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After the death of Patroklos in Book 18, Achilles is consumed with grief. In this state he launches himself into an unparalleled killing spree against the Trojans. His anger results in a cycle of repeated vengeance on Hektor’s corpse, broken only by the intervention of the gods and his own decision to let go. Scholarship, however, has neglected the relationship between this insatiable anger and Achilles’ grief for his beloved comrade. Why does Achilles’ grief result in such vast fury, when, for example, the Trojans’ grief for Hektor does not? In this paper I argue that anger and grief are linked in Achilles’ story through the dynamic of longing. The poem vividly links the two emotions in Achilles’ first lament over the body of his dead friend. His lament is introduced with a striking simile that compares Achilles’ grief to that of a mother lioness whose cubs have been stolen, and who goes off in restless pursuit (Iliad 18.315-323). The longing that drives her transition from grief to anger emerges in parallel form in Achilles’ lament, and I argue that this link is part of the poem’s larger interest in the insatiety of Achilles’ anger and its inability to assuage his grief.

Before turning to the simile, we should first look at the backdrop for grief language in the poem. The Iliad contains a linguistic peculiarity that scholarly literature has never discussed. Achilles’ grief for Patroklos (together with the Myrmidons’ and his horses’) is explicitly called a ποθή, a force of longing. One might expect to find the same collocation of grief and longing in the Trojans’ great need for Hektor after
his death, but their grief is never described with this term. The unique constellation of terms around grief for Patroklos points us to a particular way of understanding the nature of Achilles’ grief. ποθή, when it appears in non-grief contexts in the poem, most often refers specifically to the longing that a group of fighting men feel for a great warrior, often their leader, when he has left them or been lost. A brief look at these appearances of ποθή and its variants will help us better understand the nature of longing in this poem – longing as the experience of a void, a missing presence, and the desire for the wholeness that has been lost. Then we shall return to grief in the poem, seeing how attention to themes of absence and lost wholeness illuminates these scenes of grief and offer us insight into grief’s relationship with anger in the story of Achilles.

ΠΟΘΗ IN THE ILIAD

In non-grief contexts throughout the poem, ποθή describes the feeling of a group of warriors when their leader is gone from the battlefield. Achilles threatens the Greeks that they will feel such a longing for him when he has withdrawn from battle (1.240); later Poseidon exhorts the Greeks to more vigorous action, promising that if they exert themselves, they will not long for Achilles too badly (κείνου δ’ οὖ τι λίην ποθή ἔσσεται, 14.368). Menelaos fears such a loss and longing for the Danaans if Odysseus be lost, calling it a μεγάλη [...] ποθή (11.471); this can be compared to the longing on the battlefield for Poseidon and Antilochus when they have to depart (15.219 and 17.704, respectively). Hektor too projects such longing onto his soldiers when he is absent from them when he withdraws from battle (6.362). Some scholars draw connections between a few of these appearances of ποθή, but none of them isolate the significance of the term in order to apply the concept to grief, as the poem invites us to do. Their observations focus on the narrative impact of the word’s later repetition. In their

1 Pucci, for example, notes the irony that Achilles, after Patroklos’ death, feels the very longing for Patroklos (19.321) that he had threatened the Greeks would feel for him (1.240); Pucci (1993, pp. 268–269). He argues that the audience could well have heard an evocation of the earlier threat, across the expanse of the poem, and that they would have felt the pathos of that narrative arc. Zanker too asserts that Achilles’ threat could resonate in later moments of the poem, observing that Poseidon’s exhortation to the other Greeks in Book 14 picks up the language of Achilles’ defiance in 1.240 (1994, p. 93, n. 32). Muellner, arguing that Achilles is the first victim of his own menis, notes that he feels ποθή for the social occupations of the warrior male (1.488–92) long before the Greeks feel the ποθή that he predicts for him here (1996, p. 138).
observations, these scholars translate the term variously as “missing,” “longing,” and “feeling his absence,” and these translations are offered without further interpretation. Yet these six appearances of ποθή offer a more precise way to interpret the relationship between “missing” and “longing”; in all of these instances, ποθή is capturing a specific physical situation, the warrior/leader’s absence from battle, and its psychological consequences: the physical absence of that warrior’s valor causes those who remain behind to miss him, to long for what they have lost. This significance of the word will illuminate our understanding of grief later when we look at those passages where grief is described as a force of longing.

The same significance of ποθή comes through elsewhere in the poem, in contexts where sorrow is present though the grief is not explicitly linked to the force of longing itself. When Menelaus asks Antilochus to bring the λυγρὴ ἀγγελίη, the wretched news of Patroklos’ death, to Achilles, he describes the impact of that death on the army as a μεγάλη ποθή (17.685-690). This longing has the same source as the non-grief examples above – the yearning of a group of fighters for a strong warrior whom they have lost – but it also conveys clear notes of sorrow. Menelaus calls Patroklos’ death a πῆμα for the Greeks, but victory for the Trojans, and the word evokes both the army’s impending doom and the grief - doom, since they have lost a warrior to lead the Myrmidons to their aid, and grief over their loss. Moreover, Menelaus’ exhortation causes silent tears to spring to Antilochus’ eyes, reinforcing the presence of sorrow in this scene of ποθή for a commander. Thus we not only see further evidence of the physical situation being described by ποθή, namely, the absence of a missing leader and the ensuing desire for his presence, but also intimations of how this force will be linked with grief.

In the Catalogue of Ships there are two more examples of ποθή for an absent leader in which grief is not emphasized, but can be discerned. These examples not only further complete this picture of longing as the response to a void, and point

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3 Two other examples, both of horses, bring out this dimension of ποθή as the perception of physical absence: Trojan horses miss their slain rein-bearers in 11.161, as they rattle through the battle with empty chariots; cf. a speech describing horses thus, 5.234.

4 cf. 22.421-6, Priam links πῆμα and ἀλγέα, calling Achilles a πῆμα for the Trojans, but one who has caused suffering (ἀλγέα) for him above all, killing all of his children, and now killing Hektor. Achilles is Troy’s bane, in that he causes its destruction and, for each individual in Troy, that destruction means personal sorrows for specific dead. For other places where πῆμα connotes both pain and sorrow, cf., e.g., 3.156-160 (Greeks and Trojans ἀλγέα πάσχειν because of Helen, a πῆμα). For πῆμα linked with ὀϊζύος, cf. Hektor calls Paris a πῆμα for Troy, at whose death Hektor would think that he had forgotten sorrow (6.282-283).
to the relationship of that longing to grief, but they also illuminate the personal, as opposed to generic, nature of ποθή. In the first example, the Greeks from Phylake and Pyrasos long for Protesilaus who, as first to disembark at Troy, was shot immediately (2.695-710). The ποθή of the men follows a brief narrative of the grief of Protesilaus’ wife at his death, whom he left behind, ἀμφιβουρφής (with both cheeks torn in mourning), along with his half-finished house (δόμος ἡμιτελής, 2.700-701). The picture of incompleteness and of mourning gives the entire passage a current of sorrow, including the longing that his men have for their leader (2.709). In the second passage, sorrow is more subtle, since the missing leader, Philoktetes, has not died, but has been abandoned by the Achaians on Lemnos. Although alive, he has been left in pain: ἀλγεα πάσχουν (suffering pains, 2.721), ἔλκει μοχθίζοντα κακοί (vexed by an evil wound, 2.723), ἄχεων (aggrieved, 2.724). Philoktetes’ pain, caused by his wound, seems to be as much psychological as physical – the grief of abandonment⁵ – and these same words in other contexts describe grief per se. When the poet tells us, immediately after this description of anguish, that Philoktetes’ men long for him, the longing fits into a larger context of pain and sorrow that colors the entire passage. In this context of sorrow, the poet takes care to tell us that their longing is personal. In both sections of the Catalogue, we are explicitly told that these men have new leaders, but long for their former one: Protesilaus’ men, οὔδε τι λαοί / δεύουθ’ ἡγεμόνος, πόθεόν γε μὲν ἐσθλὸν ἐόντα (nor was the army without a leader, but they longed for him since he was good, 2.708-9); and Philoktetes’, οὔδε μὲν οὐδ’ οἳ ἄναρχοι ἔσαν, πόθεόν γε μὲν ἄρχον (nor were they leaderless at all, but they longed for their leader, 2.726). This simple detail points to an important nuance in the significance of ποθή: although the felt absence is described in terms of the role of the one who is absent – the men missed their strong leader – the longing in these examples is clearly for a specific person, not for a role-fulfiller, since the role of leadership is being fulfilled. These men feel the absence of specific persons, not of generic leaders. Their ποθή is personal.

In a passage concerning Achilles, ποθή once describes longing for an action rather than a person. In this passage we see ποθή as longing for something that is intimately part of the person. After the poet describes the return of Chryseis and Apollo’s appeasement, he briefly returns to Achilles, who has withdrawn in rage

⁵ cf. Dione reminding Aphrodite of Hades’ wounding by Herakles, where physical pain and interior grief are intertwined: […] κῆδε δὲ θυμόν· (grieved at heart, pierced by pains, as the arrow had driven into his heavy shoulder, and he was distressed in his spirit, 5.398-400).
from the army and its fighting, and depicts him sitting by his ship in glorious conflict between action and desire:

αὐτάρ ὁ μήνιε νηυσὶ παρῆμενος ὠκυπόροισιν
dιογενῆς Πηλῆος υἱός, πόδας ὡκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·
oὔτε ποτ’ εἰς ἄγορὴν πωλέοκετο κυδιάνειραν
oὔτε ποτ’ ἐς πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ φθινύθεσκε φίλον κήρ
αὐθὶ μένων· ποθέοσκε δ’ ἀὐτήν τε πτόλεμον τε. (1.488-492)

But swift-footed Achilles, god-born son of Peleus, was full of wrath, and sat by his swift-going ships; neither did he ever go into assembly where men strive for honor, nor into war, but he was forever wasting away his own heart, remaining there; and constantly he yearned for the cry of battle and for war.

Achilles is denying himself the very thing he longs for, ἀὑτή and πτόλεμος. This unique use of ποθή with warfare, not a person, as its object, highlights how the absence that gives rise to such yearning is in fact a kind of ruptured wholeness. Achilles' entire life has centered on his excellence in warfare. The war-cry and battle are a part of him, and his withdrawal from these activities creates a void in himself. His men share his yearning for battle, as we see in Book 2. When the Catalogue of Ships reaches the Myrmidons, the poet paints a vivid picture of their idleness, which he connects with a longing for their war-loving leader (ἀρχὸν ἀρηφίλον ποθέοσκε, 2.778). Kirk regards this yearning as inappropriate, since Achilles is not absent but nearby, but that complaint misses the context of the phrase. But just as Achilles yearns for battle, so do his men, but the poet expresses this longing for the fight as longing for a person to lead them to fight. The small slippage of thought is quite suggestive; Achilles is given the epithet ἀρηφίλον, which elsewhere in the poem typically describes Menelaos, and the import of the line, in the context of the men's idleness, is "The Myrmidons longed for the fighting Achilles." Thus this passage not only

6 Kirk (1984, ad loc.).

7 Later, Achilles declares that the Myrmidons resented his keeping them from the fight (16.203-204). Their eagerness for battle is also apparent in the dramatic simile comparing these warriors to wolves, a comparison which highlights both sheer ferocity, in the graphic descriptions of bloody feasting, and movement towards battle in the verb ῥώοντ’ that ties the simile back to the actions of the Myrmidons, rushing around Patroklos who will lead them to the fight (16.165-166).
shows that the Myrmidons long for battle as much as Achilles, but it highlights the wholeness that Achilles has sundered through his withdrawal, reinforcing the poignant sketch of 1.492 – Achilles is by nature a war-lover and one who leads men to battle, and his abstention from battle makes him long for it. This special use of ποθή illuminates its rich dimension as the strong desire for something deeply a part of us.

This survey of ποθή, in non-grief contexts and in those passages where grief is not emphasized but can be discerned, establishes four key elements in the term’s Iliadic significance. The predominant meaning of ποθή is a felt absence, that which is felt when a leader leaves the battlefield and his men physically miss him. This absence has a psychological dimension, a longing for what is missed to be present. Thirdly, ποθή is personal, not generic. And lastly, ποθή can describe the desire for something intimately part of us, as Achilles longs for warfare during his period of withdrawal. Thus, when the poet names grief as a force of ποθή in the poem, we are invited to look to this framework of ποθή in order to illuminate the nature of that grief. We will now turn to four scenes in which grief is explicitly described as a force of longing. All of these scenes describe longing for Patroklos, and I would argue that the poet is carefully depicting the grief of Achilles and, by extension, that of the Myrmidons and Achilles’ horses, as a response to a ruptured wholeness, a yearning born of absence.8

GRIEF AS ΠΟΘΗ

The Iliad uniquely clusters ποθή terms and grief words in scenes of grief for Patroklos. In Achilles’ beautiful lament for Patroklos, 19.315-337, Achilles explains why he will continue to refuse food and drink:

η ῥά νῦ μοί ποτε καὶ σύ, δυσάμορρε, φιλταθ’ ἐταίρων,
ἀυτὸς ἐνί κλισίηι λαρόν παρὰ δεῖπνοιν ἐθηκας
αἵμα καὶ ὀτραλέως, ὁπότε σπεχοίατ’ Ἀχαιοί
Τρωσίν ἐφ’ ἵπποδάμοισι φέρειν πολύδακρυν Ἄρηα.

νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν κεῖσαι δεδαϊγμένος, αὐτὰρ ἔμοιν κήρ
ἀκμὴν πόσιοι καὶ ἐδητύος, ἐνδον ἐόντων,
οῆ ποθῆι· [...]. (19.315-321)

8 For this language of wholeness I am indebted to David Konstan, who, in a nuanced reading of Lucian’s satire On Mourning (περὶ πένθους), argues that people who love one another form a “larger self,” since the projects that they share in common make them live, in that sense, a single life; thus grief is “what it is to be without a person who is half of one’s soul.” (2013, pp. 143-149).
“Ah me, once indeed you, ill-fated, dearest of my comrades, you yourself in our hut prepared the savory dinner, quickly and deftly, whenever the Achaians were hastening to bring tearful war to the horse-taming Trojans. But now you lie here, your flesh torn, and my heart will have nothing of drink nor food, though they are here, because of my longing for you; […].

In Achilles’ earlier refusal to eat, he says that an ἄχος αἰνὸν, a dread grief, has come upon him (19.307). Here he describes that grief as the longing born of Patroklos’ absence – the aching void of his comrade no longer at his side, setting the table, sharing his life as a warrior against Troy. The longing has the same character as that of its non-grief appearances above: it stems from a concrete, felt absence. The emphatic position of σῆι ποθῇ heightens the pathos of Achilles’ refusal to eat and draws our attention to this connection between grief and longing. Achilles’ lament then expands upon this sense of grief as the longing for a lost common existence. The death of Patroklos has not only sundered the unity of life that he shared with Achilles, but has also rendered hollow Achilles’ plans for the future, since Achilles, we learn, knowing the certainty of his death, had hoped that Patroklos would raise his son. Patroklos’ death thus not only rips from Achilles’ life the wholeness of companionship but also the wholeness of his family’s future well-being. His father’s impending death and the tears which he imagines his father shedding for him contribute to this picture of total loss. Achilles has nothing: no future for his father, none for his son, and no present shared life with his companion. He calls the grief caused by this void a longing, and the whole lament depicts that longing as the rupture of a whole.

In Book 24, that same longing is at the heart of Achilles’ wakefulness when, in tears, he tosses and turns, pacing the shore:

9 On the impact of the phrase, cf. M. Edwards who notes how σῆι ποθῇ is not only emphatic by position (enjambed placement in first position, followed by a pause), but also because of its unexpectedness (1991, ad loc. 19.319–21), and Pucci who observes its force: “very few expressions in this text have the force and the pathos of σῆι ποθῇ (19.321) which is in no way accented by repetition and metrical fixity” (1993, p. 268, 272).

10 19.326ff. On the rupture of hopes in this lament, cf. Pucci, who sees in the nullity of Achilles’ hopes the destruction of others’ hopes as well: for example, Briseis’ hope for marriage is annulled when he says that he hoped he alone would die at Troy, etc. (1993, p. 272). cf. Konstan on Quintilian’s spes inanes when his son dies, and with him the prospects of their shared life (Institutio Oratoria Bk. 6), (2013, p. 144). I follow Tsagalis (2004) and van Thiel (1996) in keeping these lines, contra West (2001); cf. Tsagalis (2004, p. 148ff., n. 408). Though Achilles’ son is only mentioned one other time in the Iliad, the reference here is wholly suitable to the passage, which compares the loss of Patroklos to his other relationships and potential reasons for grief.

longing for Patroklos’ manhood and good strength, and all the deeds he accomplished with him and the griefs he suffered, passing through wars of men and difficult waves.  

Achilles remembers their former comradeship and feels a deep void. The longing for their shared life, now lost, manifests itself in restlessness: Achilles cannot sleep in any position, neither on his side, nor his back, nor face-down (24.10–11), and he repeatedly – iterative verbs – gets up in the middle of the night to pace the shore (δινεύεσκ ἀλύων παρὰ θῖν ἁλός, 24.12), followed at dawn by repeatedly dragging Hektor’s body around Patroklos’ burial-mound (Ἑκτορά δ’ ἐλκεσθαι δησάσκετο, 24.15). This vignette of restlessness reflects, on the level of action, the intrinsic nature of his grief, specified in the language of the passage: it is a ποθή for Patroklos, for the unity of life – ὁπόσα τολύπευσε σὺν αὐτῶι καὶ πάθεν ἄλγεα – that they once shared. 

ποθή terms describe grief for Patroklos two other times in the Iliad, and I would argue that both scenes are extensions of the grief of Achilles himself. The first are the tears of longing shed for Patroklos by Achilles’ horses – the very first tears shed for the slain warrior in the poem – and the poet specifies that these tears arise from longing. Stunned into motionlessness by their grief, these horses stand apart from the battle, weeping:

12  Those who athetize these lines (Aristarchus, Aristophanes, Leaf) on the grounds of their Odyssean language (esp. 24.8, “passing through wars and difficult waves”) and their supposed weakening of dramatic effect completely miss the important link between longing and insatiety, and the climactic suitability of the language of these lines to this moment in the narrative. For an overview of the debate, cf. Richardson (1993, ad loc.).

13  Macleod refers to Sappho 96.15 and Menander, Misumenos 7, as well as II. 2.778–9, where δινεύεσκ ἀλύων is a sign of longing (1984 ad loc.). cf. Segal on the sense of futility in this scene of mutilation, particularly evoked by the iteratives, and the phrase though he was dead indeed (24.30); (1971, pp. 57–59).

14  Repeated past action is evident throughout the scene; cf. iterative imperfects at 24.13 and 17, iterative optative in temporal clause, 24.14.

15  cf. Oele who discusses how the συν preposition indicates a strong union between the friends, who are able to do and to suffer together (2010, p. 59).
ἵπποι δ’ Αιακίδαο μάχης ἀπάνευθεν ἑόντες κλαῖον, ἐπεὶ δὴ πρῶτα πυθέσθην ἥνιόχοιο ἐν κονίησι πεσόντος ὑφ’ Ἂκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο. (17.426-429)

[…]

tὼ δ’ οὔτ’ ἂψ ἐπὶ νῆας ἐπὶ πλατὺν Ἑλλήσποντον ἥθελέτην ἰέναι οὔτ’ ἐς πόλεμον μετ’ Ἀχαιοὺς, ἀλλ’ ὅς τε στήλη μένει ἐμπεδοῦν […]. (17.432-434)

οὐδεὶ ενισκίμψαντε καρῆτα: δάκρυα δὲ σφιθρια κατὰ βλεφάρων χαμάδις ῥέε μυρομένοις ἥνιόχοιο πόθῳ· θαλερὴ δ’ ἐμιαίνετο χαίτη ζεύγλης ἐξεριποῦσα παρὰ ζυγὸν ἀμφοτέρωθεν. (17.437-440)

But the horses of Aiakides were apart, weeping, from the time when first they learned of their rein-bearer fallen in the dust at the hands of Hektor, the man-slayer.

[…]

And the pair were not willing to go up to the ships at the broad Hellespont, nor to go into battle among the Achaians, but they remained fixed in place like steles […],

heads bowed down to the earth. And warm tears flowed down from their eyes to the ground as they wept in longing for their rein-bearer. And their full manes were soiled as they swept down from the yoke-pad along both sides of the yoke.

