את האלוהים (ב: 8 – 20). פירושים שונים נתנו במחקר לסמל של הרועים ולמקומם בסיפור. הציעו לראות בהם דמויות פרוטוטיפיות לשליחים הנוצריים, מבשרי המאמינים הנוצריים או סמל לקהל התלמידים בכנסיה הקדומה. אני מציעה להבין את הסמל של הרועים בזיקה לפרשנות הכוללת שלי לסיפורי הלידה אצל לוקס (פרקים א-ב) הרואה באישים הנזכרים בסיפורים אלה מודל למאמינים הראשונים במשיח. לעומת זכריה ואלישבע, יוסף ומרים ושמעון וחנה המייצגים את הנוצרים- היהודים, הרועים מייצגים את המאמינים הראשונים שבאו מקרב הנוכרים בעולם ההלניסטי-רומי. הטיעון המרכזי שעליו אני מבססת את טענתי הוא הדמיון שבין ההכרזה של המלאך על הולדת ישו להכרזות שהיו נהוגות בעולם הרומי על יום ההולדת של הקיסר. המונחים שבהם עושה הסיפור האוונגלי שימוש מופיעים בכתובות ובחיבורים מתקופת אוגוסטוס שבהם הוא מתואר כמושיע, ("סוטר"), האדון ("קיריוס"), המביא עידן חדש, ויום הולדתו היה "ראשית הבשורות הטובות שנתנו ליקום באמצעותו". הדמיון שבין ההכרזה על הולדת ישו לבין ההכרזה על הולדת הקיסר נועדה להעמיד את ישו כריסטוס במקום הקיסר. כנגד אוגוסטוס, הסוטר האימפריאלי עומד ישו, הסוטר החדש שיביא גאולה לעולם. כנגד השלום הרומאי שהביא אוגוסטוס עלי אדמות יביא המשיח "שלום" טרנסצנדנטאלי ושמימי לאנושות (לוקס ב: 14). בהרצאתי אבקש להעמיק השוואה זו.

Rivka Nir
Open University

The shepherds in the Nativity Story – a symbol of Pagan believers in the early Christian community

After the description of Jesus' birth, Luke interweaves a story about a group of shepherds to whom an angel reveals the news about the birth of Christ: "Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord" (Luke, 2: 10-11). The shepherds went to Beit-Lehem, where they found Maria, Joseph and the baby lying in a manger. After telling what was revealed to them concerning the child they returned glorifying and praising God (Luke 2: 16-20). Various explanations were proposed to the symbol of the shepherds and its meaning in the story: a prototype image to the Christian apostles; the forerunners of the Christian faithful or the symbol of the disciples in the early church. In my paper I will claim that the symbol of the shepherds should be understood in the context of my whole interpretation to the birth stories in Luke (1-2): In these stories the author describes the images of the first believers in the Messiah. The three

pairs: Zacharias and Elizabeth, Joseph and Maria, Simon and Ana represent the first Jewish-Christians whose feet are planted still in the Jewish world but they already have accepted the belief in Christ. The shepherds, on the other hand, suppose to represent the first believers from the gentiles in the Hellenistic-Roman world. My main argument is the affinity between the announcement of the angel on the birth of Jesus and the declarations in the Roman world about the birthday of the emperor. The terms which the story uses appear in inscriptions and works from Augustus time in which he is depicted as a savior, "ku/rioj" who brings a new era and his birthday was the inauguration of the good tidings to the world through him. By drawing these similarities Luke wanted to present Christ as a replacement of the emperor. Instead of Roman Soter stands now Christ a new Soter who will bring the real transcendental, heavenly redemption to the world. In my paper I will explore deeper this comparison.

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עמית גבריהו
האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים

מילים שאולות מן התקופה הביזנטית בשיר השירים רבה

קיומן של מאות מלים שאולות מן היוונית והלטינית בספרות חז״ל ידוע ומתועד. העבודה על המלים הללו הוגבלה, עם זאת, לשאלות של אטימולוגיה ופרשנות של ספרות זו. שימוש במלים הללו על מנת לעמוד על המוצא והזמן של חיבור רבני, או כדי לדון בשאלת ההשפעה האימפריאלי על חז״ל, נדיר יותר. בהרצאה זו אבחן כמה מילים יווניות-ביזנטיות במדרש שיר השירים רבה, ואשתמש בהם על מנת לעמוד על זמנו ומוצאו של חיבור זה, ודרכו לדון בשאלה הרחבה יותר של מידת הרומאיות של החכמים במאה הה׳-ו׳ במרחב הביזנטי.

