



Discentes

2023 Print Publication

Print Publication Letter

Welcome to the first print issue of *Discentes*, the undergraduate journal for classical studies at the University of Pennsylvania. In its current form, *Discentes* exists as an online website that publishes pieces every Sunday.¹ However, we wanted to branch out from the digital realm and into print, offering readers another way to interact with the texts. In this first issue, we have chosen to highlight some of our favorite pieces from the past year, January 2023 to October 2023. *Discentes* has continued publishing on a regular schedule since the pandemic, despite the challenges of online learning. Over the past few years, the *Discentes* staff has grown to around 30 members, accepting students across many disciplines, from classical studies to economics. We also publish pieces from other schools, including many universities abroad. Welcoming the opinions of scholars from across the globe, *Discentes* serves as a place where intellectual curiosity can blossom. From our abundant list of excellent submissions, we chose the featured pieces that best highlight the diversity of subjects and schools of *Discentes*' published authors.

We have organized this print publication around four overarching themes: "Something Old, Something New," "Across the Ancient African Landscape," "Politics," and "Change." The first section, "Something Old, Something New," spans nearly three millennia, starting with a translation of Andromache's speech to Hector in the *Iliad* and culminating in modern encounters with antiquity through music, travel, and recipes. Next, "Across the Ancient African Landscape" features pieces on art, archaeology, and religion from regions of the Mediterranean world often overlooked in classical studies. The "Politics" theme analyzes complex interactions between governing bodies and society, exploring how ancient leaders used coinage and speeches to advance political agendas. Lastly, "Change" includes a translation from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and contemplates how change influenced ancient philosophy and brought about the demise of powerful civilizations.

Classics and ancient history, despite their niche status in today's society, remain an ever important field of study. The way we speak English, the figures that inspire us, and the history that informs us all come, in part, from an expansive classical past. In this print publication, we hope to portray this truth by including a wide range of topics from a diverse group of writers and artists. Since classics is a contentious topic because of the misappropriation of its legacy as a tool for hatred and misinformation, we want our audience to feel represented in the following content, so the modern narrative of the ancient Mediterranean world can become more inclusive.

We hope this publication inspires you to make your own contributions to this ever-expanding field. Thank you for reading.

Sincerely,

Your Print Publication Committee

Alex Larrow

Dara Sánchez

Erin Schott

and Maggie Yuan

Note: The cover depicts *The Consummation of the Roman Empire* (1836), an oil on canvas painting by Thomas Cole

¹ For more classics-related pieces, check out the Discentes website: <https://web.sas.upenn.edu/discentes/>

2023 Masthead

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Table of Contents

Something Old, Something New

Iliad, Hector, and Andromache by Doulin Appleberry	6
Sounds of Sappho by Catherine Sorrentino.	9
The Trippiest Places for a Classicist to go in Italy by Rebecca Onken	12
Ancient Greek Pancakes: Taganitai by Adrian Altieri.	20

Across the Ancient African Landscape

Representations of Memnon in Archaic Greek Pottery by Maggie Yuan.	24
Perpetua in the Arena: A Translation and Literary Analysis by Dara Sánchez.	34
Analysis of a Surveyed Landscape: Euesperides, Cyrenaica by Josiah Canon DeSarro-Raynal	44

Politics

Money and Identity: The Socio-Political Power of Ancient Coinage and the Emergence of Greco-Bactrian Culture by Michael Pagano.	55
Pericles's Funeral Oration: A Partial Translation of The History of the Peloponnesian War 2.37–41 by Noah Apter.	64

Change

Plague, Climate Change, and the End of Ancient Civilizations by Daniel Stein	68
Daedalus and Icarus: A Tale of Many Metamorphoses by Erin Schott	77
Change and the Logos of Heraclitus by Syed Riza Qadri.	81