The horses’ motionlessness is motivated by πόθος, a longing for their rein-bearer (17.439). Again we see the precise character of this longing; like the ποθή of the men in the battlefield who are suddenly without their leader, the horses’ longing for Patroklos arises from a concrete, felt absence. The word order, ἥνιόχοιο πόθωι, and the placement of the phrase in first position puts a gentle emphasis on the missing
one whose absence causes πόθος. Formerly their rein-bearer guided them through battles and cared for them back in the camp, but now he is dead, no longer able to fulfill that place in their lives. The horses, who have a rein-bearer beating them and beseeching them to go into battle, do not lack someone to perform the role itself, but still the longing for Patroklos in their grief immobilizes them. Achilles links the horses’ grief with their perception of Patroklos’ absence in yet more detail in Book 23, when he explains why he will not compete in the chariot race during the funeral games. His horses have lost (ἀπώλεσαν) their gentle rein-bearer, who washed their manes with oil and water, and so they stand with their manes trailing on the ground, grieving (πενθείετον) (23.280-28). Here Achilles clearly transfers his own grief to his horses, since not only they but he misses Patroklos and thus does not wish to compete. In the weeping scene of Book 17, however, the poet is linguistically explicit that Patroklos’ absence causes longing. The life shared by the horses and their caregiver has been ruptured, and their grief for him is simultaneously the pain of his absence and the longing for his presence.

The broadening of Achilles’ grief also encompasses the Myrmidons, who too are specifically said to feel ποθή in their grief for Patroklos. At the beginning of Book 23, when the Greeks have reached the camp with Patroklos’ body and dispersed, Achilles prevents his men from scattering, asking them to give Patroklos his γέρας θανόντων, a lament (23.9). They drive their horses and chariots around Patroklos’ corpse three times, wetting the sand and their armor with their tears: δεύοντο ψάμαθοι, δεύοντο δὲ τεύχεα φωτῶν / δάκρυσι· τοῖον γὰρ πόθεον μήστωρα φόβοι (Soaked was the sand, and soaked the arms of the men, with their tears; for they were longing for so great a deviser of rout, 23.15-16). The poet portrays the abundant tears of these fighters as rising from the felt absence of their strong companion-in-arms, their μήστωρα φόβοι, and the resulting desire for his presence, who, though less than Achilles, was himself a mighty warrior. This scene of ποθή in grief clearly describes not only the men’s but Achilles’ own longing for Patroklos, who leads their lament: οἳ δ’ ὤιμωξαν ἀολλέες, ἦρχε δ’ Ἀχιλλεύς (23.12). The impact of the loss of Patroklos on the Myrmidon warriors broadens our understanding of what Achilles longs for – not only a fellow companion who prepared his food and to whom he would have entrusted the upbringing of his son, but a warrior who

16 cf. 23.280-284.

17 deJong points to this naming of Patroklos via his role, suggesting that the role-naming shows we are learning the horses’ thoughts (1987, p. 104). Without disagreeing, I would say in addition that by naming Patroklos according to his role, we are led to contemplate a community of life that death has ruptured.
could lead his men to victory in battle.

These four uses of ποθή-words resonate against the larger backdrop of ποθή throughout the poem. The same four key elements appear: physical absence; its psychological consequence, the desire to fill that absence; particularity; and the intimacy of a wholeness that has been ruptured. Thus the language of the poem offers us tools to understand Achilles’ grief more deeply. When we see it as a force of longing, we see that the death of Patroklos has something akin to a physical effect on him, like the physical absence of a deeply needed leader in the middle of a fight. The near-physicality of this absence is further unpacked in his own explanations of his grief, as he describes his experience of the rupture of a life formerly shared. The psychological impact of such a loss – his unwillingness to eat, his restlessness – accords well with the psychological feeling of longing described in those other ποθή passages in the poem, especially the personal longing for specific leaders whose absence is described in the Catalogue of Ships. And the same intimacy that we see in Achilles’ longing for warfare pervades these later scenes of longing for the person of Patroklos whose life was part of their common existence.\(^{18}\)

These resonances in the uses of ποθή in these grief scenes have important consequences on our understanding of the poem. They not only illuminate deeper dimensions of grief itself, they help explain the effects that grief has on Achilles’ actions, particularly those actions that erupt from anger, and thus they offer insight into the narrative arc of the poem. The strongly felt absence and, for Achilles and his horses, the loss of half of a unique relationship, shapes the nature of grief, and the \textit{Iliad} explicitly delineates that shape as ποθή, longing. We can find a useful comparandum in the \textit{Cratylus} where Socrates distinguishes the terms ἵμερος and πόθος, designating ἵμερος as the desire for what is present, and πόθος as the same feeling as felt when the object of desire is absent.\(^{19}\) This distinction between πόθος as the desire for what is absent and ἵμερος as the desire for what is present gives an outside parallel to what we see in Homer: ποθή, a yearning for what is absent, is at the heart of Achilles’ grief. I would argue that when we understand this link, we see that Achilles’ grief is intrinsically volatile, insatiate, unable to be assuaged. Thus we better understand his transition from grief to anger.

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\(^{18}\) Shay observes that the particularity of love for a special comrade makes one vulnerable. Because of particularity, this comrade makes up an irreplaceable part of one’s life (1994, p. 44).

\(^{19}\) \textit{Cratylus} 419e-420a.
In the last section of this paper, I would like to look at the simile and first lament for Achilles for his beloved comrade-in-arms. Both passages are permeated by these dynamics of grief and longing. In this simile, Achilles' grief is compared to that of a lioness who ceaselessly tracks the hunter who stole her cubs, driven to pursuit by a piercing anger (δριμὺς χόλος, 18.322). The movement from grief to anger emerges also in Achilles' lament following the simile, and in parallel form. The common element in both the simile and the lament is the dynamic of longing, of ποθή, though the term itself does not appear. By linking grief and anger with the parallel dynamic of longing here in Achilles' first lament for Patroklos, the poem points us to the importance of this link for Achilles' story. The unique connection of grief with longing in the language describing Achilles' grief for his comrade reveals the poem's narrative interest in the relentlessness of Achilles' anger and the futility of his vengeance to assuage his grief.

ANGER AND LONGING

Many observe that Achilles’ grief gives rise to anger in the last six books of the poem – for example, Schein\(^20\) and Zanker\(^21\) – but these scholars assume the logic of such association without exploring it. Konstan's work, however, rightly distinguishes Achilles’ initial anger over Agamemnon's wrongdoing from the grieved fury that besets Achilles after Patroklos’ death.\(^22\) Achilles’ anger with Agamemnon is a response to an affront, while his rage against Hektor and the other Trojans is a response to great harm, but not to an insult. Konstan attributes the vastness of Achilles’ latter fury to the pain of loss. Without downplaying the role of pain in Achilles’ transition from grief to anger, I argue here that the poem offers us a specific dynamic that links these two emotions, namely, longing. Let us turn to the text of the simile and lament in Book 18, which offer a vivid example of how the poet gives grief and anger both a shared grounding in longing and absence.

The insatiate force of ποθή pervades the lioness simile:

\(^{20}\) Schein observes the contrast between how Achilles' love for Patroklos both opens Achilles up to the needs of the army and also releases this vast fury (1984, e.g., pp. 128ff). Merely observing the contrast, however, does not explain the relationship between these emotions.

\(^{21}\) Zanker explores the relationship between grief and anger in lion simile in terms of “emotional compensation.” He notes the presence of affection and ties, but not the dynamic of longing, and after exploring grief in the lament that follows the simile, he says simply “The emotion of wrath is developed.” (1994, p. 99).

\(^{22}\) Konstan (2006).
Let us follow the sequence of emotions. The lioness is first described as grieved (ἄχνυται, 18.320), and immediately following this verb comes her active response (ὑπὸ σκύμνους ἐλαφηβόλος ἀρτάσηι ἀνήρ ὡς τε λίς ἡγένειος, ὤι ρά θ’ ὑπὸ σκύμνους ἐλαφηβόλος ἀρτάσηι ἀνήρ ὡς τε λίς ἡγένειος, ὥς τε ἡγέσθαι ὑπὸ σκύμνους ἐλαφηβόλος ἀνήρ, πολλὰ δὲ τ’ ἄγκε’ ἐπῆλθε μετ’ ἀνέρος ἤχνι’ ἐρευνῶν, ἐἰ ποθεν ἐξεύροι τ’ ανέρος γάρ δριμὺς χόλος αἱρεῖ (18.318-322)

[...] like a lioness, bearded, whose cubs a hunter has snatched from the dense woods, and in grief she follows after, and she comes to many valleys as she pursues that man’s tracks, in hopes that she might find; for bitter anger takes complete hold of her;

Let us follow the sequence of emotions. The lioness is first described as grieved (ἄχνυται, 18.320), and immediately following this verb comes her active response (ὑπὸ σκύμνους ἐλαφηβόλος ἀρτάσηι ἀνήρ, 18.320). The pursuit is expanded for two lines, with a sense of lengthiness in the many valleys that she comes to (πολλὰ δὲ τ’ ἄγκε’ ἐπῆλθε, 18.321), urgency in the tracking (μετ’ ἀνέρος ἤχνι’ ἐρευνῶν, 18.321), and longing in her goal of finding (ἐἰ ποθεν ἐξεύροι, 18.322). The poet then explains the lioness’s urgent, yearning-filled action as caused by bitter anger (μάλα γὰρ δριμὺς χόλος αἱρεῖ, 18.322). The scene moves seamlessly from grief to anger, and the underlying continuity seems to be an insatiety similar to that which the Iliad depicts elsewhere, in scenes where longing is linguistically explicit. The point of the simile does not seem to be simply vengeance, because it is unclear what the lioness hopes to achieve by pursuing the hunter. The object of the verb, ἐξεύροι (find, 18.322), is unspecified. Does she hope that her cubs are alive? Does she wish to kill the hunter, whether her cubs are alive or dead? What is clear in the simile is that the lioness responds to the absence of her cubs with immediate pursuit. The hunter has literally stolen part of the lioness’s life, her offspring, and her lengthy hope-driven quest to find bespeaks both the absence and the almost physical response to that absence – longing for it to be filled. This ambiguity about her aim – whether or not it includes a desire for vengeance – enhances our understanding of the role of longing in grief’s transition to anger. This anger is not necessarily the hope of redressing a wrong, but a response to the inability to redress that wrong, a kind of translation of the inner longing for what is lost into outward action.23

23 n.b., this inner longing can have different manifestations. Some activities are distraction, some are the relief of achieving activities similar to those lost in the formerly shared life. But the anger component – here
This inner dynamic is all the more apparent in the words of Achilles’ lament after the simile. This lament arises in the midst of prolonged weeping, with the Achaians groaning their lament for Patroklos all night long. In such abundance, Achilles voices his particular grief for Patroklos. Longing can be discerned throughout this lament in his regret over unfulfilled future plans:

Ω πόποι, ἦ ρ’ ἄλιον ἐπος ἐκβαλον ἡματι κείωι
θαρσύων ἦρωα Μενοῖτιον ἐν μεγάροιν.
φην δὲ οἱ εἰς Ὀπόεντα περικλυτὸν υἱὸν ἀπάξειν
"Ἴλιον ἐκπέρσαντα λαχόντα τε ληΐδος αἶσαν.
ἀλλ’ οὐ Ζεὺς ἀνδρεσσι νοήματα πάντα τελευταὶ.

(18.324-328)

Oh, for shame, truly I uttered an empty promise on that day when I was encouraging the hero Menoitios in his home; and I said that I would bring his illustrious son back to Opoeis when he had sacked Troy and won a share of the spoil. But Zeus does not accomplish for men all their plans. Achilles laments ἄλιον ἐπος to Patroklos’ father, his empty promise to bring Patroklos safely home after Troy’s sack. This notion of unfulfilled promises conveys the note of longing for a lost future. Achilles’ further conclusion, ἀλλ’ οὐ Ζεὺς ἀνδρεσσι νοήματα πάντα τελευταὶ (But Zeus does not accomplish for men all their plans, 18.328), continues this feeling of rupture. Achilles’ plans were for himself and for Patroklos. Achilles had a goal that encompassed the two of them: that when Troy had been sacked and the spoil won, they would return home. Now he sees the vanity of his hopes for such shared life; instead, their true fate is for both to die at Troy. Achilles faces his death with clarity, a death that will follow soon after Patroklos’. Some scholars see this link between Patroklos’ death and Achilles’ as the heart of the lament, since Achilles here reveals how deeply he embraced his death after the death of his comrade; they even use language of “reunion” in death. Yet I would argue that though Achilles faces his death unflinchingly, his lament betrays the restlessness of a present marked by separation. He continues with a cry that brings home all the linguistically explicit in the simile – seems to arise specifically from the insatiety of grief.

24  18.314-15. cf. later scenes of ἱμεροῦ γόοιο that depict abundance and almost endlessness.
25  cf. Tsagalis, who interprets Achilles declaration, “for we two are fated to redden the same earth” (18.329), as a future reunion in death, (2004, pp. 79-81). In fact, Achilles speaks not of reunion but simply shared death.
longing that shapes his grief: “But now, Patroklos, since indeed I will go beneath the earth after you, […]” (18.333). Achilles has not yet followed Patroklos beneath the earth. The antithesis between the ruptured “now” and the “later” reunion captures the yearning marked out at the beginning of the lament when he voiced his bitter understanding that his plans for a shared future with Patroklos were void. The role Achilles had planned to play in his companion’s life was nothing more than an empty promise, and now his present is shaped by the absence of his friend and the dissolution of his plans. Framed by such longing, Achilles’ grief erupts in an oath of anger:

But now, Patroklos, since indeed I will go beneath the earth after you, I will not give you your burial rites before I carry here the arms and the head of Hektor, your great-hearted slayer; and I will cut the throats of twelve shining youths of Troy before your funeral pyre, in anger over your slaying.

Achilles’ move from grief to anger reminds us of the lioness’s ἄχος and χόλος in the preceding simile (18.320, 322). For both the lioness and Achilles, the grief of the scene is shot through with notes of longing, and the resulting actions are explicitly attributed to anger: “μάλα γὰρ δριμὺς χόλος σάκει” for the lioness (18.322); and “σέθεν κταμένοιο χολωθείς” for Achilles (18.337). The specific point of comparison

26 Tsagalis claims that Achilles’ conflation of “now” and “then” allows the future reality of Achilles’ death to “intrude” into the present of his performance (2004, p. 81). In light of Achilles’ initial lament of the vanity of his plans to achieve Patroklos and his own homecoming, I think we can rightly see not intrusion but contrast: Achilles’ present is shaped by this new future, the loss of the shared life that he had hoped for and promised.

27 Neither Achilles nor the narrator refers to his ἄχος; the point of comparison in the simile is the quality of his groaning: ἀνεστενάχοντο γοῶντες (18.315), ἐξῆρχε γόοιο (18.316), πυκνὰ μάλα στενάχω (18.318) … ὡς δ’ ἵπποι στενάχων (18.323). The lioness’ grief is given in verbal form, ἄχουσα; according to Derderian, ἄχωσα generally represents “personally motivated grief of individual men within the network of ἐταῖροι or kin” that motivates the hero to action and revenge (2001, p. 19).
in the simile is grief – Achilles’ leads the lament groaning like a lioness […] – but within both the simile and the lament, we see the same sense of restlessness, and the same specific mention of anger as causing these deeds. Thus, the poet highlights a particular feature of Achilles’ grief, namely, its insatiety, and roots in such insatiety the promised deeds of anger: slaying Patroklos’ murderer, bringing that murderer’s head and weapons to Patroklos, and then cutting the throats of twelve Trojan youths before Patroklos’ funeral pyre.  

Agony and ferocity are linked in Achilles’ grief through the underlying characteristic of longing born of loss.

Thus this lament seems to me to do far more than show the depth of Achilles’ pain or the clarity of his knowledge of his own imminent death. This set of simile and lament offers us clear insight into an emotional dynamic that becomes a narrative interest of the poem, as the story follows Achilles through heights of insatiate grief and anger and explores the fruitlessness of vengeance to assuage grief at its roots. Hekabe encapsulates this theme of futility in her incisive condemnation of Achilles’ behavior. Addressing her son Hektor on his funeral bier, she says that Achilles πολλὰ ῥυστάζεσκεν ἑοῦ περὶ σῆμ’ ἑτάροιο / Πατρόκλου, τὸν ἔπεφνες: ἀνὲστησεν δέ μιν οὐδ’ ὧς ([…] kept dragging him, many times, around the tomb of his companion, Patroklos, whom you killed – but not even thus did he raise him up […]” 24.755-6). Hekabe perceptively sees longing for the life of his companion at the root of Achilles’ insatiate mutilation of Hektor’s corpse. Such behavior is irrational, but the poem nevertheless explains it through this insight into the nature of grief itself: since grief is a longing for an irretrievable whole, it has an inherent potency in it to generate insatiate activity, including actions of anger. The Iliad explores the relationship between these emotions throughout the last third of the poem, giving it linguistic focus through its unique application of ποθή terms to the grief of Achilles; but this first portrait of Achilles’ grief in Book 18 shows the dynamic in vivid clarity. The simile of the mother lioness pursuing the hunter and the parallel lament of empty promises, ending with oaths of vengeance, render Achilles’ tran-

28 n.b., Achilles’ threats of mutilation vary – the decapitation promised here does not recur; he later threatens to give the corpse to the dogs, threatened most violently in 22.346-8, when he wishes he were angry enough to eat Hektor’s raw flesh, since no one will ward off the dogs from his head; then repeated in 23.2, to give the corpse to the dogs to divide raw (23.21); and again repeated in less violent language: “and Hektor, son of Priam, I will in no way give to fire to devour, but to the dogs.” (23.182-183); cf. Segal (1971, esp. pp. 28, 38, and 54). I think we see in such variety of language the volatility of longing at the core of Achilles’ anger: his grief drives him not to specified actions, but to manifold expressions of that grief.

29 contra Shay, who claims that killing eases pain of grief, the Iliad explores the origins of such attempts and their uselessness (1994, p. 54; cf. Il. 17.602ff).
sition from grief to anger comprehensible: these two emotions have an underlying continuity, the insatiety of ποθή, longing.
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Imperial Pretensions: The Building and Rebuilding of the Early Roman Empire in Suetonius

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“May it be my privilege to establish the Republic in a steady and safe position, and receive from this the fruit that I seek; but only if I may be called the author of the best possible state, and carry with me the hope when I die that the foundations I have laid for the Republic will remain unshaken.”

Augustus

In hindsight, it is easy to define periods of time. Historians can simply create a block from any number of years, name it, and make it seem distinct from the times before and after. Yet for the people whose lives intersected different eras, the borders may not have seemed so clear. It is important to understand what changes they perceived, and how those perceptions changed over time and from person to person.

1 Suet. Aug. 28.2: “Ita mihi salvam ac sospitem rem p. sistere in sua sede liceat atque eius rei fructum percipere, quem peto, ut optimi status auctor dicar et moriens ut feram mecum spem, mansura in vestigio suo fundamenta rei p. quae iecero.”
so that historians may know the true extent of the change. The classical tradition holds that the Roman Republic existed from 509 B.C.E. to 27 B.C.E., and that the Roman Empire existed from the end of the Republic until 476 C.E. In this paper, I try to erase those definite lines in time, and examine how the Romans themselves perceived the political change from Republic to Empire.

Even by the time the events of Suetonius’ *De vita caesarum* begin, Rome had long been an established Mediterranean power. However, it was not a perfectly organized political entity, and, on several occasions after the end of the Punic Wars, domestic turmoil necessitated the restructuring of the Roman government. Two instances of that turmoil presented themselves in the period deemed the Early Empire, during the reigns of Augustus (previously Octavian) and Vespasian, respectively. Suetonius records the attempts of both men to create an ‘optimi status.’ However, I find it necessary to present the historical context of these reigns before an analysis of Suetonius’ opinions of them.