Amit Gvaryahu
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Byzantine Loanwords in Canticles Rabbah

That there are hundreds of Greek and Latin loanwords in rabbinic literature is a well known and well documented fact. Work on these loanwords has however been mainly limited to questions of etymology and proper interpretation of the rabbinic texts. The loanwords have rarely been used to either determine the provenance or date of a rabbinic work or as a gauge of the impact of the imperial world on a provincial elite (in this case, the rabbis). I will examine several clearly-Byzantine loanwords in the Midrash Canticles Rabbah and use them to discuss both the date and provenance of the rabbinic work, as well as broader questions of Romanization and provincial elites in 5-6th century Palestine.

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SESSION SIX: LATIN LITERATURE

Avi Avidov
Beit-Berl College

Popular Morality and the Carnivalesque in Plautine Comedy

Nearly half a century after its publication in 1968 Erich Segal's *Roman Laughter* remains the single most influential study of Plautine comedy to date. Its "essential thesis," namely, that "Plautus presents a 'Saturnalian' reversal of Roman values to evoke Roman laughter (preface to

2nd ed., 1987)," has lost none of its hold on the minds of the majority of Plautine scholars, and its central claim that Plautine comedy is best understood as morally indifferent continues to dominate, to delimit the outlines of, and to define the central problems addressed by current Plautine scholarship. The thrust of the paper I wish to deliver at the conference is to question this approach in light of a contrary assumption, namely, that Plautine comedy was deeply imbued with a highly universalist conception of morality, whose impact may be identified at all levels of analysis of the oeuvre, from the depiction of characters through its conceptual vocabulary, the construction of scenes, to the thematics of the plays. In doing so I shall be endorsing the Bakhtinian concept of the carnivalesque in order to account for the Saturnalian element rightly identified by Segal as the key to its comic logic, but wrongly construed by him as excluding a moral content.

As a case in point I shall offer an analysis of *Pseudolus* meant to support my point that the Saturnalian reversal of roles is but one element of a wider and more complex worldview marked by a clear ethical stance.

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Horace's Bookish Birds and Bees

In modern folklore, the birds and the bees represent a law of nature: living beings do not materialize *ex nihilo*; rather, they are conceived by means of pre-existing substances and mediating agents. The same law applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to art and literature. Yet what substances and agents were involved in the creative process of Latin poetry?

This paper shall explore the writings of the eminent Augustan poet Quintus Horatius Flaccus, with a focus on an essential part of his own "birds and bees". I shall argue that book collections and libraries figure as important tools for a poet's work in Horace's poetry. Moreover, they are employed to assert his professional identity as an author. Horace offers the reader a complex array of such images. On the one hand, in the *Satires* and the *Epistles* he acknowledges the importance of book collections as a necessary condition for literary composition. On the other hand, in the same works he displays an ambivalent, at times even a negative attitude towards certain book collections and their excesses. These images thereby allow Horace to express literary, philosophical, and social criticism, while simultaneously constructing his own distinctive poetic character.

Although the paper shall deal with birds and bees primarily in the above-mentioned figurative sense, they do promise to make a few genuine guest appearances and demonstrate their bookish tendencies.

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The pseudo-Senecan *Seneca* on the good old times:
The motif of the Golden Age in the *Octavia*

In the *fabula praetexta Octavia*, which, set in 62 C.E., deals with Nero's divorce from Octavia and re-marriage with Poppaea and his eventual order for Octavia to be executed, the emperor's advisor Lucius Annaeus Seneca appears as dramatic *persona* on stage. After delivering a polemic soliloquy on the decline of moral vices over the (last) centuries, making extensively use

of the motif of the Golden Age, he comes into conflict with the persona of *Nero*, who enters the stage shortly later. After their vigorous dispute on the right *virtutes* for an emperor to display – either show *clementia* and *venia* or rather cause *terror* and *timor* – Seneca exits without ever appearing on stage again thereafter.

In my paper I would like to widely focus on Seneca's soliloquy; the dispute with Nero will strengthen the point I will try to make even further. While scholars have thoroughly and satisfactorily analysed to which degree *Seneca*'s soliloquy is indebted to the treatment of this motif in Hesiod and the Augustan poets Tibullus and Ovid, which I wish not to discard, I would like to highlight that one more source must be taken into consideration: The historical philosopher Seneca the Younger himself. After all, the author of the *Octavia*, who is no longer believed to be the Neronian Seneca but rather a Flavian successor, chooses him as dramatic persona on stage. My train of thought, along which my discussion will be modelled, briefly runs as follows:

1) A brief introductory comparison between *Seneca*'s discussion of the Ages in *Oct*. and Seneca's in *Epist*. 90 is necessary, analysing to what extent *Seneca* really follows Seneca.
2) The historical Seneca in his early writings (*De Clem*., *Apoc*) praises Nero. The dramatic Seneca is obviously modelled along the historical figure, as the entire setting of *Octavia* as such closely mirrors the historical situation of the mid-sixties, thus we could even say: the dramatic *Seneca* used to praise Nero in his early writings.
3) The society of *Seneca*'s times is far removed from the times of the Golden Age and stands in sharp contrast to it.
4) The entire mankind is doomed and destruction brought upon them if their leader's virtues are corrupted, this connection between leader and mass becomes apparent in *De Clem*. and is discussed marginally also in the *Epistulae*.
5) If we judge the dramatic *Nero* by Senecan measurements (for instance as displayed in *De Clem*.), which are to be interpreted as congruent with *Senecan* ones, he must be called a **tyrant**.

Conclusion: The Golden Age motif then is used not only as such to contrast earlier lucky times with the bad times now under Nero, but by recalling Seneca's statements in *De Clem*., *Apoc*., *Epist*. the author of the *Octavia* suggests that even *Seneca* himself, one of Nero's former closest advisors, has turned away from Nero by accusing him of being the reason for today's decline.

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Intus at in cute: skin in Latin literature

Recent decades have seen a decreasing amount of research devoted to the human body in antiquity. Yet, although there are many discussions on the body and its parts, it seems that only scant attention has been directed so far to the biggest organ in our body: the skin.

The skin covers all of the body including the corporeal orifices; it has a larger weight and bigger surface than any other of our sense organs; it has numerous sensitivities such as heat, pain, and pressure; and it is connected to the processes of respiration, metabolism, and evaporation. Beside its material aspects, the skin carries symbolic meanings; it is intertwined in language and culture; it exteriorizes one's inner feelings and emotions; and it is connected to social interaction.

Existing research on the skin in antiquity has so far referred mostly to different aspects of its colour, as well as to cosmetic practices and gender issues. The current paper wishes to fill this lacuna, and to discuss additional aspects of the materiality of the skin and its symbolic

meanings. The discussion will be based on Roman Latin literature –from the Plautine comedies, through philosophical writings, and up to the medical text of Celsus.

I shall discuss the structure of the human skin and its features, and explore its symbolic meanings and social functions. I shall concentrate especially on skin diseases and cutaneous injuries, their treatment and their symbolic and social meanings. I shall argue that the skin was perceived as an unstable borderline object, with particular perception of time, and paradoxical features; a complex site of sickness and convalescent medical practices; and a space on which the medically objective gaze and the sick subjective body interact. I shall also explore the relationship between the material cutaneous envelope, the perception of identity, and the psychic processes.

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CLOSING SESSION: PHILOSOPHY AND RHETORIC

Gabriel Danzig
Bar Ilan University

"Let us alter and corrupt the maxim:" Aristodemos and Socrates in the prologue of *Symposium*

The prologues to Plato's dialogues are rich with dramatic and philosophic content. In this paper, I examine the interaction between Socrates and Aristodemos in *Symposium*. The key to understanding this interaction is found in Socrates' observation that by proceeding together to the feast of Agathon he and Aristodemos will be altering and corrupting the maxim, "The good go of their own accord to the feasts of the good." In what sense would this constitute an alteration and corruption of the maxim?

Socrates points out that Homer may have both corrupted and abused the maxim by portraying the unworthy Menelaos as going uninvited to a feast of his brother Agamemnon (see Il 2.408). Because they assume that Socrates would not be rude to his loving admirer Aristodemos, and that he is eager to have him accompany him, most scholars do not believe that Socrates is suggesting that Aristodemos is an unworthy guest, although this is the most obvious implication of Socrates' comment.[2] Aristodemos himself draws this inference, and Socrates does not contradict him. But while it is true that Socrates is never rude it is a mistake to assume that he would want his old friend to join him as he hunts the beauty of Agathon. There are many signs that both Socrates and Agathon would prefer to avoid Aristodemos. As is well-known, Socrates does not appear at Agathon's door together with Aristodemos, thus preventing their being seated together. Although he guesses that Aristodemos has come by Socrates' interference, Agathon cleverly seats Aristodemos by another guest, Eryximachos (175a), thus insuring that Socrates will be available to sit by him. Despite his desire to evade Aristodemos, Socrates avoids being rude by allowing Aristodemos to infer that he intended to corrupt the verse only by using Agathon's name in place of the genitive plural of agathos. The scene as a whole portrays Socrates as attempting to avoid Aristodemos, while Aristodemos pushes himself into the party despite Socrates' reluctance.