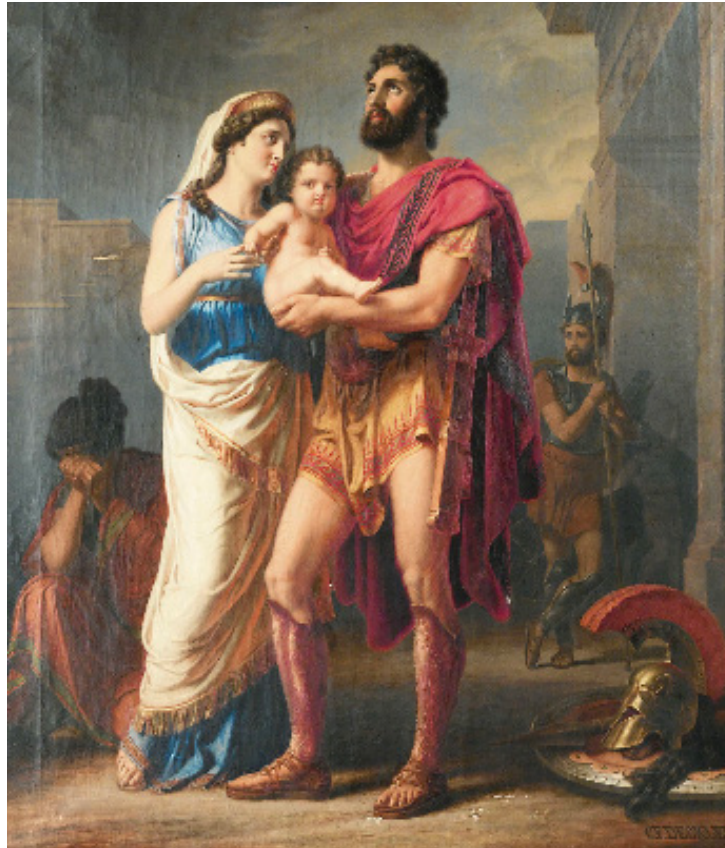
Something Old, Something New

“Time is the wisest of all things that are; for it brings everything to light.”

- Thales, as quoted in Diogenes Laërtius' *The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, 1.35

Iliad, Hector, and Andromache

By Doulin Appleberry



Introduction

In this excerpt from Book 6 of the Iliad, Hector is speaking with his wife Andromache for the last time before his death. Andromache begs him to stay, but he insists he must go fight. I have translated the Greek text, originally in dactylic hexameter, into English iambic pentameter blank verse.

Greek Text

Ἕκτορ ἀτὰρ σύ μοι ἔσσι πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
ἡδὲ κασίγνητος, σὺ δέ μοι θαλερὸς παρακοίτης·
ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐλέαιρε καὶ αὐτοῦ μίμν' ἐπὶ πύργῳ,

Translation

“My father and my mother, you are both:
My brother and my sturdy husband too.
Please reminisce a while here on these walls.

μὴ παῖδ' ὀρφανικὸν θήης χήρην τε γυναῖκα:
λαὸν δὲ στῆσον παρ' ἔρινεόν, ἔνθα μάλιστα
ἀμβατός ἐστι πόλις καὶ ἐπίδρομον ἔπλετο τεῖχος.
τρὶς γὰρ τῇ γ' ἐλθόντες ἐπειρήσανθ' οἱ ἄριστοι
ἀμφ' Αἴαντε δὺν καὶ ἀγακλυτὸν Ἰδομενῆα
ἦδ' ἀμφ' Ἀτρείδας καὶ Τυδέος ἄλκιμον υἱόν:
ἢ ποὺ τίς σφιν ἔνισπε θεοπροπίων ἐν εἰδώ,·
ἢ νῦ καὶ αὐτῶν θυμὸς ἐποτρύνει καὶ ἀνώγει.
τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ:
ἦ καὶ ἐμοὶ τάδε πάντα μέλει γύναι: ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς
αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας ἑλκεσιπέπλους,
αἷ κε κακὸς ὧς νόσφιν ἀλυσκάζω πολέμοιο:
οὐδέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν, ἐπεὶ μάθον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλὸς
αἰεὶ καὶ πρῶτοισι μετὰ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι
ἄρνύμενος πατρός τε μέγα κλέος ἦδ' ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ.
εὖ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε οἶδα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν:
ἔσσεται ἡμᾶρ ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρή
καὶ Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.
ἀλλ' οὐ μοι Τρώων τόσσον μέλει ἄλγος ὀπίσσω,
οὔτ' αὐτῆς Ἑκάβης οὔτε Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος
οὔτε κασιγνήτων, οἳ κεν πολέες τε καὶ ἐσθλοὶ
ἐν κονίῃσι πέσοιεν ὑπ' ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν,
ὅσσον σεῦ, ὅτε κέν τις Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων
δακρυόεσσαν ἄγῃται ἐλεύθερον ἡμᾶρ ἀπούρας:
καὶ κεν ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἐοῦσα πρὸς ἄλλης ἰστὸν ὑφαίνοις,
καὶ κεν ὕδωρ φορέοις Μεσσηίδος ἢ Ὑπερείης
πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένη, κρατερὴ δ' ἐπικεῖσέτ' ἀνάγκη:
καὶ ποτὲ τις εἵπῃσιν ἰδὼν κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσας:
Ἐκτορος ἦδε γυνὴ ὃς ἀριστεύεσκε μάχεσθαι