The transition from Republic to Empire (the time periods as defined by modern classicists, rather than the forms of government) left Octavian as the only senior official. The *Lex Titia* of 43 B.C.E. had stripped all of the consuls, praetors, and tribunes of their *imperium* in that year, and most who were affected were killed in the following fifteen years of war anyhow. After Antony’s death, Octavian styled himself ‘Gaius Julius Caesar Augustus,’ cementing his attachment to his great-uncle, and took it upon himself to right the ‘ship of state.’ Likewise, the extant society over which Vespasian presided was in need of restructuring. After his victory in the civil war of 69 C.E., Vespasian took several steps to revitalize the nation, using the powers outlined in the *lex de imperio Vespasiani*, a senatorial decree. However, he had an opportunity to build an entirely new government, and did not take it, opting instead to follow, almost exactly, Augustus’ framework. Vespasian is thus an excellent proxy for Augustus, as Suetonius’ opinions on the later emperor can most certainly be applied to the earlier. The difference between the two efforts, the building and rebuilding of the Principate, is not how they were undertaken, but the political treatment with which Suetonius relays them to his reader. Whereas Augustus’ restructuring is presented as a continuation of the Republic, Vespasian’s is shown to be starkly imperial. However, Suetonius’ choice of language in both emperors’ biographies makes it evident that the two were, in fact, very similar when it came to building (in Augustus’ case) and rebuilding (in Vespasian’s) the Principate. Suetonius’ diction thus

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2 Hammond (1933, p. 84). See also Strasburger (1939, RE 7a.519).

betrays his recognition that Augustus’ new government was an autocratic departure from the Republic, while his own judgments, which only occasionally enter the text, show his happiness with the Principate.

The state that Augustus inherited after his victory at Actium was marred by competing factions and a corrupt, petty, selfish Senate. In order to rectify this situation, Suetonius notes, Augustus legally “received power over morals and laws for all of time, and, by this law, although without the title of censor, he nevertheless took the census of the people.” Despite the seeming illegality of this action, Suetonius presents it in Republican terms. Augustus had not usurped the powers of the censorship; rather, he had been given them by a legitimate decree of the Senate, still the ultimate lawmaking body. The use of the word *recepit*, “received,” alone makes the process appear more far less imperial. An Emperor would not have to “receive” powers, he could simply take (*cepit*) them. In fact, it is reminiscent of a Republican *SenatusConsultumUltimum* being issued to a person for life. During his first census, Augustus undertook a *lustratio* and “restored it (the Senate) to its previous limits and distinctions” by removing those he deemed unfit and adlecting new members, including several *homines novi*. Again, Suetonius makes this seem perfectly Republican—it would not be to the benefit of an autocrat to restore another powerful body to strength—but Augustus was not behaving like an Emperor. Instead, he was carrying out the task legally given to him by the Senate itself. Suetonius’ approval of this action is never in doubt: Augustus fixed a Senate that was “swelled by a disgraceful and disordered mass.” Further discussion of his approval will follow.

Vespasian does not receive the same “Republican” treatment as Augustus, yet Suetonius still presents his actions as parallel. Where Augustus “received (*recepit*)” the powers of the censor, Vespasian simply “assumed (*suscepit*) the censorship.” This seemingly benign change of language demonstrates a key point: later Romans saw Vespasian’s actions as censor as those of an autocrat. Yet Suetonius’ description of Vespasian’s actions seem the same as his description of Augustus’. He tacitly admits that Augustus, despite his Republican pretense, was an autocrat as well. Both men

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4 Suet. *Aug.* 27.5: “*Recepit et morum legumque regimen aequa perpetuum, quo iure, quamquam sine censurae honore, censum tamen populi...egit.*” For an ancient commentary on the *SenatusConsultumUltimum*, see Cic. *In Cat.* I.3–4.

5 Suet. *Aug.* 35.1: “*ad modum pristinum et splendorem redegit.*”

6 Suet. *Aug.* 35.1: “*affluentem...deformi et incondita turba.*”

7 Suet. *Ves.* 8.1: “*suscept et censorum.*”
certainly exercised the same power the same way when it came to the Senate. Vespasian held a “review of the Senate” during which he “expelled those unworthy of the title and adlected the most distinguished.”8 Suetonius draws a clear parallel between this recenso and Augustus’ earlier redegit: both men conducted an assessment of the Senate, reforming the order by expelling bad Senators and replacing them with their own candidates. Jones (2000) adds in his commentary, “the precedent was established by Augustus” and presents a convincing argument based on Cassius Dio 55.31.2 that an Imperial-directed lustratio was necessary for Augustus to both establish his rule and claim continuity with the Republic.9 Yet Suetonius does not present either Augustus’ or Vespasian’s lustratio as motivated by politics or revenge. Both certainly were—Augustus expelled every one of Antony’s appointees and Vespasian Galba’s, Otho’s, and Vitellius’. Instead, he presents the cleansings positively, as necessary for the sanctity of the Senate and the security of the state. Contrast this with Suetonius’ negative portrayal of Domitian’s vengeful, murderous lustratio, and one certainly gets the feeling that Augustus and Vespasian behaved well.10

Both Emperors feared that the provinces and allies, sensing infirmity within Rome, would try to leave the Empire. Augustus sought to rectify the situation by tightening the Roman grasp. He applied his belief that Rome could be better governed by a single person to the provinces.11 Suetonius relates, “the stronger provinces, those which could be governed neither easily nor safely by yearly meetings, he took for himself.”12 This was unprecedented. At the time, Augustus was still a standing consul in Rome. In order to gain such power, he made a deal framed in pseudo-Republican terms, in which he laid down his consulship and, as Hammond (1933) summarizes, “received proconsulare imperium, which was not to be laid down upon his entering the pomerium, and was superior to the imperium of the proconsul or propraetor in every province.”13 There is no better example of Augustus trying to maintain the continuity of the Republic or of Suetonius’ presentation thereof;

8  Suet. Ves. 9.2: “recenso senatu…summotis indignissimis et honestissimo…allecto.”
9  Suetonius (2000, p. 73).
10  Suet. Dom. 10.2: “Complures senatores, in iis aliquot consularis, interemerit; ex quibus Civicam Cerealem in ipso Asiae proconsulatu, Salviodeniunm Orfitum, Aelium Glabrionem in exsilii, quasi molitores rerum novarum, ceteros levisimam quemque de causa; Aelium Lamiam ob suspiciosos quidem, verum et veteres et innoxios iocos.”
11  Hammond (1933, p. 27).
12  Suet., Aug. 47.4: “Provincias validiores et quas annuis magistratuum imperiis regi nec facile nec tutum erat, ipse suscepit.”
13  Hammond (1933, p. 17).
the bastardization of Republican terms is very prevalent in the pertinent passages. The practical outline of these new powers shares almost no resemblance with any Republican office, yet, despite the obviously extra-legal nature of Augustus’ actions, Suetonius presents him as acting within his role as consul, and then proconsul. In this scope, Augustus took control of the provinces and “deprived them of their liberty.” Despite the harsh language, Suetonius’ approval is once more evident. He excuses Augustus by noting, “but they were on the path to ruin through their lawlessness.”

Vespasian, more so than Augustus, had to deal with unrest in the provinces. Suetonius reports, “The provinces, and the city-states, and some of the kingdoms, were in a tumultuous internal state.” Like Augustus, Vespasian assumed sole responsibility for some of the territories and “made provinces of Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium, and Samnos, taking away their liberty.” The phrase “libertate adempta” harkens back to Suetonius’ earlier assessment of Augustus: “libertate privavit,” a connection that illustrates the similar actions of the Emperors. Vespasian receives no Republican justification, as none was required. Vespasian was recognized as the supreme political power in the lex de imperio Vespasiani, which gave him the right to do whatever he felt was best for Rome. However, in the absence of Republican legal terms, Suetonius does provide an excuse. The provincials “had abandoned themselves to every sort of licentiousness and recklessness.” Once again, the similarities and parallels of Augustus and Vespasian are simply too profound and distinct to be coincidental. Suetonius clearly believes Augustus, despite his insistence to the contrary, had imperial pretensions—Vespasian did, and their actions were almost identical. This is not something negative to the biographer, however, and I will touch upon his approval further.

Both men faced times of legal crisis in the wake of their respective civil wars, and both responded with widespread legal reform. Upon Augustus’ restoration of domestic peace, the courts were flooded with civil suits. Seeing that the Republican centumviri, the court of one hundred men, was too large and unwieldy to operate efficiently, made the Decemviri Stlitibus Iudicandi the presidents of that court with

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14 Suet. Aug. 8.4: “libertate privavit... sed ad exitium licentia praecipites.”
15 Suet. Ves. 8.4: “et provinciae civitatesque liberae, nec non et regna quaedam tumultuosius inter se agebant.”
16 Suet. Ves. 8.4: “Achaiam, Lyciam, Rhodum, Byzantium, Samnum, libertate adempta...in provinciarum formam redegit.”
17 Vespasian, lex de imperio Vespasiani, 6: “utique quacunque ex usu rei publicae maiestateque diuinarum | humanarum publicarum privatarumque rerum esse | sensebit, ei agere facere ius potestasque sit.”
18 Suet. Ves. 8.2: “ad omnem licentiam audaxiamque processerant.” Refer back to 14, note licentia.
authority over its proceedings: “the centumviral court, which it had been regular
for former quaestors to gather, should be summoned by the Board of Ten.”19 The
Decemviri Stlitibus Iudicandi had been, during the Republic, the court tasked with
determining a person’s status (citizen or peregrinus, freedman or slave, legally bound
to paterfamilias or not, etc…).20 Suetonius does not bat an eye at this reappropriation
of Republican bodies for new jobs. He presents it as normal and, more importantly,
a continuation of the same “Board of Ten” that had served during the Republic rath-
er than a new decemviral court. This was clearly not an actual maintenance of the
Republican court, and Augustus did this without consent, but Suetonius mentions
none of this. He is content with portraying Augustus’ programs as continuous with
the Republic, as per the first Emperor’s wish, and because, by drawing clear parallels
with the imperially-presented Vespasian, he can show that Augustus was truly an
autocrat.

Vespasian was faced with an even worse court problem than Augustus. Morgan
posits that the cases that built up in the years 68-69 C.E. alone would have taken
over thirty years to resolve without Vespasian’s subsequent reforms.21 To rectify the
situation, Vespasian “chose by lot commissioners to restore what had been taken in
the war, and to make special judgments in the centumviral court.”22 Just like Augustus,
who had granted the Decemviri Stlitibus Iudicandi the power to preside over the
centumviri, Vespasian appointed people to expedite the proceedings of the same
court. Here, however, Suetonius keeps up no Republican pretense: the commissio-
ers were never a Republican body. Vespasian simply decided that they were needed,
and so created the position. Jones notes, “the commissioners were given special pow-
ers” to choose the cases the centumviral court would hear and when, and to force
the court into session even on traditional off-days to reach the end of the queue
sooner.23 These special powers were not at all Republican, nor did anyone claim that
they were, as Augustus and Suetonius had done with the Decemviri. However, there
can be denying the similarities between the Decemviri and the commissioners. Both
were tasked with expediting the proceedings of the centumviri, both were given
special powers, and both were departures from traditional Republican offices. Yet

19  Suet. Aug. 36.1: “ut centumviralem hastam quam quaesturam functi consuerant cogere decemviri cogere.”
20  Hammond (1933, p. 43).
22  Suet. Ves. 10.1: “sorte elegit per quos rapta bello restituerentur quique iudicia centumviralia, quibus.”
23  Suetonius (2000, p. 76).
Suetonius does not insinuate that Vespasian’s action was in any way Republican. As Augustus’ was so similar, it must not have been Republican either, and Suetonius’ clearly purposeful connection between the two highlights his belief that the first Emperor was just that.

Why, then, does Suetonius present Augustus’ efforts as continuous with the Republic? Because, as a biographer and not a historian, Suetonius was not so interested with presenting the facts as he was with getting into the minds of his subjects. Augustus wished himself to be remembered as the protector of the Republic, and wanted his government to be remembered as a continuation of the Republic. He makes this quite clear in the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, the official record of his actions: when the conspirators in the murder of Julius Caesar “…afterwards made war upon the Republic, (Augustus) twice defeated them in battle,” thus presenting himself as defender of the Republic. Later, he asserts, “I did not accept any power offered to me that was contrary to the practices of our ancestors.” Though perhaps out of line with modern, or even classical, historical standards, it would have been an affront to the practice of biography, which the ancients conceived of as a literary form separate from history, for Suetonius to ignore how Augustus thought about (or wanted others to think about) his actions. Thus, the biographer must look for another opportunity to show that, despite the Republican face shown by the *Res Gestae*, Augustus’ Principate was an autocratic government. He finds this in his *Life of Vespasian*.

Suetonius also has a more self-serving motive. An outright accusation of Augustus misrepresenting his actions could have been construed as criticism of the first Emperor and the Principate that he created—a form of government that served Suetonius extremely well. The emperors had established new offices for equestrians, establishing “an equestrian bureaucracy, confident in its new found influence, and contemptuous of the senate which only in name administered the state.” He was wholly part of this Imperial bureaucracy, serving several roles under Trajan before becoming secretary *ab epistulis* to Hadrian. These offices and others like them granted to the equestrian class power and influence formerly reserved for Senators. As a beneficiary of this system, Suetonius had no reason to disapprove of the Princi-

pate. Wallace-Hadrill (1984) notes, “Suetonius had broken free from the senatorial influence of his patron Pliny and wrote as the spokesman of a new generation of civil servants, convinced of the practical advantages of autocracy and free from the traditionalism that hankered after the republic and senatorial government.”

However, even during the Principate, being a member of the equestrian bureaucracy was not always so safe. Often, these Romans were subject to paranoid accusations of conspiracy by the Emperor. So the timing of Suetonius’ life and work must be taken into account. He lived during a relatively stable period, spending his youth and education in Rome under the three Flavian Emperors, and his adult life under the first three Adoptive Emperors. The only Emperor of these six who could have soured Romans on the Principate was Domitian, who, by Suetonius’ own account, was not the cruel man history remembers, for at least the first portion of his reign. However, he looked favorably on Vespasian, so similar to Augustus, and Titus, even referring to the latter as “the love and delight of the human race,” and, although he did not write lives of Nerva, Trajan or Hadrian, all three are generally recognized by ancient and modern texts as, at worst, inoffensive, and at best, the finest Roman Emperor of them all. Thus, it must have been easy during Suetonius’ time for an equestrian to be enamored with the Principate.

Suetonius clearly understood that which modern classicists have accepted; that Augustus was a princeps in the same mold as the later, incontestably autocratic, Emperors. However, in order to do due diligence to the genre of biography, he must dance around this understanding, only making it evident when one contrasts the vita of Augustus with that of Vespasian. Suetonius thus confirms the classicist’s understanding of the political distinctions between Augustus’ government and those governments that had come before. However, it is important to remember that Suetonius is just one author; others, like the historians Velleius Paterculus, who lived during Augustus’ time, and Tacitus, certainly saw things differently. I thus hope neither to confirm nor contradict the accepted line between Republic and Empire, simply to introduce some nuance to its study. The analysis and opinions of Roman writers themselves need not just be considered historical source material, but also arguments one way or another, in much the same vein as modern scholarship.

29 Suet. Dom. 3.2: “Circa administrationem autem imperii aliquandiu se varium praestitit, mixtura quoque aequabili vitiorum atque virtutum, donec virtutes quoque in vitia deflexit.”
30 Suet. Tit. 1.1: “amor ac deliciae generis humani.”
Works Cited


The relationship between place and event is critical to the study of antiquity, yet at times this connection is left unexamined by students in Classics courses. Instead maps are employed as a type of decoration to help situate a student within the narrative or philological debate, and discussions of space become secondary to the examination of literary and archaeological evidence. But why and how things happened are fundamentally entwined with where they happened; place and space, that is, help to explain events. By examining the relationship between geography and history, students can and do gain a deeper understanding of the Classical world and thus this approach is beneficial and rewarding.\(^1\)

Students in my courses often bring with them a variety of knowledge and assumptions of ancient history recalled from their past studies or popular box office screenings (such as the recent Warner Bros. Pictures, *300: Rise of An Empire*). Too often, however, students do not bring with them a strong awareness of the geography of the Mediterranean World. In addition, they are uncomfortable with using maps as a tool to examine history and when faced with historical narratives, for example Herodotus or Ammianus Marcellinus, the lack of spatial awareness has negatively affected their analysis and familiarity and, as a result, their interest in reading the an-

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1. See Wachowicz and Owens for a general bibliography and summary on the term “space” and the connection between history and place (2013, pp. 127-128). See also Bodenhammer (2010, pp. 14ff).
cient works. Using maps as images to connect students to the narrative, as well as for launching points into discussions, has inherent value. And, providing students with a more interactive and creative tool can open avenues for better student learning outcomes. Although mapping tools are becoming more intuitive and increasingly easy to use, finding the right tool for studying ancient history has not always been easily accomplished. Nevertheless, if the concept of using digital maps and HGIS is put at the front of the pedagogy, the use of these applications as an alternative tool to analyze the past and reconstruct historical space can result in discovery-based learning as long as the choice of tools is not too prohibitive.

Whether it is the use and applicability of web applications and social media tools or mapping and GIS software, the marriage of technology and teaching has drawn the attention of many in Classics (and the humanities). New applications have challenged not only the ways in which instructors teach Latin, Greek, and Classical studies but also the manner in which students study and examine the ancient world. Moreover, the current generation of students is becoming increasingly familiar with the use of technology within and outside of the classroom as course management systems are being developed not only to service distance learning, but also in residential schools in order to extend and enhance the classroom.

The present paper discusses one such union of technology and teaching, specifically the use of mapping technologies within Classics courses, and explores the benefits of creating a hybrid classroom and fostering the special relationship that can exist between history and geography. Working under two different grants over a two-year period, I worked with a programmer and created my own instructor-led mapping tool (called the Nearchus Project) to be used in my courses on Roman History, Greek History, and the Classical Languages. I then examined how this mapping tool could serve as an approach to integrate the use of more sophisticated tools such as those from ESRI can take time for an instructor to learn and for students, such a learning curve can be profoundly prohibitive. Instead, Neatline, Google Earth, Google's Map Maker, and the more recent Tour Builder offer user-friendly GIS-based applications. ORBIS, The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World, was an invaluable resource for my students.

Mares and Moschek, note that student capabilities must often be assessed when integrating "spatial history education." (2013, p. 67).

For studies in the use of GIS and HGIS in the humanities, see von Lünen and Travis (2013). In addition, game-based learning has also challenged traditional methodologies; see, for example, Travis (2011, pp. 25-42) for methods on using game-based learning in the Classics classroom.

For example, see Rydberg-Cox for a discussion on some online and digital resources for ancient Greek and an example of a hybrid approach to teaching ancient Greek (2013, pp. 111-117).
mapping technology. In this way, I wanted to know if students could benefit from the abilities of mapping technologies to promote inquiry, collaboration, and collect alternatives to the logo-centric presentation and analysis of history. The present paper will discuss both the use of this tool and two case studies from courses where it has been employed. My intent here is to present what we did, what worked and did not, how these experiences led to better learning outcomes, and thus display the benefits and limitations of using mapping technologies in Classics.

TEACHING AND HGIS: THE LANDSCAPE TODAY

In *Placing History, How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS are changing Historical Scholarship*, Anne Knowles notes that the use of GIS by historians can go beyond the illustrative and, by creating a historical GIS (HGIS), one can gain an intimate knowledge of sources and subject area. Hence, historical GIS can inform research and provide another method to analyze the past. Bodenhamer argues that by allowing historians to offer and view alternative perspectives, GIS technology can serve as a catalyst for further inquiry and analysis. Likewise, studies in the use of GIS to create historic spaces have emphasized the benefits of using GIS or GIS-based platforms; with the simplest of tools, the integration of GIS-based platforms, such as Google Maps, “enables even pupils with little experience of spatial historical thinking to recognize the variations between historical levels of spatial representation.” Such project-based learning can and does inspire curiosity and by using the digital tools, students work with multi-dimensional and non-linear representations of history. Thus, “the dynamic use of data reinforces the skills of problem solving-based learning,” write Mares and Moschek, “and promotes and fosters analytical think-

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6 In April 2013 I received a one-year grant from my home institutions (Hobart & William Smith Colleges) for an Innovative Digital Pedagogies Project supported by The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. This project was a continuation of a Fall 2012 grant for Innovative Teaching supported by the Center for Teaching and Learning at Hobart & William Smith Colleges.