Once we understand the scene in this way, the connection to Socrates' theory of love becomes clear. In his speech, Socrates emphasizes the pursuit of the beautiful wherever it may be found, rejecting the theory of Aristophanes with its emphasis on loyalty to a single partner. Socrates here behaves in accordance with this, seeking to distance himself from the unlovely Aristodemos and to gain access to the beautiful Agathon. Like eros, Socrates is a clever hunter, contriving means to

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[2] See for example Mary Nichols, *Socrates on friendship and community: reflections on Plato's* Symposium, Phaedrus *and* Lysis*, Cambridge, 33-34.

obtain his quarry. But Socrates is not the only image of eros presented in the introduction. Aristodemos is also an image of eros: he is a barefoot, unbeautiful man in love with philosophy – at least as embodied in Socrates. He resembles *penia* in that he is not invited to the party but insists on coming anyway. Like *penia*, he will play the passive role of receiving the literary offspring of the invited members of the party. His insistence on attending, even after he has grasped the implications of Socrates' words, illustrates the way in which love contrives to obtain its aims by any means. As Pausanias says, even dishonorable behavior is forgiven when the motive is erotic (182d-183b). While Aristodemos is not worthy enough to speak at the *Symposium*, his presence is important because he is the source of all our knowledge of the evening. It is by the merit of Aristodemos' overweening love that Plato explains the transmission of the story of the *Symposium* to our hands.

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Teddy Fassberg
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Isocrates' Ineptitude: the *Epilogue* to the *Panathenaicus*

The last public speech composed by Isocrates was the *Panathenaicus,*completed in 339 BCE, when its author was 97. It is to his age that scholars have, out of charity, attributed what they see to be the poor quality of his final work. The negative assessment of the speech stems most prominently from its infamous epilogue in which Isocrates, in recounting a series of bizarre discussions with his students over the worthiness of the speech, seems to undercut the praise of Athens and denigration of Sparta which preceded it. "This epilogue", Norlin laments, "if not bordering upon ineptitude, is the least felicitous part of a discourse which throughout falls below the level of his best work". Jebb concurs, calling it a "rambling supplement", the result of which, Dobson says, "is to increase the length of the speech by one third, and completely to spoil the balance and destroy whatever unity it possessed". The consensus is that this speech should not be taken very seriously, least of all its epilogue. That is what I would like to do in this paper.

My purpose will be to show, first, that far from being misshapen and incoherent, the epilogue to the *Panathenaicus* is in fact supremely sophisticated, the work of a literary artist at the improbable peak of his powers. I will then try to make sense of its paradoxical nature, and interpret it in the context of what precedes it, offering my own interpretation of the work as a whole, in contrast with previous interpretations of the speech, most of which have assumed its lack of "thematic unity". Finally, I will endeavor to fit the strategy employed in the*Panathenaicus* into the broader context of Isocrates' oeuvre and his rhetorical repertoire and theory.

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Ricardo Gancz
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Pistis, Phantasia and the arousal of emotions: A reading of *Rhet 1.1*

For Aristotle, the goal of the art of rhetoric is to produce *pistis,* and one of the pillars of his treatise on rhetoric is the three *entechnoi pisteis:* persuasion through *logos, ethos* or *pathos.* (*Rhet 1.2*). However, In *Rhet 1.1*, Aristotle presents an explanation of the art of rhetoric that seems to consider persuasion through emotions out of the boundaries of rhetoric when he criticizes other manuals for its usage. This seemly contradiction has led scholars (such as

Barnes, 1995, Fortenbaugh, 2014) to dismiss *Rhet 1.1* as being part of an earlier period. My paper will present a reading of *Rhet 1.1* that is consistent with the rest of the book.

First, I argue that a reading of *Rhet 1.2* suggests that Aristotle acknowledges what he wrote in *Rhet 1.1* and does not dismiss it. Second, I propose that the three *entechnoi pisteis* should be understood in the light of Aristotle's psychology, more specifically the concepts of *phantasia* and its relationship with knowledge and decision. Accordingly there are competing *phantasmata* in the audience that comes from their knowledge, experiences and impressions and when the rhetorician uses any of the *entechnoi pisteis* he is trying to adjust the pre-existing *phantasmata* to the position he wants the audience to choose so that the audience will reach the decision he advocates. This means that *pisteis* should be understood as things that are intended to produce persuasive effects *by verisimilitude*.

Finally, this understanding helps to explain Aristotle's position on *Rhet 1.1:* He was not excluding persuasion through emotions from the domain of *Rhetoric* but only stating that persuasion through *logos* has to be the main part of *Rhetoric* since it sets the basis for providing verisimilitude. Persuasion through *ethos* and *pathos* help to achieve persuasiveness but it must come with verisimilitude established by the *logos.*