An orphan and a widow, do not leave.
Arrange the soldiers near the fig: for there
The city's walls are most in danger now,
For thrice the best have tried to scale the walls—
Twin Ajaxes, Idomeneus too
Stout sons of Atreus and Tydeus—
Where one who knows of oracles has told,
Or of their own volition they went there.”
And Hector with his gleaming helm said this:
“Oh wife, I have considered all of it.
But I would shame the Trojan citizens,
If I avoided battle, terribly.
My trusty heart leads me away from here
It knows to fight among the Trojan best,
For glory for my father and myself.
For this I know as truth by heart and soul:
The day will come when holy Ilios
Will be destroyed, and Priam's people too.
Abundant Trojan sorrow matters not;
Not Hecuba's nor Priam's otherwise;
My brothers' pain when killed by hostile men:
My brothers, good and strong and plentiful.
Compare this with your pain and it means naught
When bronze Achaeans steal your freedom thus,
And you in Argos weave the loom of foes,
And carry water from Hyperia,
Messeis against your will and in duress,
And someone else who sees the tears would say:
‘The wife of Hector, Trojan warrior

Τρώων ἵπποδάμων ὅτε Ἴλιον ἀμφεμάχοντο.
ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει: σοὶ δ' αὖ νέον ἔσσεται ἄλγος
χήτεϊ τοιοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς ἀμύνειν δούλιον ἧμαρ.
ἀλλὰ με τεθνηῶτα χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτοι
πρὶν γέ τι σῆς τε βοῆς σοῦ θ' ἐλκηθμοῖο πυθέσθαι.

The best among his kind at Ilium.'
And when this happens, pain anew would rise
No man to guard against such slavery
As I would do; Instead I'd die before
I'd hear your cries and learn your suffering."

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The Sounds of Sappho

By Catherine Sorrentino



Image of the ancient Greek poet Sappho

When the Library of Alexandria went up in flames, so did the nine volumes of Sappho's collected works, leaving only pieces and fragments for scholars to sift through in search of her remarkable voice. And yet, against all odds, from only a handful of lines and verses, Sappho rose from the ashes to become a cornerstone of women's poetry and right to expression, perhaps the inventor of the love song, and certainly a pioneer of queer love. To Plato, she was the 'Tenth Muse.' However, even when we have her famous words, we are missing a key component of her artistry — her music.

In ancient Greek poetry, the 'lyric' part of lyric poetry meant the same thing it means to us today: musical lyrics. Verses were composed of melodies accompanied by a lyre. Her ancient contemporaries called Sappho 'the Poetess,' but she was much more Joni Mitchell than Emily Dickinson. She wrote her own music and lyrics and spent her life performing for the public. Sappho is most heavily associated with the monody, or the solo performance, although she is attached to some choral songs that would have been for weddings. Monody poets often performed at parties or banquets, and while we know much about male poets, we know very little

about Sappho's performances. Some scholars envision Sappho as the lead singer of a chorus of women, while others believe she was a soloist who performed as the only woman in male-dominated spaces. However, there is equally little evidence for both claims. Trying to create an accurate picture of Sappho's life and work involves a serious commitment to guesswork: think of trying to solve a jigsaw puzzle with three pieces.