7 Knowles (2008, pp. 2-13).


9 Mares and Moschek (2013, p. 67).
ing.” Nevertheless, the initial growth of historical GIS was slow, but the past decade has seen rapid change and an increased use of historic GIS in research. The benefits for those who use HGIS seem clear enough, yet often the decision is not so much the use of GIS rather the challenges of learning and becoming proficient with the technology, and then teaching courses with it.

Classicists have been producing various forms of digital works such as databases, 3D virtual models, GIS-based interactive maps, games, and more. For example, the UCLA Cultural Virtual Reality Lab created digital 3D models of the buildings and spaces of the Roman Forum using imaging software. Others have used the Cultural Virtual Reality Lab and a mapping program, HyperCities, to create digital projects that can be used in the classroom. One example, the Visualizing Statues project, recreates the religious experience of Rome, such as a procession down the Sacred Way complete with 3D images and descriptions of the statues as they might have once appeared. Similarly, the Digital Hadrian’s Villa Project has created a virtual world where users can experience Hadrian’s Villa in a virtual setting through an avatar, walk through the environs and even interact with other characters. These virtual worlds and 3D models allow users the ability to experience recreations of these ancient spaces in more detail. In addition, with these digital tools, scholars and students have opportunities to create representations of spaces where hypotheses can be tested and new approaches to understanding the ancient world and historical phenomena developed.

Beyond the virtual world, Classicists have also generated databases and mapping programs to organize and share data. Pleiades, for example, provides researchers with a database of geographic information about ancient world places and names. Linking locations and names with emerging data from users and contributors, Pleiades is an open source database that allows scholars to contribute to the data or

10 Mares and Moschek (2013, p. 69). Staley notes that the use of maps allows for data to be represented simultaneously and as such offers a different representation of history than written accounts (2013, pp. 149-150).
12 Elliot and Gillies (2009, pp. 6-7).
15 For an overview, see Frischer (2013). To enter the virtual villa, visit “Hadrian’s Villa” (n.d.).
16 Bagnall, Talbert, Elliott, and Horne (n.d.).
download a dataset to research or create a map. Using this database as well as maps provided by The Ancient World Mapping Center, the web-based GIS interface Antiquity À-la-carte gives users the ability to create their own maps with data from the ancient world just as someone in Environmental Science might create a map using other GIS mapping tools. Finally, the Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World (ORBIS) calculates communication costs in relation to time and space. As an interactive model, ORBIS simulates travel time based on travel preferences such as the time of year, the route, the type of travel (on foot, cart or boat for example) and environmental factors, and then determines the price of travel based on the data and analysis of the price edict of 301 CE. These databases and mapping technologies provide another way to organize, share, and present the spatial data of antiquity with which students can begin to understand the relationship between spatial, temporal and historical information.

Incorporating digital tools such as these within a classroom does affect pedagogy, both one’s philosophy and praxis, and although the discussion of using technology and improving pedagogy is not entirely new to Classics, it has made its own unique strides. In 2003, Barbara McManus and Carl Rubino wrote about the possibilities that computer technology, specifically the Internet, had to offer Classics, noting that there would be those who would “fear or disdain the internet.” But today most faculty seem to have moved beyond discussing if one ought to integrate technology into a classroom and instead are asking how best an instructor can do so. In Classics, scholars have even suggested a need to provide better pedagogical training to graduate students, including ways and resources to help integrate technology into one’s courses. And as Ann McCullough has remarked, it may be important to consider changes to teaching Classics as a more sophisticated pedagogy is needed to teach in today’s environment.”

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17 Meanwhile, The Ancient World Mapping Center provides an online place for scholars to collaborate and exchange information about the geography of the ancient world as well as cartography and GIS issues concerning antiquity. The AWMC also organizes and provides access to maps and resources related to the Barrington Atlas and the mapping tool Antiquity À-la-carte (n.d.).
18 Antiquity À-la-carte (n.d.).
19 Scheidel and Meeks (n.d.).
20 McManus and Rubino (2003, p. 608).
21 Reinhart writes that it is of “critical importance” that graduates familiarize themselves and learn to teach with technology, and that by integrating technology into the curriculum teachers can provide a more stimulating class that will help Latin “compete” with other languages and maintain student enrollments (2012, p. 124).
A fine example of the possibilities and challenges of digital pedagogy is the work of the *Digital Cultural Mapping Project* at UCLA. This project explored the use of digital technologies by developing a program focused on the digital humanities. The UCLA project had to consider many issues, but particular to the present paper was how instructors taught the use of digital tools as one method of examining and presenting history without neglecting those traditional methods of historical research. The project provided core courses on the development of digital tools, labs on how to use GIS and other tools, then integrated these digital skills and technologies into existing and new courses. The core course therefore provided students with theories, models, and training so that when introduced to digital projects within affiliated humanities courses students were able to choose the right platform for their work.

In a course on Roman spectacles, for example, students examined the spectacles for the first seven weeks of the course and then, began to develop their own digital projects to articulate a thesis. The course introduced students to hypothetical representations of the past such as historical fiction and digital reconstructions of spaces and thus examined not only the history of the spectacles but also how they have been represented. Equipped with digital training, class lectures and research, students were thus able to create their own projects. As Chris Johanson describes: “one project interrogated large-scale entertainment venues to contend that imperial power manifest itself through an overt control of spectacular spaces.” Another group created a 3D model with the image of a blood-stained toga as a prop at Caesar’s funeral to test out their own hypothesis on funerary image manipulation. The students, noted Johanson, were able to shift from, “consumers to producers” and were able to synthesize the material from the first half of the course to present their own narratives in the second half of the course; their projects included arguments that could only, said Johanson, be developed by “space-based argumentation.”

In another course, Roman Architecture and Urbanism, students used a 3D vi-

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23 Johanson and Sullivan note that the pedagogical goals of the project were to introduce students to the tools that could, “equip [students] with the form of geospatial, digital literacy,” to provide technical training in the tools in order to be able to contribute to digital mapping in humanities, and to develop critical thinking skills that are related to representations of spatial and temporal data (2012, p. 123).


sualization program alongside a mapping platform, *HyperCities*, to test and develop a hypothesis or analyze an architectural challenge within the Roman world. Diane Favro explains that the digital tools “stimulate spatial and chronological thinking and collaborative, multidisciplinary engagement.” For example, in order to answer why the Claudian port at Ostia failed, students had to examine the port’s construction, tides, types of vessels, artistic representations of the port, as well as technologies and then, offer an alternative site for a Roman port. Another group hypothesized what Roman theaters would look like if built without Greek influence by first analyzing types of construction techniques in Italy and then using 3D models for simulations and hypothesis testing.  

In addition to these virtual reconstructions, studies in the use of digital maps and GIS in the classroom have shown that similar to virtual worlds, digital maps also challenge students to examine new questions or re-frame previous inquiries, and that students must do so by performing multiple tasks on their own. When developing historical GIS (HGIS) for the classroom, instructors provide their students with projects that consider how to research and evaluate sources and then include within their research “spatial thinking.” In any use of HGIS, says Amy Hillier, students must first perform traditional historical research and look within the sources for historical spatial data. Then, students can frame their own research questions and engage in critical thinking. For example, for one in-class assignment Urban Studies students explored a discriminatory housing practice called “redlining” where access to mortgages was restricted by the racial composition of neighborhoods and communities. Students used GIS and its ability to layer maps to study the relationship between the characteristics of neighborhoods and mortgages. Being able to answer a difficult question or exploring in more detail historical problems provided sufficient incentives, but it was the use of the ability to layer maps that provided students with the representation of multiple variables to analyze. Students in this class learned the entire story behind why certain national lending companies were less prominent in some areas than others. Like the UCLA projects, the creative process challenged students to consider what is spatial data, and how to present and analyze this data. Because of the abilities of GIS, students were then able to re-test old hypotheses.

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30 Hillier (2008, pp. 73-91).
31 Hillier (2008, p. 73).
For example, one group created a map based on data concerning prostitution arrests in Philadelphia from 1913 to 1961 and thus challenged notions that prostitution became more spread out as brothels were replaced by other forms of prostitution. In fields such as Urban Studies, the layering of maps is possible because of the availability of data and has thus allowed historians to reconstruct space in order to analyze historical phenomena. But examples from ancient history where data is less readily available are surfacing. For instance, covering over 2,000 years of Chinese history, the China Historical GIS (CHGIS) project successfully integrated a history of China and its changes in administration, culture, and economic processes with GIS technology. The CHGIS created a record of the administrative units and their changes over time and, by using GIS, explored as Bol states, “how spatial relationships change over time.” As a research tool, the CHGIS provides the platform into which more data can be added or from which spatial data can be exported. Users can, therefore, either see the administrative units and capitals, analyze the data, create their own maps from the CHGIS or increase the set by adding their own data.

Finally, GIS-based mapping has also been deployed in courses to complement literature and language. In a course on the French Language, the instructors utilized GIS to explore and study the people and landmarks of France. An interactive map provided students with a type of virtual world where students roamed around the country using features to zoom in and explore the highlights of France in detail. In addition, students were able to watch videos, listen to pronunciation, and relate the places they read about with the images, videos, and geography. The project revealed that because of the interactive nature of the digital tools, students were better able to learn and remember the places that they had previously studied.

In all of these examples, from Roman spectacles to Chinese history to the

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33 Hillier (2008, p. 85). In another Urban Studies course, Drennon, used GIS for problem-based instruction where students worked on projects for Habitat for Humanity (HfH) in San Antonio, Texas, in order to assess the impacts of HfH on the city (2007, pp. 140-152). Drennon noted that among the issues, one group of students explored the question of whether personal and property crimes rates were affected by a HfH neighborhood (2007, p. 149). The group not only had to consider crime rates but also the types of crime and the comparisons between the neighborhoods; map layers were again able to provide the visual presentation of the spatial data for comparison.

34 Bol (2008, p. 28).


culture of France, the use of digital mapping has allowed researchers to suggest new ideas and challenge previous theories. Meanwhile, the examples of the use of digital tools and HGIS in classrooms reveal that the use of digital maps and GIS has the potential to provide students in humanities courses with the same experience and project-based learning as those in the sciences in which hypotheses can be tested and relationships between multiple variables explored. On the other hand, the complexity of teaching with mapping tools in a Classics course goes beyond the practical challenges. Students need not only to be taught some of the technical skills, but also need to learn the theoretical: what is spatial information; why is it important to the study of history; how do maps tell a story; how does one analyze and critique representations of historical spatial data in digital formats? Therefore, the commitment to using maps and GIS within in a Classics course can seem daunting, but the challenges are surmountable. 37

In sum, the technology of GIS is becoming increasingly popular for research and teaching and yet the efficiency and effectiveness of historical GIS and GIS-based mapping software as teaching tools in Classics is an area that can continue to benefit from more attention. 38

**THE APPLICATION: THE NEARCHUS PROJECT**

In response to the issues and questions concerning the use of technology and mapping software, working with a programmer I developed an application, called the *Nearchus Project*, to be used in various Classics courses. 39 The tool is a mobile optimized application (a web-based application) that provides a collaborative, interac-

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37 How the use of geospatial technology in Classics, such as GIS and GIS-based applications, leads to better understanding of content has not yet been adequately answered. Other fields, such as Environmental Education, are currently considering how such tools help to develop better skills suited for the discipline, see Barnett *et al.* (2012, p. 345). And, a HASTAC online forum asked whether using mapping programs such as Google Earth is problematic in mapping historical and literary geography (2013).

38 Digital pedagogy is not only a growing *techne* but it is also one that is continually being tested and re-imagined within a wide array of fields and disciplines. Travis notes that although scholars are trying to survive the digital revolution, not all have entirely grasped “how critical spatial thought can illuminate their fields of study.” (2013, p. 174).

39 For an overview and access, visit www.nearchus.org. The first iteration of the project lacked a name and a few students in my Alexander course had suggested Nearchus after the friend of Alexander the Great who was appointed admiral of the expedition down the Indus. The analogy between someone chosen to lead an expedition and a program that allows an instructor to lead students though discovering spatial data in a history class seemed appropriate.
tive mapping tool where the instructor can lead a lesson by choosing locations and creating fields with specific questions. Students can then access the program, choose a location from a list, respond to the questions and, if needed, add images. The system was built using the LAMP stack with Symfony PHP Framework and jQuery Mobile to provide a responsive user interface that would work on a variety of devices. The map uses the Google Maps API as well as a helper library called Gmap3 to simplify the calls between Nearchus and the Google API.\footnote{Like most current web applications, jQuery is used throughout to simplify JavaScript calls, which are primarily used for map manipulation. The application is currently Cloud-hosted by Linode via a datacenter in Trenton, NJ.} To integrate this program into a classroom, students need a device to access it, but can use anything from an iPhone to a desktop computer. Once in class, an instructor can choose to project the program while each individual user signs in and begins entering data. Since it is cloud-based, refreshing the browser updates any student work on the map. There is no need for any licensing, sharing files or inviting individuals to view a map. The Nearchus Project, thus, differs from other mapping programs in that it provides a common map for people to enter data into, much like a wiki (such as a Google document) allows individuals to type text into the same blank document synchronously.

My criteria for building our program were for it to be simple to use, allow for creativity, and promote collaboration. By creating the program ourselves, we could add only those tools and features that we found to be essential to the learning process and experience. As the instructor, I created a list of locations (for example, ancient cities, communities, or places of interest such as battle locations) that students could choose from and then research.

The program, that is, does not pre-chose locations or come with any features but rather, using the geocoding tool of Google Maps, plots any location entered by an instructor on a modern map. In this way, an instructor can allow the class to first research and determine what locations they would like to place on the map or chose these for the students. Both approaches have their values. If a class needs help starting, an instructor may choose locations on their own and then, on a second map, ask the students to choose locations based on their own interests, research or familiarity with the topic. Secondly, once the map contains locations, the instructor can pose a series of specific questions that each student can respond to for their individual location so that, when viewed collectively, every student responds to the same questions on the same map. Hence, students could put their narrative (their responses to questions) onto the map independently and simultaneously. Their responses appear as a “pop-up bubble” on the Google Map as in the following example:
Name: Lutetia

Distance to Rome (miles): Shortest route, quickest, and cheapest (calculate per kil. of wheat): If traveling from Lutetia to Roma in October, the fastest route would take 29.4 days, and cover a distance of 1,910 kilometers, or 1,186 miles (15.91 per kil of wheat); the shortest route would take 59.1 days and cover 1683 kilometers, or 1,045 miles (47.11 per kil of wheat); and the cheapest route would take 40.8 days, covering 1937 kilometers, or 1,203 miles (10.59 per kil of wheat). Military travel time in the same month and using the fastest route would take 23.4 days and cover 1,937 kilometers, but if the army proceeded in rapid military march, it would only take 18.1 days to cover 1,910 kilometers - that’s 1,186 miles!

How and When did it become a Province: Lutetia, which literally means “place near a swamp,” was founded by a tribe called the Parisii and became a Roman conquest in 53 BCE during Julius Caesar’s subjugation of the Gauls. It surrendered around 51 BCE and functioned as a Roman town thereafter.

Resources and economy: Not much is written about Lutetia’s economy, but due to remnants of a forum, three baths (the most well preserved being the Cluny baths), an amphitheater, an aqueduct, a rampart, and multiple public buildings, it is clear that Lutetia was well populated and fairly prosperous. The Seine River was a great resource, for it facilitated trade between Rome and its further provinces.

Here, the bold-face type represent the questions posited by the instructor to which each student responded for their respective location. This student had chosen the location Lutetia (modern-day Paris) from the list of locations I had entered. The instructor can develop these questions on her or his own or students can discuss first what data each location should contain, and then how this data could be presented as part of the collaborative map.

In sum, the application is one that the instructor leads but in which the students create their own narrative by responding to questions. In this way its simplicity

41 For brevity, I included just a portion of the student’s response here. Students used ORBIS to calculate routes and cost of travel.
can lead to more advanced levels of analysis and research where students can define their own spaces to analyze, collect their own data, ask their own questions, and thus frame their own discussions and reconstructions of historic space.

CASE STUDY 1

For an instructor the *Nearchus* tool is, therefore, a blank canvas; there are no pre-plot ted locations, only the Google map. Each assignment can contain different locations, different questions, and thus different discussions; each assignment, that is, can be its own map and lesson.\(^4\) In my first case study, the tool was used as part of a course on the Roman Republic. Students were asked to choose a location from a list I had entered into the program, research this one location and input their research into the map. The goals of this project were to gain a better understanding of the content, specifically to learn about the various types of communities that made up the Roman Republic, to consider the affects of geography on a community’s prosperity, and to begin to understand how digital maps present information.

Thus, students began by creating a collaborative map of 34 locations of the Roman Republic. In order to facilitate the research, I chose a set of questions I wanted each student to research and respond to and then enter their responses into the program for their specific location. The questions were as follows: (1) calculate the distance from Rome and how to get there; (2) what was the type of community (colonia, etc.); (3) what is the name of the nearest modern community or city; (4) provide a brief history of the location (200–225 word description); (5) provide an image or video of the location. Students were asked to visit the Stanford Geospatial Network (*ORBIS*) to calculate distances, travel costs and times and then, work on their own with library resources to research locations. Once each location was completed, students worked in groups of three in class and responded on paper to the following questions: how does cost affect travel and trade under the Republic (509–31 BCE); how can geography benefit cities and communities so that some, because of their location, may gain more wealth? Finally, as a class we discussed how geography does or does not affect prosperity in the ancient Roman world?

In performing some basic research and spatial reasoning at the outset of the

\(^4\) For example, in the case of the example cited above (Lutetia) the goal was to create a map on the topic of Roman provinces during a course on the Roman Empire. In another class (see the example below of Brundisium), the goal was to create a map about trade and travel in the late Republic and early Empire.
assignment, students begin working with maps and asking questions about space
and representations without having to set up accounts and learn how to navigate a
particular system. That is, the simplicity of a program can be its strength and in this
way make discussions about history, geography and digital maps the focus. Without
having to work with the cartographic features and layering, students were beginning
to understand what is historical spatial information, such as the location of commu-
nities and their proximity to economic resources.

For the in-class assignments, an instructor can choose to focus on the content
of the map or its presentation. For instance, in addition to the exploring the history
of the Roman Republic, students also informally discussed the ways in which a
digital map serves as a repository for information and how maps presents informa-
tion. Students asked what sort of information was valuable when considering the
relationship between the history of Rome and the geography of the Mediterranean.
Moreover, I found that students began asking questions about maps and the pre-
sentation of information on a map, such as how a tool like ORBIS calculates cost
of travel or why classmates chose certain routes when they calculated distances.
Students were better able to join these discussions because they had already begun
the process of inputting their own data based on their own research. Like their
counterparts in Urban Studies and Architecture courses mentioned above, students
in this Roman Republic class were looking for data, trying to analyze it, and then
present it to their peers.

This first case study concerned the initial use of this program in the fall of 2011
in a class of thirty-six students, only one of which was a Classics major. The initial
learning goal was to apply the tool so that students would gain a better understand-
ing of the course’s content and the historical narrative of an ancient culture. Howev-
er, at the end of the course I concluded that the use of the mapping tool went beyond
this specific goal. Instead, by collectively building a single map, engaging in a group
and class discussion, and exploring locations using mapping software, students were
becoming more inquisitive and autonomous.

These learning outcomes were the result of my own experiences during an en-
tire semester where the map project was loosely built into the grade for the course,
with 5% of the final grade dependent upon the completion of two individual entries
and participation during two in-class projects.43 For each of their entries, students
were asked to choose a location, explain how its geography affected its prosperi-

43 My Classical Studies courses tend to be populated with those who are not concentrating in Classics;
hence, each semester witnesses a wide variety of levels, experiences, and abilities.
ty, and then research the entire map to become familiar with the locations about which their peers had written. Each individual entry was graded on effort, the level of analysis, and precision of historical accuracy. In some instances, the data was overwhelming and the student had to select carefully what to include. For example, when describing Brundisium, one student kept the historical narrative to a minimum to highlight its importance as a port for Rome:

**Significance to Time Period:** After the Punic Wars, Brundisium became a major naval port for the Romans. It was also the major port for trade with Greece and the East because of its location in the boot heel on the Adriatic Sea. Brundisium was connected to Rome by the Via Appia, built by Appius Claudius Caecus in 312 BC. Two pillars originally flanked the end of the Via Appia, although only one now remains.

In this case, the student was given full credit for this part of their entry and Brundisium was referenced several times by students during that week's lectures; brevity and accuracy had helped peers learn more about Roman trade. In other cases, students simply did not put in the effort to research their location and it was clear that these students did not go beyond the Internet for their research. For example, one student wrote about Massilia (modern-day Marseille) the following: “The history wasn't so hard to find - it was the status that eluded me for a while, because Wikipedia didn't specify it. I had to dig around more for that … Nothing really all that important happened at my city (Mersaille), it was important to Rome because it was a port city connecting trade routes from Rome to France and Spain.” In addition to the spelling mistake, this entry led other students to erroneous conclusions about Massilia and did not help to promote collaboration. Students did use it, however, to discuss how to research ancient locations since it was clear to several students that a more thorough examination of Marseille would have helped the group to understand better the economy of the Roman world. In sum, the learning objectives were affected by the level of research and attention to writing that the project required outside of class; those who had spent adequate time researching their ancient locations and then responding to the questions provided a better collaborative experience for their

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44 One of the most challenging aspects was assessment. For each of these individual locations, I did include a rubric to grade students individually. The rubric included the following: meeting the deadline (5 pts); meeting the criteria (5 pts); accuracy of spatial information (10 pts); accuracy of historic narrative (10 pts); quality of historic narrative (5 pts); quality of image or video (5 pts); attendance in class for group work (10 pts).
peers. In class, discussions began with students working in groups and during general class discussion, groups then formulated their own questions for the entire class to discuss such as what areas or communities on the map might have become, due to their location, wealthier than others? Lastly, during the final exam, I provided an extra-credit mapping quiz to see if students could remember where previously discussed places were located in the ancient world.

The assessment of each student’s individual entry and class discussions did show that students were developing a better understanding of the historical narrative; they were able to discuss events with more clarity, knew where events happened in relation to each other, and showed more interest than in past courses in discussing the economic and political relationship between the provinces and the Roman government. In class, students were excited to discuss the geography of the ancient Roman world, thus providing anecdotal evidence that they were becoming more inquisitive about the content of the course. More importantly, by discussing the map and using it as a research tool, students were asking their own questions about the geography and thus framing their own inquiry into the historic space. Although the results of the final map quiz did not prove that the use of the mapping software improved their ability to remember where locations were, the anecdotal evidence showed that there was value in using this tool; students felt that they did connect better with the content through their analysis of the collaborative map.

At the end of the course, students isolated three issues concerning the use of maps. First, 95% of the class responded that they work with maps less than 3 times a year in their collegiate career, hence their familiarity and understanding of maps was not necessarily strong enough for the current project. Second, 57% of the students had problems finding data or information, but several comments made it clear that students were relying too much on the Internet for their research and not the library, or that they were not putting sufficient effort forth to complete the projects. Finally, students focused much more on their own individual assignments then on reading the entire map and contributing to the collaborative effort.

After reflecting upon the results of the project, the student evaluations, and discussions with a cohort of other professors working on a digital pedagogy initiative, my learning objectives changed at the end of the semester. When I began re-envisioning how I would work with maps again in a class, I began to think of ways that one could use maps in order to promote inquiry and as tools to provide students a different method to examine ancient history. By focusing on the skills that can be developed by using mapping software, students were learning not only the content of Roman history and the craft of ancient historians but also how to find, analyze,
and use spatial historical information. The first case study revealed, therefore, that students were capable of doing much more with mapping software than becoming more familiar with the content of their course - they were ready and able to discuss the ways in which maps represent ideas and can lead to more questions about the past. In this way, students did achieve a deeper and more sophisticated analysis by thinking about how information about the past is presented and about the connection between place and space.

CASE STUDY 2

Consequently, in the following semester we focused on how mapping technology could be used to serve as a catalyst for collaboration and inquiry, all the while allowing for students to gain a deeper knowledge of the subject area. We used the Nearchus Project in a much smaller class (eighteen students) with more Classics majors and minors. In this course (The Fall of the Roman Empire), students were required to collaboratively build two maps with Nearchus and then create their own historical map with another tool and present their map to the class at the end of the year. Before the course began, I surveyed the class and the majority affirmed that they used maps to orient themselves but did not use maps in their analysis or research; 14 of the 18 students responded that they had not used any mapping software as a tool to explore or examine history and were unfamiliar with using geography and mapping technologies as a research tool.

The assignment differed from the first iteration (case study 1) in its topic and process. To begin with, the course focused on the Roman Empire and the mapping lessons on the provinces. Second, students generated the list of locations, the questions each student would research for their own location, and then, the specific topics for in-class discussions. In this way, the students became the leaders and creators of the lessons.

Similar to the first case study, students choose locations from the list generated by the class and then entered their data. The questions the group asked varied from one map assignment to the next, but for the first map the students decided to respond to the following for each location: what cities were located within the inner circle of provinces that lacked frontier forces but were taxed and drained of resources; what cities relied on domestic industry or local resources; what cities from the list prospered because of the proximity to resources; what factors limited their prosperity.
As in the first case study, once each student had researched and entered their responses into the program, we discussed our map. We asked, for example, what data we believed was missing and what data we would have liked to add to this map in order to continue researching the economy and logistics of the provincial system. Hence, students were discussing the relationship between spatial, temporal, and historic information. Outside of class, students used our Course Management System (Canvas) to continue their discussion and respond to questions such as the following: what cities prospered because of the proximity to resources and what were these resources; does a location's proximity to Rome affect its prosperity; in this way, the use of the mapping tool allowed students to frame their own questions and then collect data on their own.\footnote{Such a benefit is echoed by Mares and Moschek (2013, pp. 66-69).}

When the semester came to an end, students were required to create their own historical map (we used Google’s Tour Builder). For this assignment, students had to set up an account, build a map and then, present their map to the class. During this presentation, each student had to address the benefits and limitations to using mapping technology for their specific topics.\footnote{Google’s Tour Builder was very easy to use, though its name should convey how it operates - it provides tours by zooming in and out of locations based on the order or route that is entered. Hence, when projecting and presenting the maps, the program was often too distracting.} The requirements for each student were the following: chose a topic, formulate a question or thesis, and look for spatial data to support or explain the thesis. Some chose to study the locations of battles during the late Empire, locations of frontier forces, and even the location of churches and cathedrals. But the best projects were those that had a clear thesis. For example, one student examined the re-elaboration of Roman iconography during the Renaissance, how Italian cities modeled their own artistic works on Roman art and architecture and if location and proximity to Rome was a defining factor.

Another student tried to map changes in the Latin language during the late Empire and connect this topic to the political and social changes in the West. The student wanted to know if these social changes could be observed also in the changes to the languages. First, he had to find documents such as texts containing the “Oaths of Strasbourg” and then he tried to map the locations of these and other pieces of evidence to connect changes in languages to the places where he had documented social change.

The topics these and other students chose and the questions they pursued were their own. Moreover, these students researched their topics by looking for spatial
information within the sources and asking their own questions. For example, where are current examples of the re-elaboration of Roman iconography and does location influence the type of re-elaboration? In addition, when presenting their maps to the class, the students thought about the ways in which presenting their information with the digital tool helped complete their understanding of the story or historical phenomenon. In this way, students in this course were acting autonomously, performing historic research, exploring and testing their own ideas, all-the-while experiencing how digital tools can present information.\footnote{The final project could have, in fact, been better given more time. These students were working on this final project during the last three weeks of school when exams, papers and the rigor of finals impeded much of their work. Nevertheless, as one student put it, the project felt more like the beginning of something rather than the end of the class.}

In addition to their final presentation, students were given a quiz at the end of the course with 28 locations on an outline map of the Mediterranean. Students were able to place locations on an outline map with greater frequency than in the first case study. Although no one could place all 28 locations, 67% of the class correctly located 14 or more of the 28 sites.\footnote{Only 15 out of the 18 students took the quiz. The 28 locations were the following: Constantinople, Nicomedia, Nicea, Pergamum, Ephesus, Antioch, Damascus, Emessa, Edessa, Tanaiss, Alexandria, Cirta, Leptis Magna, Carthage, Syracuse, Gades, Londinium, Lutetia, Colonia Agrippensia, Mogontiacum, Vindobona, Trier, Milan, Aquileia, Sirmium, Colonia Ulpia Traiana Dacia, Apulum, and Rome.} Those locations that 6 or more students (40\% of the class) were able to locate included the following: Constantinople, Nicomedia, Ephesus, Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage, Syracuse, Londinium, Trier, Milan, Aquileia and Sirmium. Places such as Edessa, Tanaiss, Mogontiacum, and Gades were located by less than 4 out of the 15 students who took the quiz.

Student responses were overwhelmingly positive about the simplicity of the Nearchus tool, its effectiveness to learning the geography of the ancient world, and the utility as an alternative method to studying ancient history. Students also appreciated having a collaborative project that combined the use of technology and research and led to an independent project. All but one of the students found that Nearchus was easy to use and helpful in gaining a better understanding of the historical narrative of a course. As one wrote, “I really liked the ease with which I could simply plug information into separate distinct fields as well as the use of Google Earth as the actual map, making it a more interactive experience both for map creators and viewers.” Another noted that the use of the tool was helpful in “remembering where locations were in relation to other locations. Much easier than just reading about locations and being expected to know where they are.” A third commented,
“I appreciated the ways in which the map allowed me to spatially understand and interact with the vastness of the Roman Empire . . . Though simple, I feel that it granted me a more sophisticated awareness of the Empire’s inner workings.” The majority (88%) of the students also responded that the tool was effective in promoting inquiry and collaboration and did positively affect how they examined ancient history. As one student wrote, “It had given me a larger appreciation for the level of communication that took place between emperors and their administrations.” And in terms of research, another student commented that, “I enjoyed the process of researching information about a certain area and seeing what other people found out about their locations as well.” The responses reveal that, at its least, the use of the mapping helps students learn about the history and geography of a single location, as evidenced by one of the negative evaluations of the tool: “to be completely honest, using the maps didn’t really help me, with the exception of understanding things about my own location.” On the other hand, at its best, students not only begin to situate the historical narrative spatially, but also connect geographic variables to historical events and developments and think about the spatial relationship between history and geography.

CONCLUSION: A HYBRID CLASSROOM

Admittedly, the evidence and data is anecdotal and incomplete. We do not have any constant or pre-course diagnostic, the student population using these maps is small, and the assessment of the tool is still a work-in-progress. Nevertheless, in its infancy, it is a start and the qualitative evidence is strongly in favor of the benefits of using mapping technologies. Students have responded that they want to explore and create, and having them utilize digital mapping tools as a method to explore antiquity is a fine addition to other traditional methods. Hence, using mapping technology can help create a hybrid classroom where the marriage of teaching and technology can lead to better learning outcomes. These intuitive and easy mapping tools have challenged my own pedagogy so that I can see the benefits of bringing such tools into my class either as an integral part of the course or as additional tools when needed. My course goals of promoting inquiry, autonomy, and productivity alongside my traditional methods of instruction are thus enhanced and not hindered by the integration of mapping technology.49

49 Since the inception of the Nearbus Project, ESRI’s ArcGIS Online tool has become increasingly easy to use. In the spring of 2015 I did, in fact, use ArcGIS online for a class on Alexander the Great. Although it was very easy for me to create a map, for many of my students the features of the tool proved difficult to
In conclusion, as an alternative to using complicated software, integrating a course-specific mapping tool within a Classics course provides students with an introduction to historical GIS and, by using such mapping software and creating their own digital maps or historical GIS, students can better understand the content of the course. In addition, they can examine the benefits and limitations of using mapping technology in Classics while being introduced to critical spatial analysis. Introducing mapping technology into Classics courses does inspire curiosity and inquiry and, by beginning with a simple tool, the transition to more robust and sophisticated software and programs can and will follow. In the end, such a union of teaching and technology can challenge students to move beyond the use of maps for the illustrative purposes and toward using mapping technologies for their critical and analytical value.  

50 I would like to thank the editor and anonymous readers at NECJ for their comments, suggestions and questions. Any and all mistakes are entirely my own. I have presented various versions of this project and spoken to many colleagues concerning the use of digital tools at the annual conferences for CANE, CAM-WS and CAAS; I am very grateful for the support and feedback I have received at these annual meetings. I would also like to thank Rob Beutner and Juliet Habjan Boisselle of Hobart and William Smith Colleges’ Digital Learning Center who have been crucial to the development and support of this project. Finally, this project could not have been possible without the dedication of the programmer, Mike Schlossberg, who spent many hours not only building the Nearchus program but also helping to develop its use within my classroom.
Works Cited


Nathan Arrington,

*Ashes, Images and Memories: The Presence of the War Dead in Fifth-Century Athens.*


The appearance of this book, based upon the author’s 2010 Berkeley dissertation, is timely for several reasons. The public burial ground of Classical Athens, the so-called *demosion sêma* (to use Thucydides’ term), until recently revealed only by piece-meal rescue excavations, has now come into sharper focus, thanks to the excavations prompted by the construction of the Athens Metro. In 2009, an inscribed Athenian casualty list for the tribe Erechtheis from Marathon, found in a much later archaeological context in the Peloponnese, was published; at around the same time, the set of inscribed stones known as the “Monument of the Marathon Epigrams” was convincingly identified by Angelos Matthaiou as a centotaph for the Marathon dead erected in the *demosion sêma*. Earlier studies of the state institution of public burial in Athens (what Thucydides called simply the *patrios nomos*, the “ancestral custom”) had vacillated on the date of its introduction, some placing it as late as 465 B.C. As Arrington shows, it is now clear that both the burial place and the commemorative customs practiced there originated in the earliest days of the Athenian democracy (46–49).

In the first part of this book, Arrington offers a cogent archaeological reconstruction of the *demosion sêma*, which encompassed both collective polyandria for the dead of individual campaigns (an exception was made for the Marathon dead, buried under the Soros in the plain where they fell) and graves for worthy individuals who were not casualties of war. Indeed, the grave of Harmodios and Aristogeiton on the road to the Academy may have determined the location for subsequent state burials (72). Using a “scatter-cluster model” (88 and fig. 2.2) to map the space, Arrington stresses that the *demosion sêma* was not sharply delimited, and that the area between the Academy and the city walls of Athens also encompassed private tombs, sanctuaries, and pottery workshops. Athens’ state cemetery was physically amorphous, but at the same time it provided a new “cognitive framework” (120–123) for
remembering the dead as a community of the fallen.

The book’s two guiding insights link the Athenian institution of public burial with a wider spectrum of texts and images from Classical Athens. The first concerns how the imagery of the *démasion sêma*, with its long inscribed casualty lists and battle reliefs, dealt with the reality of defeat, particularly in the era of the Peloponnesian War: “the Athenians chose neither to ignore defeat nor to transform it into victory, but to enmesh it in a rhetoric of struggle” (107). Monuments and funeral orations alike elided the particulars of individual conflicts, transmuting them into episodes of an ongoing *agôn* between Athens and its enemies. Few of the reliefs from public monuments in the *démasion sêma* have survived; Arrington takes a minimalist approach to identifying these in the archaeological record, arguing that the reliefs began to be produced only in the 430s B.C., and even then sparingly, in keeping with the self-conscious restraint and austerity of fifth-century official commemoration. Arrington argues that the message of the public monuments was reinforced by visual schemata displayed in contemporary Athenian temple sculpture. The scenes of combat between Athenians and mythical foes (centaurs and Amazons) on the Parthenon metopes are “brutal representations of *agôn* in which Greeks died spectacularly at the hands of a powerful foe” (141). By the time we get to the reliefs of the Athena Nike temple in the 420s B.C., new imagery of caring for the wounded and retrieving the dead had found their way into battle scenes both mythological and historical.

Arrington’s second insight brings with it potentially broader implications for understanding Classical Athenian material culture. The *patrios nomos* instituted in the early years of the Athenian democracy was an imposition, unwelcome not only to wealthy, aristocratic families with an Archaic tradition of private funerary monuments, but to all Athenian families thus deprived of contact with the bodies of their own dead, who were now subsumed within the new conceptual category of the fallen. Both private portrait dedications on the Acropolis and private centotaphs (among them the famous relief stele for Dexileos of 394/3 B.C.) resort to the hyperbolic celebration of the individual achievements of the war dead in words and images, a counterpoint to the restrained public commemoration of the *démasion sêma*. The book concludes with a chapter on white-ground lekythoi, perhaps the most economically accessible form of private commemoration available to Athenian families. Here the typical scenes helped to fill the gap left by the public burial ritual by visualizing the war dead in various ways: they are present sometimes as living warriors departing from home, and sometimes as ghostly *eidola* standing beside their own tombs.
The book's production values are consistently good. All of the necessary illustrations are here, but readers may regret seeing only a single example of an inscribed casualty list (figure 3.1). The white-ground lekythoi discussed in the final chapter have been illustrated extensively, but the reproductions are small and some of the scenes are difficult to see. In this book, Arrington does not offer an epigraphical study of the inscribed casualty lists of the démosion sêma, or even a catalogue of their reliefs: for more about these, the reader is referred to the author's earlier published articles. The tone of the book is thoughtful and meditative throughout, and the text has been carefully edited; the bibliography is complete. Arrington has marshaled an impressive array of earlier scholarship while at the same time clearly asserting his own point of view.

*Ashes, Images, and Memories* is a welcome addition to the burgeoning bibliography on memory in the Greco-Roman world, differing notably from other recent studies in its focus on cognitive as opposed to collective memory; it is recommended reading for anyone interested in fifth-century B.C. Athens.

*NECJ* 42.3

Catherine M. Keesling

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Vincent Azoulay (trans. Janet Lloyd),

*Pericles of Athens.*


This critical biography of Pericles enjoys several strengths. First, it navigates successfully between anticipated pairs of hazards, such as idealization and vilification. Packing a lot of information into each chapter, it also offers a rich view of the strangeness (from modern perspectives) of Pericles’ world. Finally, the book concludes with a historiographical review tracing attitudes toward Pericles up to the twenty-first century. Three roughly chronological chapters follow an introduction, which articulates
goals, assesses ancient sources, and outlines the book. The first reviews both advantages and disadvantages of Pericles’ elite Alcmaeonid lineage. After sketching his education, it then examines the meager evidence for Pericles’ entry into public life, as chorêgos, in opposition to Cimon, and (allegedly) in support of Ephialtes’ reforms. The next two chapters (2–3) focus on the foundations of Pericles’ power: his position as strategos and his abilities as orator. Chapter 2 first explains the combination of political and military functions of a strategos. In discussing Pericles’ repeated election—an extraordinary fifteen times between 448/7 and 429/8 BCE—Azoulay addresses his role in repressing allied revolts and his proposed defensive strategy for the Peloponnesian War. Chapter 3 nicely balances Pericles’ ability to speak with his savvy sense of when to remain silent. As he weighs Thucydides’ claim that Pericles could both rouse and calm his audience, Azoulay examines Pericles’ use of striking metaphors, attested by a range of sources.

Chapters 4 and 5 investigate Pericles’ role in shaping Athenian imperialism and its economy. Azoulay reminds his readers that Pericles was by no means the first of Athens’ leaders to promote empire, nor the last. Nonetheless, he does not fully exonerate him. Pericles was likely the first to theorize the empire and used brutal force to retain it. “A Periclean Economy?” (ch. 5) succinctly explains the economic lives of individuals, including Pericles’ unusual way of managing his estate, and the financial workings of the city and its empire, including, as the chapter’s title suggests, the redistribution of its wealth.

Chapters 6–8 move into waters made especially murky by the unreliability of sources, in particular, fragments of Old Comedy. They serve, however, as starting points for speculations about Pericles’ personal life and tensions between his public and private conduct. “Pericles and his Circle” (ch. 6) explores Athenian marriage strategies and the identity of Pericles’ first wife. Azoulay also questions the very existence of a circle and notes the no-win situations in which sources suggest Pericles was caught. To some, for example, he seemed too aloof, in public and private, while others thought he pandered to the Athenian people. Azoulay also touches on the private crisis that may have ensued from his citizenship law of 451, whereby both parents of citizens had to be Athenian citizens, as his mistress (possibly wife) Aspasia was not.

Central to “Pericles and Eros” (ch. 7) is Pericles’ exhortation in the Funeral Oration to “look upon the power of the city and become its lovers” (erastas autês, Thuc. 2.43.1). Azoulay explains the metaphor in terms of the dynamics of pederastic love affairs (despite the feminine gender of autês), but skips over its striking image of Athens as an entity other than the collective “Athenians.” As for Aspasia, he exposes
the weak foundations of stories about her legal woes and discusses an inscription possibly casting light on her family.