Although modern research and excavation has yielded music on ancient papyri, and classicists are recreating more and more Greek music, the melodies of Sappho are mostly lost to history. While most ancient Greek literature comes to us in translation, lots of poetry has been lost in the process of cultural, temporal, and physical degradation. Translators don't just have the responsibility to provide modern audiences with accurate renditions of the original work, they also have to convey ancient ideas and themes that can seem, at best, dated and, at worst, alien. In the case of poetry, scholars are faced with the additional challenge of translating meter; do they keep to traditional forms, or is even ancient poetic structure up for interpretation? When scholars do try to recreate the sounds of ancient lyric poetry, the challenges are steep. However, the allure of Sappho to classicists can not be overestimated; who doesn't want to hear the songs of the 'Tenth Muse?'

Most notably, the late classical scholar Stephen Daitz devoted his career to intersections of classic drama and music. His early work on Euripides forced him to confront meter, drama, and music, and he began to devote himself to the question of pronunciation in the ancient language. By 1978, he had a unified theory of classical Greek pronunciation, which he called the "restored pronunciation," and he put his theories into practice. Daitz painstakingly translated and sang several of Sappho's poems alongside hours of other recordings of Homer, Plato, and Aristophanes in a series he called "The Living Voice of Greek Literature." You can listen to several of his renditions here.¹

The largest challenge in reconstructing a classical Greek melody is the tonal complexity of ancient Greek. Since Greek is a tonal language, pitch could affect both the meaning and pronunciation of a word. Instead of stressing a syllable, like an English speaker, a native Greek would have raised or lowered the pitch of the syllable. Since most native English speakers learning Ancient Greek aren't used to tonal languages, it's a difficult concept to wrap one's head around. The tonal elements of ancient Greek are most similar, in my experience, to Chinese, another language difficult for native English speakers to pick up.

Additionally, there are two schools of thought on ancient Greek pronunciation: Erasimian and Modern. Erasimian pronunciation takes its cues from Renaissance scholars and their schools of thought, while Modern pronunciation comes from modern Greek. Daitz used Erasimian pronunciation, which includes the pitch shifts. Neither method is more ‘correct’ than the other, but hopefully, this demonstrates the complexity of these reconstructions.

Still, learning by hearing is the best practice. You can hear the tonal pronunciation in Sappho’s Fragment 1, performed above by Daitz. There’s even a recognizable word for non-ancient Greek students; the last word of the first line of Fragment 1 is Aphrodite. It’s pronounced by modern English speakers as Ah-phroo-die-tee, although a resident of Lesbos certainly wouldn’t love those tones. They, and Daitz, would have pitched the second syllable (phro). When you listen to it, you realize the name lilts delightfully. It’s music.

There are plenty more academics and students rewriting Sappho’s melodies. Some recreate her songs on authentic lyres or barbitons.² There’s even a musician who sets Sappho’s poetry to Bach’s cello suites.³ That

might seem blasphemous to a classicist trying for a ‘pure’ excavation of Sappho’s sound, but the idea of a literal Sappho recreation is impossible. We have no concrete idea of what a true, “authentic” recreation could even be; there are only classicists snatching at wisps of Sappho’s music, hoping to understand the sounds that captivated continents. All efforts to understand the past are brought to us through translation. While it is admirable to strive for accuracy, experimenting with new and interesting musical translations of Sappho keeps her voice alive and evolving.

Classical art belongs to both those who study it and those who find beauty in it. As long as the ‘Tenth Muse’ continues to inspire art and music, her truest ideals will live on.