Given the lack of good evidence, in “Pericles and the City Gods” (ch. 8) Azoulay refuses to choose between a rational and a religious Pericles: being both may not have seemed contradictory (p. 122). Acknowledgment that the public performance of religion was likely to have been more important than privately held views would have been welcome, however.

The following criticism applies especially to the first eight chapters, which differ in tone and approach from the final two. The book is clearly intended to be accessible to non-specialists; thus Azoulay provides explanations for terms like oikos, thete, and ostracism. I found none, however, for heliaea, ekklesia, boulé, or dicasts, to mention a few examples, nor are they in the index. A glossary would have helped. Second, finding references to ancient sources sometimes in the text, sometimes in the endnotes is frustrating (less so in the French edition with footnotes). More important are overstatements, as when Azoulay claims Pericles “shamelessly [made] the most of his social networks” (p. 84). Shamelessly? Equally suspect is, “Relations between men and the gods were lastingly undermined” (i.e. by the plague) (p. 126). I also doubt that the city controlled the details of all religious expression as tightly as Azoulay claims (p. 108), and his explanation for the absence of the myth of earth-born Athenians from the Funeral Oration in Thucydides (p. 115) seems odd. Finally, the prose is usually engaging, but the author overworks some favorite expressions (e.g., “trump card,” “upstream … downstream’’), and at least one metaphor, with a shaft of light helping things rise in an ocean of ignorance (p. 13), left me scratching my head. All, by the way, are in the original French.

The next two chapters serve as hinges for the concluding historiographical review. Chapter 9 contrasts Thucydides’ detection of change for the worse following Pericles’ death with Plato’s picture of persistent corruption. Azoulay rejects both extremes, instead placing Pericles’ life within a “long-term evolution” (p. 133), in which the people tamed the elite, a process he says stabilized only in the fourth century. Chapter 10 pulls together conclusions from the preceding chapters. Azoulay gives Pericles due credit, but within strict limits. He may have initiated the monumental embellishment of Athens, for example, but he was not responsible for all of it, nor did he oversee finances or construction. Throughout, Azoulay points to checks on Pericles’ power, including the push-and-pull of negotiations between leaders and the Athenian people.

The final two chapters form a historiographical essay that could almost stand on its own. They are selective and condensed, but informative, and Azoulay moves through
the material with confidence and clarity. “Pericles in Disgrace” (ch. 11) offers three general reasons for Pericles’ languishing reputation between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries: the popularity of Plutarch; the view of history’s role as providing models of behavior; and the tendency to privilege Spartan and Roman society. In this chapter and its companion, “Pericles Rediscovered” (ch. 12), Pericles’ reputation is linked with attitudes toward Athens, since the ill repute of democracy until the nineteenth century diminished interest in both Athens and Pericles. Discussions of exceptions, like the fifteenth-century Florentine Leonardo Bruni, who emulated Thucydides, are stimulating. Equally so are the connections between attitudes toward Athens, Sparta, and Rome in Britain, France, and Germany in the first half of the twentieth century. Although long “rediscovered,” even idealized after World War II, Pericles took another hit in the twentieth century thanks to the Annales school and the anthropological turn in the discipline of history.

Azoulay concludes with advice “to accept [Pericles’] radical strangeness so as to restore to his ‘all too white statue’ the vivid colors it has lost, and, above all, accept that he has no useful lessons for our times” (p. 226). Indeed, by complicating our picture of Athens and Pericles’ relationship with the Athenians, Azoulay offers a colorful image, engaging not least because of the important “rupture” (p. 4) in the fifth century, that is, Athens’ early steps toward democracy and empire.

NECJ 42.3 Paula Debnar Mount Holyoke College
Thomas Scanlon, ed.,


At the APA meeting in Boston on December 29, 1979, I organized and chaired a panel of five papers on Greek and Roman Athletics. The decade of the seventies had witnessed a resurgence in the study of ancient sports both in Europe and North America. Not only was there an increase in the number of scholarly articles, but in Cologne, Germany, a new journal, *Stadion*, had been founded dedicated to scholarship on both ancient and modern sports. In the Peloponnese in 1973 Stephen Miller of the University of California, Berkeley, had commenced his exemplary excavations at Nemea. In the undergraduate curriculum, more universities were offering courses on ancient athletics.

The 1970s in turn spurred even greater interest and growth in ancient athletic studies. Among the most prominent and active scholars has been Thomas Scanlon, Professor of Classics at the University of California, Riverside, the editor of this Oxford two-volume anthology consisting of twenty previously published articles or book chapters by some of the most distinguished names in the field. With the exception of the article by W. H. Willis entitled “Athletic Contests in the Epic,” published in 1941, the contributions are dated from 1972 to 2003. Furthermore, each contribution is followed by an *Addendum* to provide more recent bibliography and the author’s recent thoughts on the subject. In the case of Willis (deceased 2000), Scanlon has provided the *Addendum*. The reader searching for the source of the
original writings should note, however, that it is not supplied at the beginning or conclusion of each contribution but rather at the end of the book in the Acknowledgements; see pp. 328-9 in volume 1 and pp. 371-2 in volume 2.

Even with ever-increasing digital access to publications, this handy compendium of well-chosen and important essays is most welcome. Increasing its attractiveness enormously, however, is the fact that five of the papers, by Wolfgang Decker, François de Polignac, Christian Mann, H.W. Pleket, and Ulrich Sinn, are translations from the original German or French into English, making the volume accessible for the non-specialist reader and useful for an undergraduate course on ancient athletics.

Scanlon’s Introduction provides a historical overview of the modern scholarship on ancient athletics, enhancing the reader’s understanding and appreciation of the scholarly papers. Somewhat curiously, however, the same Introduction is provided at the beginning of each volume, apparently presuming that there may some who will purchase one volume but not the other.

The contributions cover a diverse range, and each volume is divided into three sections: in volume 1, (I) Greek Heroes and Origins, (II) Contesting the Olympics, (III) Enigmas and Solutions of the Greek Contests; and in volume 2, (I) Identity, Status, and the Greek Athlete, (II) Greek Sports in the Roman Era, (III) Etruscan and Roman Sports and Spectacles. For each section Scanlon has also authored an introductory essay, but the novice or non-specialist will nevertheless find it helpful to have at hand a comprehensive text such as Miller’s Ancient Greek Athletics (2004) or D. G. Kyle’s Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World (2007).

The subject matter of the essays reflects the range of scholarly activity of the last half-century. There are breakthrough articles such as Miller’s discovery, based upon his early excavations at Nemea, that whereas in the diaulos, the foot race of approximately 400 meters, the runners employed two lanes, up and back, with individual turning posts at the far end of the stadium, in the dolichos, or “long” race of several laps, the runners utilized a common turning post at each end. In the first of his two contributions, Ulrich Sinn, the most recent head of the German archaeological team at Olympia, discusses recent finds at the oldest and most thoroughly-excavated panhellenic site. On the Roman side, Kathryn Welch argues for the origin of the amphitheater in the capital, challenging the still widely held traditional view of a Campanian source. The connection between religion and athletics is explored in the essays by Sinn (the Olympia essay), de Polignac, and Scanlon (two essays). In both places Scanlon also discusses the place of women in ancient athletics. Crowther, Golden, and Sinn (his first essay) expound on the relation between society, poli-
tics, and athletics. Farrington, Mann, and Sinn explore aspects of Greek athletics in the Roman era, a fertile and still relatively unexplored field. Scholars of earlier generations focused on the archaic and classical periods as the “golden age of Greek athletics”, regarding the later eras, especially the Roman, as being corrupted by professionalism. To judge, however, from Pausanias’ description of Olympia and the spread of athletics in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, one could well argue that the real golden age was in the second century CE. It is good to have a contribution on the gymnasium from Wolfgang Decker, the eminent Egyptologist and classical scholar of ancient sports, whose other publications are primarily in German. Decker was cofounding editor of both Stadion and Nikephoros, a journal devoted to ancient sport which initiated publication in the 1980s. There are also papers on Etruscan sports (Gori), gladiators, (Carter), animal spectacles (Kyle's second paper), and Roman horse-racing (Harris).

The essays by Pleket, “On the Sociology of Ancient Sport” and the late David Young (deceased 2013), “Professionalism in Archaic and Classical Greek Athletics”, are juxtaposed appropriately. Both scholars were instrumental in helping to dispel the commonly held scholarly and popular belief that Greek athletes were amateurs. Pleket’s pioneering study is a monument of erudition. Initially appearing in 1974 as ”Zur Sociologie des antiken Sports” in a Dutch journal and later reprinted with some revision in Nikephoros (2001), it now appears for the first time in English. Young, the renowned Pindarist and historian of both the ancient and modern Olympics, originally delivered his paper as a participant in the 1979 APA panel mentioned above. Maintaining the lively style of the oral presentation, it first appeared in print in 1983 (The Ancient World) and was his second publication on ancient sports, to be followed by The Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics (1984).

The reader should note, however, that Pleket and Young differed on the meaning of professionalism when applied to Greek antiquity and about the extent of participation in athletics by the non-elite during the archaic period. The controversy continued in print for more than a decade; see Pleket’s Addenda for the references. Indeed, the degree of participation by both elites and non-elites from the archaic through the Roman periods is still a contentious scholarly issue. With regards to the question of amateurism, however, the efforts of Pleket and Young were part of a movement ultimately leading to the acceptance of professional athletes in the 1992 Barcelona Olympics (the USA basketball “Dream Team”). Young’s addendum, his last publication, reflects on this remarkable transformation in such a brief time.

Many theories have been proposed to explain how the Greeks determined the
winner in the pentathlon. Kyle’s (the first essay) offers a variation of the scheme first proposed by H. A. Harris, one that has won wide acceptance and which I favored for many years. Eventually, however, I proposed an alternate system, which Kyle graciously acknowledges, based upon the scoring method suggested by the German scholar Joachim Ebert. Suffice to say that while the Harris-Kyle system has the virtues of greater practicality and simplicity, it allows the possibility that the victor can be inferior to an opponent in three of the five events. In the absence of new evidence, a definitive answer remains elusive.

Kyle, like Scanlon, has been among the foremost scholars working on ancient athletics over the past three-and-a-half decades. Coincidentally, he and Paul Christesen have co-edited a “rival” volume of essays entitled *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World (2014) [Disclaimer: I contributed an essay to this volume]. Kyle and Christensen have, however, chosen a different approach, soliciting original essays, which include a guide to further reading, from an international team of scholars. All the essays are in English. They total forty-three, thus covering a greater range of topics than the Oxford volumes. Four scholars, Kyle, Mann, Miller, and Pleket, are contributors to both anthologies.

Like subjects such as mythology, women in antiquity, and sexuality, which were once regarded as not serious or respectable, ancient athletics in the past half-century has entered the mainstream of classical studies. In 1979 one would have offered hecatombs to have something akin to the Oxford and Blackwell’s anthologies. Both collections attest to the breadth, depth, and sophistication of the scholarship, and to the bright future for the study of Greek and Roman sport. *Kudos* and olive wreaths to the editors for their *arete*. By reprinting significant contributions from previous decades, Scanlon’s Oxford volumes also enable us to relive the scholarly journey.

*NECJ* 42.3

Hugh Lee

University of Maryland
Dorota Dutsch, Sharon L. James, and David Konstan, eds.,

*Women in Republican Drama.*

(ISBN 978-0-299-30314-3) $55.00

Scholars have scrutinized the plays of Plautus and Terence for information on marriage and the family, Rome’s démimonde, and female speech, to name some areas of interest in the scholarship. Written by outsiders – Plautus was probably an Umbrian of low social status and Terence a freed slave – the 26 more or less fully extant *palliata* plays feature women of various classes manipulating men, debating with them, and (often) getting their way. These dramatists’ characterizations of matrons, maidservants and courtesans complement and enrich images of women found in epitaphs and texts authored by élite men.

In line with continued and intense interest in the topic of Roman women, the present volume aims to offer discussions of “the portrayal of female characters in the drama of the Roman Republic” (p. 4), directing itself mainly to students and teachers. To date, there has not been a collection of essays like this, aimed at non-specialists, and dealing with women in the republican Roman dramas, despite the fact that the topic is “of interest to contemporary students” (p. 4).

An overview of the results from this book’s eleven stimulating essays will hopefully encourage prospective readers to explore the volume on their own. In *palliata* especially, women use what they have—sexual allure and persuasion—to make the best of their situations (Feltovich; Richlin); in contrast to lustful and judgmental men, they emerge as centered, compassionate, and ethical (e.g. Nausistrata of *Phormio* or Cleostrata of *Casina*) (Fantham; James). Nor do comic women blush from openly critiquing the society which marginalizes them, particularly with respect to (male) abuse of power (Richlin, esp. pp. 45-47). *Togata* (“comedy dressed in the toga”) focuses more on pragmatic aspects of marriage and its women are surprisingly more independent than they are in the *palliata*: for instance, in Afranius’ *Divortium*, a father forces his daughter to divorce; the daughter later proudly lists her virtues and shows no inclination to marry again (Welsh, esp. pp. 162-164). Readers like Cicero found in the women of Roman tragedy negative or positive paradigms for conduct;
in accordance with the genre’s subversion of social norms, we find women assuming roles typically ascribed to men (Manuwald, esp. pp. 177, 179).

The interaction of gender with performance forms one of the volume’s themes, and the subject of its first section. Dutsch and Richlin think through the implications of male actors performing female roles; Moore’s essay deals with the interaction of music and gender in *Hecyra* — a suitable choice, given the prominence of women in it—as he illustrates how Terence manipulates metrical patterns to create suspense, link related elements in the play, and frustrate audience expectations.

To single out just one of these excellent essays, Amy Richlin, in “Slave-Woman Drag” (pp. 37–67) selects passages and scenes from the plays which, as she argues, speak directly or indirectly to audience members’ experience of exploitation (pp. 37–50); other scenes emphasize that sexual orientation is not always necessarily fixed, particularly when male actors, ostensibly portraying a heterosexual relation, flirt, embrace or kiss one another onstage, and so intimate a same-sex relationship (pp. 50–60).

I found that Richlin does a great job of highlighting passages in the play which might have “spoken to” the less-fortunate among the audience members (see, e.g., pp. 45 and 57); she asks us to keep in mind that an interpretation of a passage as an oppressed playwright’s or actor’s commiseration with his equal in the audience is “there for the taking, and any one audience member may pick it up or not” (p. 42). Her fresh stagings could be taken up by a modern director (Amphitruo pointing to a phallus, p. 46; Astaphium dropping her voice an octave to effect a “butch basso”, p. 55). (As an aside, may I suggest re-punctuating *Truc.* 783 to read *vis subigit verum fateri, ita: lora laedunt brachia*, which would explicitly convey the underlying meaning that Richlin sees in that line?)

In the next three essays, Fantham, Feltovich, and James discuss portrayals of women in their various familial and romantic relations. While Fantham’s and Feltovich’s essays focus on women in their often fraught relationship with men, Sharon James, in “*Mater, Oratio, Filia*”, discusses women as mothers. I was struck especially by James’ decision to dispense with the typical stock-character roles, in order to categorize matrons as either mothers of sons, of daughters, or of both; additionally, mothers are either wedded or not. From this “re-parsing” (so to speak) of the comic matrons, suprising results emerge. For instance, sons are never the product of rape (p. 123 n. 9); mothers of daughters are dependent on men and weaker (cf. Phanostrata of *Cistellaria*) compared to mothers of sons, who are assertive on their male offspring’s behalf (think Cleostrata in *Casina*). These striking and original observations promise to stimulate further thinking on the characterization of women
Three essays on the reception of Plautus and Terence in later authors conclude the book. These engagingly written pieces will certainly stimulate students to explore the plays discussed on their own. Konstan and Cinaglia integrate their reading of Machiavelli’s comedy *Mandragola* with the amoral realpolitik of *Prince*, which results in thought-provoking interpretations (for instance, on the confessor Timoteo at p. 205). In her essay on Shakespeare’s debts to New Comedy, Traill, armed with the concept of the “theatergram” (p. 214), finds traces of the Roman comic *meretrix* in, surprisingly, the figure of Shakespeare’s virtuous matron. The idea of the “theatergram” will prove useful to students seeking Roman comic influence in later dramatists, while Traill’s stimulating readings expose Shakespeare’s deft and eclectic use of his various sources. Finally, Gonçalves is to be thanked for bringing to attention a work with which most Classicists probably are not familiar, the *Anfitrião*, a puppet opera based on Plautus’ *Amphitryon*, composed by the mid-18th c. Brazilian Portuguese playwright Antônio José da Silva. Gonçalves’ detailed essay brings out the play’s complex characterization of Juno (yes, Juno plays an important role in this adaptation of Plautus’ play!) and shows how the puppet opera conveys implicit criticism of the arbitrary justice meted by the agents of the Inquisition, under whose authoritarian grip Portugal was still suffering.

In sum, the volume is a good companion to have in a course on Roman comedy. An instructor in such a course might assign any one of its essays to supplement or enrich discussions of a play, or for a unit on representations of gender in Roman comedy. It also provides readers a snapshot of current issues and perspectives on the study of gender and Roman comedy, particularly performance, reception, and “linguistics-based” approaches. (Typos are relatively few and unobtrusive; let me take this opportunity to note that at p. 9 n. 12, read, for Leo 1913, Jachmann 1931 [repr. 1966]; the bibliographical reference at p. 12 should accordingly read Jachmann, G. 1931 instead of Leo, F. 1913.) Armed with *Women in Roman Republican Drama* and some of the many other available resources (p. 8 n. 2; p. 9 n. 7 helpfully provide lists of these), instructors will be enabled to present Roman comedy to students in all its fascination, controversy, and contemporary appeal.

NECJ 42.3

Peter Barrios-Lech

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Pramit Chaudhuri,  
_The War with God: Theomachy in Roman Imperial Poetry._  

Scholarly interest in Roman imperial poetry has exploded since the 1990s: monographs, companions, and commentaries on Lucan, Seneca, Statius, Silius Italicus, and others now compete regularly for shelf-space with those on Virgil and Ovid, and nicely complement the ongoing interest in imperial prose. This welcome renewal of activity has at least two causes: the maturation of Ovid studies, which has liberated this poet from the shadow cast by Virgil and so has invited the re-evaluation of other poets in the same tradition; and contemporary tastes, which find in the stylistic and thematic preoccupations of these poets a relevance and appeal to our own times. Pramit Chaudhuri’s new book on theomachy in Roman epic is a product of its times, and a welcome one: in a world that poses challenges on a daily basis to the balance of power between god(s) and state, Chaudhuri’s synoptic survey of the poetics of “war with god” has particular appeal.

Chaudhuri’s book contains nine chapters, plus an Introduction and Epilogue. The writing is clear and generally jargon-free (though the recent fashion for the concept of literary sublimity is in evidence; Chaudhuri defines what he calls “the theomachic sublime” at pp. 13–14, and the theme recurs in several subsequent chapters). The organization is straightforward, moving along a chronological axis, and I here provide brief comments on each chapter.

The Introduction sets out the organization of the book and locates its theme in the context of contemporary Roman religious ideas. For Chaudhuri, the “theomach” is a distinct type of hero: in the early imperial period, “the representation of heroism was ... defined less by generic conventions and more by an individual will to power that brought the hero into conflict with the gods, who still remained the clearest symbol of authority in the Roman world” (p. 13). In an increasingly authoritarian Rome, where divinization of the emperor came to be the norm, the sort of heroism modeled by the “theomach” invites reflection on the relationship between gods and mortals.
Chapter One is essentially background and summary, reviewing prominent theomachic figures in Greek epic and tragedy: Diomedes and Achilles (Homer); Capaneus (Aeschylus); Ajax (Sophocles); and Pentheus (Euripides). There is little new here, but the survey bolsters Chaudhuri’s argument for the centrality of theomachy in ancient heroic myth and its literary treatment. The only real surprise is the omission of Hesiod’s (or Aeschylus’) Prometheus, excluded on the grounds that his “Titanic nature ... distinguishes him from the mortal antagonists of the divine” (p. 6) as examined in the book. True; but Prometheus’ strong mythical association with humans suggests nonetheless that at least a brief comparison would have been worthwhile.