Endnotes

1. <https://soundcloud.com/rhapsodoi/sappho-1-perf-by-stephen-g-daitz>
2. <https://playingsappho.collegeofwooster.net/2020/04/25/my-performance-of-sapphos-hymn-to-aphrodite-and-fragment-16/>
3. <https://pressbooks.claremont.edu/clas114valentine/chapter/picking-up-the-pieces-imagining-sapphos-music/>

Catherine Sorrentino (College '25) is a student at the University of Pennsylvania majoring in History and minoring in Classical Studies.

The Trippiest Places for a Classicist to Go in Italy

By Rebecca Onken

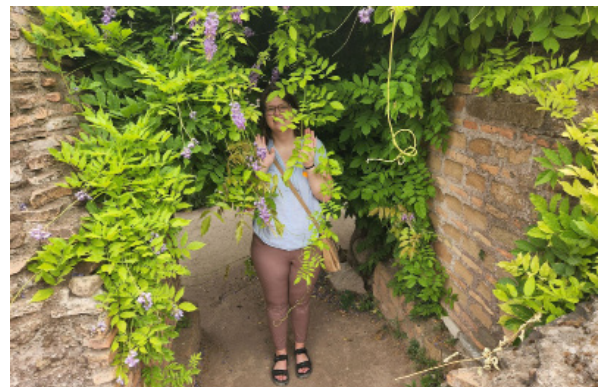
Many classicists, when they begin their careers in a Latin 100 or Greek Civilization course, have never visited the sites of their interest. American classicists even have a whole ocean separating us from the locations, monuments, and historical artifacts that we study. When we finally do visit these locations, we are both tourist and aspiring local; we are overly informed about the places we visit (sometimes to the detriment of the family and friends we bring along) but also starstruck by them: the things and places that were in our textbooks seemingly leap out of those pages into the real world. Even more stunningly, these classical relics belong to the modern landscape. They are no longer static on a page or in a documentary reel; we see that they have instead changed with time, just as humans have and do.

That was how I thought about Italy when I went there this summer. I don't think I'll ever quite get rid of the infectious, giddy feeling that I get when, in real life, I encounter something I have read and heard so much about. And I don't want to!

This brain-melting, thrilling effect is what I term “The Trippy Factor.” In this article, I will list the five trippiest places for a classicist to go in Italy, obviously biased towards where I personally went. It is complete with photos and a certified Dave Score. The Dave Score is a point system out of ten for each location by my brother Dave, who was on the trip with me but is decidedly not a classicist. His score should help you gauge how fun these locations will be for the friends and family who we drag— ahem, no, invite, to them.

1) The Forum

Hey, you know I had to say it. It may seem expected, it may even be overrated, but that doesn't change the essential awe at the heart of the Forum.



Me, taking in a moment of no people and all plants on the Via Sacra

This. Place. Is. Crazy.

It has everything: Vestal Virgins, temples refurbished into churches, giant arches, Roman imperial iconography, ancient storehouses, and a lot of birds which are more than happy to nibble on the food scraps left by tourists. The main obstacle to a truly trippy feeling is the throng of people— more than 4.5 million visit every year. Also, it's hard to miss the construction going on at the moment near the Colosseum; the Metro's C Line is expanding so that it can put a stop near the Forum. This expansion (which is touch-and-go since they keep finding artifacts that must be preserved) has resulted in a lot of noise and people jostling around the construction barricades. Still, what classicist would pass up the chance to see the heart of Roman culture in all its brutal, fascinating glory?

I would also recommend visiting the Palatine Hill if you have time. It's not as dramatic as the Forum or Colosseum, but it still has a lot to offer, like a sacred olive tree, the house of Augustus, and a public water fountain in a neat alcove. It's also very quiet and serene compared to the rest of the Forum.

The Dave Score: 8/10. Very nice, especially if you get off the beaten path. Go up the hill! Get away from the people!



Statue of Emperor Trajan in the Imperial Forum



Interior of early 4th century Temple of Romulus, canonized as Sancti Cosma et Damianus in the 6th century

2) Musei Capitolini

Perched above the Forum on the Capitoline Hill are the Musei Capitolini, the Capitoline Museums. This squad of three museums were first constructed

in 1471, and currently house some of Rome's most important artifacts. For instance, here you can see the Fasti, a consular calendar of Rome from the early fifth century BCE to the reign of Augustus. In the basement, you will find epitaphs for the dead as well as an unparalleled view over the Forum. There are several courtyards in the museums; in one, you will find a giant Neptune reclining over a fountain, and in another, there are shattered parts of a colossus found near the Forum. Throughout the museums, you can find neoclassical and classical marble sculptures sitting in picturesque galleries.

The trippy factor here rests in how all these aspects fit together— it feels like walking through a story of classics and classical reception. As a field, classics encompasses archaeology, philology, numismatics, literary theory, translation study, theology, and much more. These museums, through their wealth of artifacts, attest to the incredible scope of our field.

The Dave Score: 8/10. This is the kind of place you go to when you want to see the authentic artifacts, but in the end, it's still a museum, so not very interesting for travelers looking for something that has a high impact.



View of the Forum from the Capitoline Museum's balcony



Me with Marforio, one of the talking statues of Rome; the original marble statue is Roman, 1st century, possibly of Neptune or some sort of river god

3) Pompeii (and the Amalfi Coast)

Let me tell you about the Circumvesuviana train. This train runs from Naples, along the edge of Pompeii, right to Sorrento, a small, tourist-overrun seaside town on the northside of the Amalfi coast.

The fare is only three euro and twenty cents. That's... almost irresponsibly cheap. However, this train has a reputation for being crowded, hot, and littered with pickpockets. So, if you're a classicist on a budget, keep your bag strapped to you and a fan in hand!

Still, not even the almighty number of people on the train could lessen how extraordinary it is to walk the streets of Pompeii. It's one thing to hear about a preserved Roman city and another to see it firsthand. The graffiti on the walls, the frescoes in the intact domi, and the grooves in the stone from carriage wheels make the city feel lived in. If not for the way everything seems bleached, you might think a Roman vendor is going to walk out of their store at any moment. Trippy.

Personally, just staring at Vesuvius from Sorrento was sufficiently astonishing. While I was taking pictures, sipping on the very strong limoncello they brew there,

I thought of how, across the bay, at Misenum, Pliny the Younger had seen the volcano erupt in 79 CE. He, like the people in Sorrento at the time, watched Pompeii, Herculaneum, and other seaside resort towns be buried under ash, wondering all the while if they would be next. But when I was there, the day was so clear and the water so soothing that if I had not seen Pompeii myself, I would never have guessed what had happened two thousand years earlier. The whole concept of that rates pretty high on my "unreal experience" scale. Maybe it will do the same on yours?

The Dave Score: 6/10. I say this because Sorrento comes across as an authentic seaside town, but news about it has definitely gotten around. Still, the number of tourists doesn't change the picturesque, Italian-countryside quality of the town. On the other hand, the train has nice views, but again, it's crowded as hell. It's a mixed bag, really.



View of Vesuvius from an outlook in Sorrento that shows the docks and coastline too



Sea level view of Vesuvius from Sorrento



A rose blooming in the peristyle of a Pompeiian domus

4) Terme di Caracalla

Back in Rome, a sadly overlooked location is the Terme di Caracalla, the Baths of Caracalla. Completed around 216 CE by, of course, the Emperor Caracalla, this public bathhouse was the second largest in Rome. That all sounds ordinary, but once you see it in person, you won't believe it. This place is huge! You can walk inside the sprawling structure like a Roman would have. You can visit the frigidarium (cold room), the tepidarium (medium-heat room), a massive circular caldarium (hot room), accompanying laconica (saunas), and two palaestrae (gyms). The whole way through, you are treated to extraordinarily well-preserved mosaics. At the edge of the large natatio (swimming pool), there is a board game carved into the stone. It's a tropa, or hole-game, where the object is to get marbles or knucklebones into the holes in a certain order (though the exact rules of the game still escape

us). When I saw that, I thought of how I would play tons of games at the swimming pool when I was a kid— kind of trippy to think that some things never change, right?