Chapter Two is likewise preparatory, considering theomachic themes and figures in Lucretius and Virgil. Evidence of Philip Hardie’s readings of both poets is prominent throughout this chapter. Chaudhuri’s discussion of Lucretius’ depiction of Epicurus as a type of “theomach” is appealing, if brief; in his discussion of the Aeneid, Chaudhuri depicts a post-Iliadic Diomedes who was once a “theomach” but who has now learned his lesson, and Chaudhuri finds in Mezentius a would-be “theomach” who cannot quite live (or die) up to his reputation as *contemptor diuum*. These two instances of the “theomach manqué,” suggests Chaudhuri, are evidence of the countervailing centrality of *pietas* for Virgil.

With Chapter Three, Chaudhuri moves out of summary/survey mode and slows down the discussion. The focus is on three episodes in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* in which characters pose a challenge to religious belief: Lycaon’s test of Jupiter (Book 1), Pentheus’ rejection of Bacchus (Book 3), and Hercules’ fight with Achelous (Book 9). The tales of the Pierids, Arachne, and Niobe are also considered. Chaudhuri observes the importance of *experientia* in Ovidian theomachic narratives (pp. 86-88), and closes with a brief contextualizing conclusion on the deification of Caesar and Augustus.

The focus on Hercules in the discussion of Ovid paves the way for Chapter Four, on Seneca’s *Hercules Furens*. The madness of Hercules lends itself to the rhetoric of sublimity (pp. 136-44); the other focus of the chapter is the idea that philosophy is itself a form of theomachy, at least as Seneca depicts it. This reading is engaging, if somewhat predictable.

Chapter Five finds a richer vein of unexplored material in Lucan’s *Bellum Civile*. The very concept of historical epic as epic without a divine apparatus puts into relief the theomachic character of the poem: “who is fighting whom, and who, if anyone, counts as divine for the purposes of this poem—the Olympian gods, Caesar, the emperors, the republicans, or even the narrator himself?” (p. 157). Strongly
influenced throughout this chapter by Day’s 2013 book on Lucan and the sublime, Chaudhuri offers an accessible discussion on the many ironies inherent in a poem without gods. Predictability, however, looms ever larger.

Chapter Six has the character of “a proem in the middle”: while Chapters Seven and Eight are devoted, respectively, to Silius Italicus and Statius, this preliminary chapter sets up both discussions in their Flavian context. Chaudhuri focuses on two episode types, or “case studies,” central to Flavian epic: the *mache parapotamios* (battle between a mortal and a divine river); and the conflict over interpretation of omens. One practical reason for grouping the two poets together in this discussion is the virtual contemporaneity of the composition of the respective epics of each poet: thus Chaudhuri deftly avoids bogging himself down in lengthy debates about who influenced whom, and considers instead general thematic developments. Perhaps because of this chapter’s more complex structure, it is (to this reader, at least) perhaps the most challenging and thought-provoking in the book; the reading of Homer’s Achilles and Scamander, especially the simile at *Il.* 21.257–64, is enlightening in itself, and helps to bring out the significance of both the Scipio-Trebia (Silius) and Hippomedon-Ismenus (Statius) episodes. (Chaudhuri’s discussion of Homeric similes could be further enriched by a reading of the first chapter in S. Wofford, *The Choice of Achilles: The Ideology of Figure in the Epic* [1992], surprisingly absent from the bibliography.)

Chapter Seven turns to the *Punica*, with Hannibal as its focus. The poetics of sublimity are fully present here, and to good effect: Chaudhuri aptly develops the “sustained trope of verticality” (p. 244) in Silius’ poem, and notes its use to suggest a metapoetic “surpassing” of Virgil (p. 236). His analysis of Hannibal’s imperial aspirations might well be subtitled “The Barbarian at the Gates.”

At long last, Chapter Eight brings us to Statius: I say “at long last” because Capaneus has been a lurking presence in this book from its earliest pages. Chaudhuri successfully demonstrates how Statius uses the figure of Capaneus to mount a sustained theological debate in the *Thebaid*, and in the process to illustrate how both the epic world and epic itself have changed.

Chapter Nine is something of a miscellany, bringing together episodes involving impiety that do not quite fit into the earlier chapters. The main interest here lies in the truism that responses to authoritarianism and the excesses of political power are to be found throughout the literature of the period covered by this study, and are not confined to the limits of a single genre. Finally, a brief Epilogue surveys the reception of the theme of theomachy, and so pays tribute to one of Chaudhuri’s advisors, David Quint.
I now turn to two stylistic observations: For reasons that elude this reviewer, Chaudhuri has settled on the term “theomach” to describe the characters who are his focus. But it is ugly to read, and even uglier to say—why not just transliterate the Greek and use theomachos? And Chaudhuri is inordinately fond of using contractions in what is otherwise formal expository prose. Thus, in a 10-page excerpt chosen at random (pp. 136-45) I noted expressions like “but it’s the dimension of height in particular that’s so inherently connotative” at least ten times. Where was the copy-editor?

The format of Chaudhuri’s book is both appealing and risky: appealing, because readers interested in, e.g., Lucan, need not read the chapter on Silius, or vice versa; I can easily imagine assigning individual chapters to students in a seminar on imperial poetry. Its riskiness lies in the predictability to which I have already alluded. Once the thesis is presented, the rest is execution; and the execution is generally static. The quality manifests itself in some chapters more than in others; nonetheless, given the heftiness of the book (328 large pages of text, plus indices, appendices, etc.), the reader cannot be blamed for wondering whether the chapter on Seneca adds very much, or whether the catch-all in Chapter Nine might not have worked better as a stand-alone article.

All in all, however, this is a worthwhile and smart book. Chaudhuri has done an excellent job of laying out his argument and pursuing it along a literary-historical course. This monograph has well earned its place on that ever-burgeoning shelf of books on Roman imperial poetry.

NECJ 42.3

Barbara Weiden Boyd
Bowdoin College
Len Krisak (trans.) and Sarah Ruden (intro.),
*Ovid’s Erotic Poems: Amores and Ars Amatoria.*


Len Krisak’s translation of Ovid’s *Amores* and *Ars Amatoria*, is wonderfully fresh, modern, and a delight to read aloud. It excels in capturing Ovid’s playful tone and the spirit of his verse. This new edition is in keeping with current interpretations that emphasize a metapoetic reading of Ovid’s erotic poetry. This is an Ovid who plays with elegiac conventions while partaking in them, who engages with his reader and his literary predecessors more than with his ostensible subject, who revels in being sophisticated, ironic, and subversive. *Ovid’s Erotic Poetry* is an excellent translation for the English reader, but those with Latin will derive even more pleasure from the play between the ancient and modern poetics.

The ideal form for narrative that comments on itself, according to Rudens in her excellent introduction, is the elegiac couplet (p. 14). It is the perfect vehicle for Ovid’s preoccupation with art for art’s sake, as it encourages interplay within the couplet, undercutting, and antithesis. Many readers will ask why Krisak chose the rhyming couplet for his translation. In the preface, he argues that rhyme best captures the quantitative nature of Latin poetry. In Latin elegiac couplet, the music comes from the long and short syllables, the tone from the play of words and sounds within the couplet. Krisak decided that, “my versions of Ovid would try for the snap and elegant closure of a finished-off, rhymed couplet” (p. 21). I believe that the rhyming couplet successfully imitates Ovid’s end-stopped lines. The rhyme echoes the fixed, repeating rhythm of the second-half of the Latin pentameter with its two dactyls and anceps syllable. Although the rhyming couplet by nature can get repetitious and jingly, a skilled poet like Krisak employs enjambment, metrical variations, off-rhymes, and other poetic devices to ensure variety. Krisak wisely chose to write in iambic hexameter and iambic pentameter couplets since, as he explains, that is the meter most suited to English verse.

A comparison of Krisak’s translation with Guy Lee’s may be helpful here in illustrating their differing approaches to elegiac poetics. In *Amores* 3.2, the Ovidi-
an speaker attempts to pick up the girl beside him at the races through a running monologue. Lee uses free verse and a line for line translation in order to, “above all catch the spirit and persuade the reader to go on reading” (Lee, *Ovid’s Amores* [New York, 1968] p. 205). He argues that the heroic couplet in English is not equal to the variety displayed in Latin elegiac poetry and “is haunted by the ghosts of Dryden and Pope” (p. 207). Let us compare Lee’s free verse translation of lines 21-24 in which the speaker chastises his fellow spectators for their rudeness toward his would-be *puella*. Here is Lee’s version:

You on the right, sir – please be careful.
Your elbow’s hurting the lady.
And you in the row behind – sit up, sir!
Your knees are digging into her back.

And here is Krisak’s:

“Hey, Whosis on the right there; watch those elbows, churl.
Those are *her* ribs you’re poking; that’s *my* girl!
And you behind: scrunch up those legs. Discretion, please.
Just keep them to yourself, those bony knees.” (*Amores* 3.2.21-24)

Lee employs a refined diction with words such as “please”, “lady”, and “sir”. The speaker urges propriety, as conveyed in Ovid’s “*si pudor est*” (l. 24). This is fittingly rendered by Krisak with “discretion, please”. However, the anaphora with “*tu*”, three imperatives, and the belittling phrase “*quicumque es*” indicates a harsher tone on the part of the would-be seducer. In contrast, Krisak’s lines are livelier and more colloquial than the Latin, as in line 21 with its insulting “churl” (added). Lee achieves clarity and succinctness. Although his couplets are flexible and keep to the two-lined elegiac verse, they lose much of the spirit and poetry of the Latin. Neither translator imitates the alliteration of *parce puellae* (l. 21) and *lateris laeditur* (l. 22) nor the juxtaposition of *terga* and *genu* in line 24. Krisak focuses on the humor derived from the characterization of the speaker by amplifying the tone of the Latin. The modern reader’s expectation of the rhyme at the end of the couplet re-creates the delight the Latin reader could take in word order and word-play. This is not to say that Krisak’s translation always lacks Ovidian word-play. Here is his rendering of lines 41-42:
But while I’m babbling, your white dress has caught some dust.
Leave her, dust. Depart that snow-white bust. (Amores 3.2.41-42)

Krisak uses repetition of “dust”, keeps Ovid’s personification, and sets up an internal rhyme with “dust / bust”. The word “bust” is racier than “niveo corpore”, rhymes delightfully with “dust”, and playfully continues the alliterative “b” sounds of “but” and the humorous “babbling”.

Krisak’s use of the rhymed couplet is perhaps even better suited to the style and tone of the Ars Amatoria. Ovid wittily plays with the expectations of the didactic genre by writing his parody of the form in elegiac couplets, thereby combining erotic subject-matter with the conventions of traditional didactic verse. The pentameter line of the couplet and its end-rhyme readily supply the antithesis so central to the style of the Ars, where seriousness is constantly undercut by irreverence and triviality. In particular, Krisak captures the distinctive voice of the praeceptor amoris in contemporary idiom. He also keeps Ovid’s mythological allusions. Those who wish can consult the helpful notes unobtrusively provided at the end of Krisak’s edition (or continue on, uninterrupted, without suffering much confusion.)

Krisak’s translation of the circus section of the Ars provides us with another example of his ability to capture the spirit and colloquial tone of the original through his use of modern idiom. Furthermore, we can examine how Krisak shifts his tone and style to suit Ovid’s treatment in the Ars of the same scene explored in Amores 3.2. As we have seen, Amores 3.2 takes the form of direct address to a puella. The pandering, manipulative, persuasive character of the speaker provides much of the elegy’s humor. But in the Ars we are in the world of didactic poetry, not elegy. Here, Ovid playfully has his praeceptor remind us he speaks through experience. Even if it is just the experience of the poet Ovid himself crafting an elegiac poem to the object of his affections, success was his! Krisak’s speaker retains the cynical and experienced persona of Ovid’s poem. The narrator is more restrained here because the focus is on the instructions that follow, and, as part of a longer narrative, this episode cannot result in immediate gratification. In the Ars, the humor arises from the narrator’s systematic treatment of a trivial subject. Krisak echoes the simpler syntax and didactic emphasis of the episode in the Ars with straightforward imperatives:
Remember gallant horses, too (I mean the races):
The Circus has so many useful places,
With no necessity for secret-signaling hands,
Or nods that tell you that she understands.
Just sit beside her; it’s the open-seating plan
So nudge against her thigh the best you can.  \(\textit{Ars} 1.135-140\)

Krisak is at his best with contemporary idioms such as “open-seating plan” (which also provides a gloss to the modern reader concerning the seating arrangements in the Circus Maximus.) His version of line 140 is even more specific and evocative than Ovid’s. A few lines later, the narrator urges his pupil to flick away dust from the girl’s lap. Krisak translates wittily; “If nothing’s there, then flick that nothing away./ Find any old excuse, then . . . seize the day!” \(\textit{Ars} 151-152\). In order to ensure variety in the couplet, Krisak, following Ovid, occasionally makes use of enjambment, thus avoiding an end-stopped line. In 159–160, for example, he writes; “The simple mind will find delight in trifles; much/ May come from cushions lent an artful touch.”

Len Krisak’s translation has plenty of artful touches of its own. Lovers of poetry will particularly enjoy its post-classical literary allusions. For example, Krisak’s translation of the end of \textit{Amores 3.1} in which Elegy wins out over Tragedy, runs as follows: “Convinced, she heard my prayer. Coy mistresses, come here;/ I’m free, but fear Time’s winged drawing near” (pp. 69–70). The wit, word-play, and spirited tone of \textit{Ovid’s Erotic Poetry} will ensure its popularity and longevity with classicists and readers new to Ovid.

\textit{NECJ 42.3}  
Roxanne Gentilcore  
Saint Anselm College
Katherine Blouin,
Triangular Landscapes: Environment, Society, and the State in the Nile Delta under Roman Rule.


Already in the fifth century, an Egyptologist might say, Herodotus was late to the party when he wrote about how the Nile shaped the land and the people of ancient Egypt, so a reader could be forgiven for thinking there is little new to be said on the subject today. But Katherine Blouin’s original and highly useful study of the Mendesian Nome in the Nile Delta has brought the ideas of New Environmental History to bear on evidence from Roman Egypt, putting in the foreground the human response to the Delta environment—a region underemphasized in many other papyrological studies—and the human-caused changes to that environment.

Drawing primarily on the papyri of the Carbonized Archives of Thmouis (CAT), the book contextualizes the social and economic evidence from the Roman-period Nile Delta within the thousands of years of human interactions with the Delta environment. As Blouin describes it, New Environmental History seeks to study “interrelationships among human societies and the various components of the ecosystems in which they live and…to which they themselves belong” (p. 7). Reading the evidence from the Mendesian Nome through the lens of New Environmental History, she “investigates the complex networks of relationships between local environments, socio-economic dynamics, and agro-fiscal policies” (p. 6) of the Delta. Blouin effectively marshals the papyrological evidence to emphasize the reciprocity and resilience of the relationship between the Delta environment and the social, agricultural, and fiscal practices of the humans living there. She complements this papyrological evidence with a variety of sources, notably libation tables from Mendes-Thmouis and Greek novels.

The book divides into four sections and nine chapters. Section I introduces evidence and provides diachronic, regional context. We are taken through the Nile’s changes over a geological timescale, and then shown how human responses to the environment changed the shape of the Mendesian nome (Chapter 1). Blouin surveys
 evidence from the Mendesian nome: archaeological material first; then the doc-
ments comprising the CAT and the archives’ “museum archaeology” (Chapter 2).
Finally, we get an overview of the human history of the Mendesian Nome from the
Pre-dynastic to the Arab period. This diachronic survey permits an evaluation of
the extent to which evidence from the Roman Period represents a continuation of
or departure from earlier and later practices. To this end, the author examines three
relevant areas in detail: the third-century BCE Zenon archive; the Mendesian per-
fume industry; and the second-century CE transfer of the nome’s metropolis from
Mendes to Thmouis (Chapter 3).

Section II offers a systematic definition of topographical and administrative
terms. The section begins with cartographic information, a catalog of toponyms,
their locations, the nome’s extent and borders, and its hydrography and water man-
agement strategies (Chapter 4). Blouin next looks at land typology in the papyri
from the Mendesian nome and its relationship to land tenure under the Principate.
Typology, she finds, is determined primarily by an area’s juridical status (public or
private), its use, and the fertility of the soil. Blouin catalogues in detail the various
possibilities in each of these categories (Chapter 5).

Section III discusses evidence of agricultural strategies in the papyri by looking at
the diversity of Mendesian agricultural output (Chapter 6), and at the ways and rea-
sons different types of marginal land in the nome were made productive (Chapter 7).

Section IV examines disruptions in those strategies and their connection to
the crisis of the 3rd century. Special attention is given to the environmental, social,
and fiscal factors that contributed to rural depopulation, especially indications of
anachoresis—taxpayers’ flight from their land—in the CAT (Chapter 8). The book
concludes with a revision and translation of an earlier article connecting the literary
Boukoloi (Delta outlaws) to the historical insurgent group the Nikochites, attested in
the papyri, in light of the rural depopulation discussed earlier (Chapter 9).

Blouin’s results show convincingly that the means and motivation behind the
human activities meant to deal with the hazards and opportunities posed by the
Delta environment were not entirely new to the Roman period. Like the work of
Bowman, Monson, and Rathbone, Blouin finds that the strategies of private in-
vestment, landholding, and commerce in Roman Egypt “were not introduced by
the Romans, but rather managed within and, when needed, adapted to the wider
geopolitical context of the Roman Empire” (p. 6 and n. 24 for refs.). This continuity
is a testament to the resilience of the reciprocal relationship between humans and
the Delta environment. Her concluding chapter uses the uprising of the Boukoloi/
Nikochites as a case study on the effects of cascading, multi-determined disruptions
to that relationship seen in the crisis of the third century. But the very fact that the uprising and its effects were short lived, despite happening at the confluence of social, economic, and environmental calamity, demonstrates that resilience.

Blouin also addresses the important question of the “otherness” of the Deltaic evidence within Egypt and the wider Empire—that is, the question of Egyptian Sonderstellung which has long dogged studies relying on papyrological evidence. Her conclusions find that the Deltaic evidence accords with strategies and practices found not only in other parts of Egypt, but in parts of the wider Empire, such as North Africa.

In addition to her larger arguments, Blouin does the field a service by organizing and clearly describing the CAT, and by explicitly defining the many technical terms—categories of land tenure, taxes, crops, land categorization, etc.—that can make agro-fiscal papyrus documents inaccessible to those outside a very narrow field of study. These chapters (chiefly 4 and 5, but also parts of Chapter 2) might have made their contents even more accessible had they been included as appendices with an explicit organizational scheme and layout. Presented as they are, they can interrupt the narrative flow of the argumentative chapters.

Blouin also sees a “market oriented approach” and something comparable to “the modern concept of sustainable development” in fiscal measures meant to adapt to the hazards and exigencies of particular environments (p. 169). But it is unclear why measures such as reducing taxation on artificially irrigated land or tax exemptions for valorization of marginal land indicate production geared toward a marketable surplus rather than personal, local consumption. By couching what are ultimately local agricultural efforts in terms of market orientation and sustainable development, Blouin perhaps overemphasizes the effects of top-down management like targeted tax relief. Even if it was sometimes the case that land use did cater to the type of taxes levied on it—pressures to produce wheat to meet the demands of taxes and consumption outside of Egypt certainly affected crop selection—the direction of causality could also run the other way, with land use instead dictating which types of taxes were levied on which land.

These are more quibbles than objections, however, and Blouin makes difficult evidence from an understudied region accessible to a much wider audience, and places it into a coherent, persuasive historical context. The book will be valuable to any historian or papyrologist interested in the agricultural, social, economic, and environmental history of Roman Egypt.

NECJ 42.3
Ryan McConnell
Bowdoin College
Alpha is for Anthropos

Alpha is for Anthropos looks and feels like a children’s picture book, the kind an adult can look through in a minute. As the title promises, it contains twenty-four little poems in Greek, one for each letter of the alphabet. The vocabulary is elementary; red-figure animals and children illustrate each poem. However, like most good picture books, first appearances are deceiving. Even for an adult with Greek, this one takes a few readings before you appreciate the subtle connections between the texts and illustrations. Alpha is for Anthropos provides both simple material for the child being read to, and more complex material for the adult reading to the child.