This entry is lower on the list because the structure dates from the later empire and therefore is not nearly as popular, but it still provides a remarkable experience. The sheer size of the place and how it illustrates all the parts of the Roman bathhouse that were once outlined in my history textbook made it more than worth it for me!

The Dave Score: 9/10. This score may surprise you, but in my opinion, the Baths are a great example of how many interesting architectural elements the Romans had on hand (as an engineer, that intrigues me more than the mosaics). This and a relatively low population of people make the location pretty good!



Some mantle detailing, along with nature's detailing, a persistent little bush

5) Florence (Duomo di Firenze and the Galleria degli Uffizi especially)

If you leave the south of Italy and visit more northern cities, you might find that classical artifacts are overshadowed by medieval and Renaissance ones. At first, you might think, “Well, I don’t want that.” However, this last entry on the list is meant to convince you that these cities and their melding of classics with later eras can also be trippy.

Florence, in particular, has a gravitational force to it, attracting tourists like planets around a sun. This gravity is earned, though, by the power of its locations and monuments. For one, Duomo di Firenze, the Florence Cathedral, really is a feat of engineering and art. While construction on the cathedral began in 1296, it would not be fully finished, dome and all, until 1436. A hundred and forty years of construction yielded a structure unlike any other. In the basement, you will find crypts that relate the lives of their occupants in Latin. Upon the walls and ceilings, you will find awe-inspiring mosaics and frescoes. My personal favorite is actually in the Battistero di San Giovanni, the baptistery that sits in front of the cathedral. Here, Dante Alighieri and members of the

Medici family were baptized under a stunning mosaic ceiling depicting the Last Judgment. I mean, just look at it. Trippy.

There’s more to Florence than Il Duomo, however. Be sure to swing by the Galleria degli Uffizi, the Uffizi Gallery. This is where the Medici collection of art resides. Boticelli’s Primavera is housed in the side room of a hall filled with classical busts and sculptures. Here, I forced my brother to pose with the head of Caracalla, the emperor we met before. Downstairs, there’s a room occupied by 16th-century Medusas: Carvaggio’s and another whose painter is unknown (it was perhaps Da Vinci). As a classicist, it’s hard not to feel a kinship with these artists who found classical stories as compelling as we do. That’s trippy in and of itself, so give Florence (and other northern cities like Verona and Venice) a chance!

The Dave Score: 7/10. Not as high as you’d expect due to it being a major Italian city that’s well-known and choked with people. However, you might remember that this is the setting of the seminal RPG of 7th generation consoles, Assassin’s Creed II (2009). When you visit this city, you can follow the path of the game’s dashing protagonist, Ezio Auditore, on his exploits through the scalable metropolis of 15th century Firen-

ze (in case you're wondering, yes, I made Rebecca listen to all of this while we walked around).



A hall filled with classical busts and sculptures



Ceiling of Battistero di San Giovanni

So, What's So Great About Being Trippy?

At the end of this trip, I was tired, a little dehydrated, running out of clean clothes, and desperate for some air conditioning. My phone told me that, in a week, I had walked an average of almost ten miles a day (I am not an active person by any measure, so this was an achievement and also pretty frightening). I had stayed in Airbnbs that weren't all they had purported to be, gotten stuck in Switzerland because of a delayed flight, stood in the Forum while it rained just to avoid hordes of people, and earned a killer sunburn while reclining on a chair, staring at Vesuvius. However, I did and saw many things that made this trip memorable. I saw places that I had only heard about before, I learned more about them as I walked around than I ever could have just from a book, and I met Italians who were warm, welcoming, and kind.

Something that was unexpectedly impactful for me was how I felt as I provided free-of-charge (albeit brief) tours to other tourists at each of these locations. In those moments, I was given the wonderful, unique feeling of security in the path I had chosen for myself. It was like a little voice saying, "Hey,

maybe I really do know some Latin, and maybe this historian career is actually the right one for me.” That’s a good feeling, and it’s one that I try to hold onto when finals and deadlines and stress come around.