The text is printed in a generously sized small letters (titles in caps), with accents and punctuation, and a small-font English translation. “Handsome”, I thought, as I scanned my eyes over Ο ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ and Ο ΒΙΟΣ. But when I read Η ΓΕΦΥΡΑ, the picture, a Medusa running over a bridge, her head facing front, held my eye. The poem says, “ἡ γέφυρα καταπίπτει” three times, but the bridge is not falling. The last line is ὦ δέσποινα. I had missed something simply translating when I should have been reading. I recognized that bridge! It is in London. Feeling foolish, I looked back at Α and Β and re-read, aloud, listening to the poems. The rhythms were as familiar as London Bridge, but I could not figure them all out.

Enter the Key, a list of the English childhood songs and rhymes which Therese Sellers mined for her poems. I think at some time all teachers of Latin and Greek have tried using familiar songs for declensions, conjugation, or memorizing lines of hexameter. I found some success with that, but it does not work for every student. However, the targeted audience of Alpha is for Anthropos, is children down to four years old, who will perhaps more uniformly respond to the songs.

The basic grammar of the poems flows in the simple nursery rhythms. Most importantly, the words come from a child’s vocabulary (for the most part; ῥοδοδάκτυλος excepted). Words repeat, making the poems perfect for children to
internalize Greek vocabulary as easily as they learned the English models. That is Therese Sellers’s intent. This is Greek for children, well-conceived and beautifully executed.

Reading along, alerted and attentive, I enjoyed the illustrations even more. Some are just images, such as the pretty, uncomplicated pair of girls next to ΦΙΛΟΣ/ΦΙΛΗ. One girl, with her hand, describes something she’s hiding to a friend. ΕΓΩ, on the other hand, shows a boy looking into a stream. Until I spotted ΗΧΩ floating behind him, I did not recognize Narcissus, and yet how foolish of me! Who else would you expect to illustrate ΕΓΩ? Many of the paintings contain similar visual puns and/or support for understanding the poem as well as subtle nods to famous moments. The fun begins with the cover illustration, Oedipus confronting the Sphinx, but I am not giving away the connection with the alphabet. Nor will I spoil the rest of the references to Greek literature and myth, but I can promise satisfying recognitions.

Therese Sellers teaches Greek to children as young as four; the observant and talented illustrator, Lucy Bell Jarka-Sellers, is an upper-lever teacher of Latin and Greek. They have produced a labor of love that many of the adult type and of the child type will love, too. The publisher is Ascanius, a Boston group promoting Latin to younger students. Ascanius used a small, local printer and didn’t skimp on paper, reproduction, or lay-out. The book feels substantial. Though there are only two colors in the illustrations, the simple black print on white paper balances the spreads. The final result is a visually and intellectually satisfying children’s book for adults wishing to cuddle with a child. I have done that, but I know the book will become a vital introduction to Greek in my Latin classroom.

*NECJ* 42.3

Nell Wright
Montague, Massachusetts
Dear Friends,

Which do you think will last longer: the book or the e-book? the live concert or digitally recorded music? the latest edifice erected on your campus or the Leaning Tower of Pisa? In *Antifragile* Nassim Taleb argues that history has been full of violent and unpredictable shocks and that anything that has been around for a long time has demonstrated the ability to withstand these shocks and even to thrive. He claims that the best predictor for how long something will last is how long it has been around. That tower in Pisa has been atilt for hundreds of years, but it’s still standing. If I were a gambling man and planned to live long enough to collect, I’d be willing to go with Taleb and put the Pisan structure against the shiniest new building in your town and bet the new one will come down first. I thought of this book when the W.E.B. Du Bois Library at UMass, in celebration of its 40th anniversary last year published a poster showing the library (famously the tallest library in the world when it was constructed) alongside the Tower of Pisa, the Eiffel Tower, the Empire State Building and the Statue of Liberty. This whole thing seemed a bit hubristic to me (and I say this as someone who has spent many happy hours working on the 23rd floor, from where I could watch from above as flocks of geese sported about the pond). We know there have been many clever and beautiful technological innovations in our lives, but we must also know that not many of them will last long. Facebook will not be around as long as the book.

And the Classics are not going away any time soon. A new academic year begins, and with it a year filled with promise and optimism. We can always be optimistic at the beginning of the year, hopeful that we will build on past successes and learn from past mistakes. And in our corner of the academy we can be confident that for all the attacks on them in the contemporary cul-
ture, the Classics have staying power. They have proved it. Not only do we have the best books (as an after-dinner speaker at a long-ago CANE Banquet argued), but (as your jealous colleagues will assure you) we have the best students, and as we re-affirm every year at our Annual Meeting and Summer Institute, we have the best teachers. Well over 200 attendees at our March meeting at Noble and Greenough and almost 70 this summer at Brown affirmed yet again that CANE is unique among professional organizations in the camaraderie and mutual respect among college, university, high school and middle school faculty, and other lovers of the Classics.

As you begin your work this year, I hope you will keep in mind how CANE can help you and how you can connect with your colleagues through CANE. We have many scholarships and grants to support your own professional growth and your work with your students. The Resources tab on our caneweb.org website is the place to find out about all of these. Many deadlines are in December and January, so take a look now and apply for money this fall. We have money to support New England Classicists. Please help us use it well! Please also see this issue’s call for proposals for our Annual Meeting taking place on March 18-19, 2016 at Smith College. I look forward to hearing about your current work, whether you might like to present a paper or workshop.

If you teach middle school or high school, please have your students participate in the CANE Writing Contest this fall (see the Annual Events tab on our website as well as elsewhere in this issue for more information). This year’s topic is “Non Sum Qualis Eram: Change in the Ancient World.” The topic lends itself to a variety of approaches and I hope gives ample room for your students to use their imaginations. A highlight of every Annual Meeting is the presentation of the winning piece at our banquet. Perhaps this year your student will be the presenter.

With this message, I solicit nominations for our Association’s highest award, the Barlow-Beach Award for distinguished service to CANE and to the Classics in New England. I am the ex officio chair of the Award Committee this year, so please
forward to me (smithsr@arps.org) the name of any member you believe is deserving of this award.

This summer’s passing of Burt Shavitz (of Burt’s Bees fame) reminded me of a story that reflects why I have so enjoyed and felt so lucky in my career teaching Latin. One day many years ago in my 7th grade Latin 1A class a student brought in a wrapper from a loaf of bread, excited to share the Ecce Panis label with her classmates. Inspired, another student the next day eagerly raised her hand. “Mr. Smith, Mr. Smith, look what I have!” She held aloft a small container. “It’s Burt’s Bees Hand Salve!” Her Latin pronunciation of the final word was impeccable, and after the laughter of the class subsided, we all learned a new English word and how it was related to the word the Romans used to greet each other.

Salve to each of you as your year begins. I hope you enjoy your students and I hope you get to read a good book.

Sean Smith,
President, Classical Association of New England
INFORMATION, NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

2015-2016 officers and committees

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Student Paper Award

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See CANE Scholarship Committee above

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National Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages: Madelyn Gonnerman-Torchin, 10 Fox Lane, Newton Centre, MA  02459; (H) 617-964-6141, (W) 617-713-5085; madelyngonnerman@gmail.com
Other CANE news

Call for Papers:

The 110th Annual Meeting of Classical Association of New England will be held at Smith College, Northampton, MA on Friday and Saturday, 17 and 18 March 2016. All interested scholars are invited to submit abstracts (300 word maximum) no later than 1 December 2015 for papers to: CANE President, Sean Smith, 14 Allen Street, Amherst, MA 01002; smithst@arps.org

Barlow-Beach Distinguished Service Award

The Barlow-Beach Distinguished Service Award recognizes a member of CANE whose service to the organization and to Classics in New England has marked the recipient’s career. Annually, the President serves as Chair of the Barlow-Beach Award Committee, and invites the CANE members to submit nominees to: Sean Smith, 14 Allen Street, Amherst, MA, 01002; smithst@arps.org

Matthew Wiencke Teaching Prize

The Matthew I. Wiencke award recognizes excellence in teaching at the primary, middle and secondary school levels. Nominations are invited for this year’s award. A nominee must be:

1. a member of CANE,

2. currently teaching Classics in a New England primary, middle, or secondary school, and

3. nominated by a professional colleague (fellow teacher or administrator at the nominee’s school, or a classicist from another school who knows the nominee well in a professional capacity.)

Letters of nomination should contain evidence of the nominee’s qualifications, particularly those qualities exemplified by Matthew Wiencke in his personal life and
professional career, among them “his infectious wit, his boundless enthusiasm, his 
optimism, and his loyalty,” as expressed by Norman Doenges in his memorial pub-

Letters of nomination should be sent to the senior At-Large Member of the 
Executive Committee, Timothy Joseph, Box 144A, College of the Holy Cross, 1 
College Street, Worcester, MA 01610; TJOSEPG@holycross.edu. Only those nom-
inations postmarked by December 31, 2015 will be considered for this year’s award, 
which will be presented at the CANE Annual Meeting in March, 2016. Current 
members of the CANE Executive Committee are not eligible for nomination.

Phyllis B. Katz Prize for Excellence 
in Undergraduate Research

This Prize was established in honor of Dartmouth College teacher and CANE 
member, Phyllis B. Katz. College professors are invited to submit exemplary un-
dergraduate papers for consideration to: Elizabeth Keitel, Department of Classics, 
524 Herter Hall, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003; EEK@classics.
umass.edu. The winner of the prize will read his/her paper at the 110th Annual 
Meeting, and will receive a small monetary award in recognition of excellence.

The Poggioli Award

Available only in even years, the Poggioli Award, established by the Boston Fund in 
1991, supplies funds for study and/or travel in Italy and/or Greece, typically during 
the summer months. The CANE Scholarship Committee makes the Award, gener-
ally between $4000-$6000, every other year. To qualify a nominee must:

1. Be studying and/or teaching in New England at the secondary or 
   college level,
2. Have a rank no higher than untenured assistant professor, or have 
   taught less than ten years at the secondary level and,
3. Usually have no access to major university research-grant and travel- 
   grant programs.
The recipient of the Poggioli Award need not be a member of CANE, but CANE will ask for a written report at the conclusion of the program. Funds not used within the year must be returned in full to CANE.

Please enclose the following materials to complete your application:

1. name, mailing address, Phone, email address, Social Security number
2. present teaching position and Institution
3. courses taught and/or professional responsibilities
4. foreign travel experience, including places, dates, and duration
5. a personal statement that explains the benefits of your program for you and your students. Please include the location of program / study, institution (if applicable), dates, and a schedule of costs for transportation, living expenses, and tuition.
6. a curriculum vitae or resume that details professional experience, degrees, publications or presentations, and anything else that might be relevant to your application. Please include a list of courses taken at both the undergraduate and graduate level; this can be included as an addendum.
7. at least two letters of recommendation, one from a supervisor at your current school and the other from someone familiar with your academic work. A third is helpful but is not mandatory.

Please send three copies of all materials to: Amy White, Poggioli Scholarship, Ellington High School, 37 Maple Street, P. O. Box 149, Ellington, CT 06029.

The deadline for receipt of all application materials is 15 January 2016.
Certification Scholarship

CANE will provide up to $1500 to an outstanding junior or senior undergraduate in New England who is preparing for secondary-school certification as a teacher of Latin or Greek or both in one or more of the New England states, or to the holder of a Master’s degree to cover the cost of tuition and other fees required to obtain such certification. Full-time, part-time, and summer programs will qualify. Deadline for application is 1 January 2016. Please, send the following to: Amy White, 8 Green Hill Street, Manchester, CT 06040; 860-647-0559, ARGENTUM@cox.net.

1. Two letters of recommendation from college classicists who know your proficiency in Latin and/or Greek.

2. A letter from someone (e.g., former or current teacher, supervisor, counselor, clergyman) who can speak to your ability to communicate and work with young people and inspire them to high levels of achievement.

3. A personal statement of NO MORE THAN 1000 words in which you explain why you want to pursue a career as a secondary-school classicist.

4. High School and College transcripts.

5. A description of your program and the expenses involved.

Other Scholarship opportunities and application details are described on the CANE website. Please visit: www.caneweb.org
Funding Opportunities

Two sources of funding are open to CANE members:

**Educational Programs** funding is awarded to any group or sub-group of the membership to promote a program of interest designed to promote understanding of the Classics, pedagogy, or topics within ancient history. To apply for funds, a letter outlining the program and its goals, including the intended audience may be submitted to: Dr. Edward Zarrow, World Languages Department, Westwood High School, Westwood, MA 02090; 781-326-7500 x3372; tzarrow@westwood.k12.ma.us.

**Discretionary Funds** are awarded four times each year for supplies, ancillary materials, or enrichment materials that will enhance a particular project or curriculum, and for which other funding is unavailable. The deadlines are: 1 October 2015; 1 January 2016; 1 April 2016; and 1 July 2016. Applications may be submitted to: Anne Mahoney, 6 Hathorn Square, Charlestown, MA 02129; ANNE.MAHONEY@tufts.edu
CANE Annual Writing Contest

Students are invited to participate in the annual writing contest of the Classical Association of New England. The topic this year is: Non Sum Qualis Eram: Change in the Ancient World. This contest, or written project on a classical subject, is open to all students taking Latin, Greek, or Classics in New England middle and secondary schools. The project may be an essay, short story, poem, or drama.

The three top winners in each state will receive certificates and prizes; the New-England-wide winner will receive a certificate and a gift card at the 110th Annual Meeting of CANE to be held on 18 and 19 March 2016 at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts.

Projects will be judged on their content, originality, style, and clarity. The regional judges will score the projects anonymously, using a point system with equal points for these four categories:

(1) the overall application to the topic, with cogent evidence to support its thesis;
(2) the coherence and focus of the argument;
(3) the organization of the project and logical flow of ideas; and
(4) the style, with emphasis on clarity of expression and mechanics of good writing.

We want all students to have an equal chance to win this contest. Each project must be the student’s own work, written independently without any help from other students, teachers, or parents. Therefore, we ask that students follow these guidelines:

GUIDELINES FOR STUDENTS

(1) You may discuss the general topic with your teacher to be sure you understand it. Be creative, but support your thesis with quotations from classical authors; cite references to works of art or examples of classical culture such as social traditions, religious rites, or customs of family life; or compare classical and modern works or practices.
(2) You should follow general guidelines for good writing, as practiced and taught by your teachers. Compose a rough draft, revise it for content and style, and proofread the final draft carefully and correct it neatly. The final project should be submitted to your teacher on a date (your teacher will specify the date) early enough for your writing to be judged and submitted to the State Representative by December 15, 2015.

(3) Your project must be accompanied by a statement that the writing is your own work. (See writing guideline statements below.) Note that the project is invalid without this statement.

Additional Writing Guidelines for Students:
The written project should be 700 words maximum. There is no minimum length.

The project should be typed or word-processed using double-spacing. If someone else types the final draft, be sure to give that person a clear copy and ask him or her not to edit or revise your writing in any way.

Your name should not appear on the project itself. Instead, you should submit a cover page, giving your name, grade, home address, telephone number, current level of your Latin, Greek, or Classics course, your teacher’s name, and the name and address of your school.

You may use library resources, audio-visual materials, or personal interviews for this project; if you do use any source materials, you must provide documentation (i.e. footnotes) and a bibliography.

With your project you must also enclose a separate page on which you type the following statement and sign your name:

This project represents my own original work. No outside help has been provided for this project.

Signed________________________________Date_____________________
GUIDELINES FOR TEACHERS

The CANE Writing Contest is a regional competition open to students of Latin, Greek, or Classics in New England middle and secondary schools. We believe that the goals of the contest can best be served by requesting that the written project be the student’s own work. Hence, the student should not ask for any help in writing or correcting the project before submitting the final copy. To ensure that all entrants have an equal chance to win this contest, we urge all teachers to follow these guidelines:

(1) Present the topic to your students and answer any questions they may have about it.

(2) Give your students a copy of the Guidelines for Students, supplementing these with any additional suggestions you may have about revising the rough draft and proofreading the final copy.

(3) Explain that the projects must be original works on the given topic and that students may not seek help from others, whether students, teachers, or parent, although they may arrange to have the final draft typed or word-processed by someone else.

(4) Give your students a deadline early enough to allow you to judge your students’ projects and submit the three best projects to your State Representative by December 15, 2015.

(5) Make sure your students sign and enclose the statement that their projects are their own work. The intent of this pledge is to emphasize that all students are expected to follow the same guidelines, so that all entrants will have an equal chance for success. Unless this signed statement is enclosed, the project will be marked invalid. We have, unfortunately, had to disqualify excellent projects in the past because the required statement was not enclosed.

(6) Remind your students that this is a contest, with certificates and prizes given to the three finalists in each of the New England states, and that the
New England-wide winner will receive a certificate and a gift card, to be presented at the 110th Annual Meeting of CANE, 18 and 19 March 2016 at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts.

(7) You may find it helpful to provide your students with copies of past winning projects, published in the Annual Bulletin. For copies write to: Anne Mahoney, Chair, CANE Writing Contest (address below). Please enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope with this request.

(8) Mail the best three projects from your school to your CANE State Representative by December 15, 2015, making sure that you enclose each student’s signed statement that the project is his or her own work. For names and addresses of the State Representatives see the listing under the CANE Executive Committee on the CANE website, and elsewhere in the News in this issue. Students may not submit their projects directly to the Chair of the Writing Contest. To do so will invalidate the project.

(9) Please do not rank the three projects that you submit from your school to your state representative. If you wish, you may recognize the authors of all three projects in some appropriate way, but at this preliminary level students’ projects are not to be ranked first, second, or third place. The State Representatives will submit the entries to the president-elect.
The National Association of Secondary School Principals has placed the CANE Writing Contest on the 2015-2016 NASSP National Advisory List of Contests and Activities as a regional program for participation by students in middle and secondary schools in Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont. Students from other states who are enrolled in independent or parochial schools in New England are eligible to enter the CANE Writing Contest. Each year we have many inquiries about the CANE Writing Contest from students in schools outside the area served by the Classical Association of New England. We are happy to answer these inquiries with information about the contest, but we regret that students enrolled in schools located outside New England are not eligible to participate.

Attention State Representatives: After you have read your assigned entries, please advise Anne Mahoney, President-Elect, of your 1st, 2nd, and 3rd place choices by the agreed upon date. Please also include a ranked list of the three top winners in the state, including the students’ teachers and the name of their school.

Anne Mahoney,
Department of Classics,
Tufts University,
Medford, MA 02155;
anne.mahoney@tufts.edu.
Publishers are invited to send new books for this list to:
Prof. Jennifer Clarke Kosak,
NECJ Book Review Editor,
Department of Classics, Bowdoin College
7600 College Station, Brunswick, ME 04011;
jkosak@bowdoin.edu


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» Solar, lunar, seasonal events for 2015-2016 are marked throughout the year.

» All photographs in the calendar were taken by classicists and generously donated to CANE for this project.

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Please contact Donna Lyons by email for ordering details: mdyons11@yahoo.com
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NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

1. *New England Classical Journal* publishes articles, notes and reviews on all aspects of classical antiquity of interest to its readership of secondary and college teachers of the Classics, and of other students of the ancient world.

2. Contributions to the “Articles & Notes” section of *NECJ* are evaluated by blind refereeing and should therefore contain no indication of who their authors are.

3. Manuscripts should be submitted in the first instance as an attachment to email. Paper submissions are also accepted, but authors must be prepared to supply a word-processed document. The preferred word-processing program is MS Word. All Greek must be typed using APA Greek keys. The editors may request a paper copy of the submission before final printing.

4. Submissions should be doubled-spaced throughout, including between paragraphs, and typed in single font size throughout (thus e.g. no large capitals or small print). Italics should be used instead of underlining. Boldface type should be avoided in favor of italics.

5. All text should be left-justified (ragged-right). Hard returns should be used only at the ends of verses and paragraphs, and not at the ends of continuous prose lines. Similarly, tabs and/or indents should be used instead of resetting margins in the course of the manuscript. For difficult matters of citation, contributors should consult *The Chicago Manual of Style*. A specific *NECJ* style sheet is also available upon request from the Editor-in-Chief.

6. Materials for the various sections of *NECJ* should be sent directly to the appropriate section editors. (See inside front cover as well as at the head of each section.)

7. Manuscripts and other materials will normally be returned only if a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed with the submission.