Beyond that personal feeling, though, what made this trip most trippy to me was how it affirmed that what we do as classicists does have consequence. The field of classics may have millennia between it and its subjects, but that doesn’t mean that it lacks importance. Through our study and our very interest in these artifacts and monuments, we find ourselves participating in a continuum of human experience. This continuum involves me giving out free tours and contemplating Pliny the Younger, but it also includes the people who live in Italy amongst these reminders of history, the artists who have performed classical reception through the ages, the classicists who are working today, and even the well-meaning tourists who try to understand it all. On this trip, I came to recognize just how much the past that we study is linked to the present of our

world, whether that be through a video game, a prophetic warning about the destructive power of volcanoes, or a metro line’s beleaguered construction.

Will the Metro C stop at the Colosseum ever be finished? Will we ever stop translating classical Roman texts? Will Medusa ever stop being painted? Will we ever figure out the rules to that game inscribed on a slab of limestone at the swimming pool? I don’t know. We might never know. We might find out tomorrow.



Dave posing like Caracalla with a mask playing the part of the beard

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Ancient Greek Pancakes: Teganitai

By Adrian Altieri



Photo of Ancient Greek Pancakes

Although the concept of a pancake, especially one with toppings like chocolate, fruit, or whipped cream, may seem like a more modern idea, a particular version was a staple of the Ancient Greek breakfast. This type of pancake, referred to as a “girdle-cake” (ταγηνίτης, tagenites) by the Athenians or a “griddle-cake” (τηγανίτης, teganites) by the Anatolian Greeks, is a mixture of wheat flour and water, fried in olive oil, including either sea salt, honey, or sesame seeds. The two names for this kind of pancake derive from the Ancient Greek word for frying pan (τάγηνον, tagenon). The best-kept records of teganitai come from the Anatolian Greek physician Galen, who, in addition to his extensive

contributions to the “four humors” theory of medicine, also wrote an extensive catalog of foods named “On the Properties of Foodstuffs.” While he explains the inclusion of honey and sea salt as a measure to prevent effects that “restrain the stomach and give rise to crude humors,” the use of sesame seeds is only supported by accounts in other Greek literature.

Ingredients List (makes 10–12 small cakes):

- 120 g / 1 c. wheat or spelt flour
- 225 ml / 1 c. water (or more for thinning, if necessary)
- 42 g / 2 tbsp. honey, plus extra for topping
- Pinch of salt
- Olive oil for frying
- Optional: 1–2 tbsp. sesame seeds

Recipe:

The recipe for teganitai resembles that of modern pancakes, but it lacks eggs, pure sugar, and leavening agents.

1. Stir salt into the water, and then pour the mixture into a bowl containing the flour and honey. Let sit for approximately 20 minutes.
2. (optional) Toast sesame seeds in a dry pan until they begin to brown. Set aside for topping.
3. Apportion the batter into 10–12 equal volumes, and fry each cake in a small layer of oil. Although Galen recommends flipping the cakes multiple times, it is likely that just one flip will suffice.
4. Remove cakes from heat and let cool. Add any additional toppings.
5. Enjoy!

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Across the Ancient African Landscape

“Africa always brings us something new.”

- Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 8.17

Representations of Memnon in Archaic Greek Pottery

By Maggie Yuan



Achilles facing off against Memnon, flanked by two goddesses.

Ancient Greek literary sources paint a complex picture of race and ethnicity, in which no consensus surrounding the parameters of identity exists. In particular, these sources differ in the way they portray Aethiopians; while some describe them as a “savage” people, others like Herodotus create an aura of mysticism around them (3.20–3.22). Material artifacts, such as pottery, only complicate this narrative further. Memnon, the mythological Aethiopian king at the time of the Trojan War, is found on many vases of the Archaic period. One might expect him to be portrayed in opposition to the Greeks on pottery, with contrasting physical features and clothing, but that is not necessarily the case. In fact,

he seems to be depicted like many other Greek heroes such as Achilles. In most of these scenes, little evidence points to his Aethiopian ancestry, although this would have been common knowledge to the Greeks. There are a few scenes in pottery where Memnon commonly appears. For example, one scene depicts Memnon's body being carried off by his mother Eos back to Aethiopia. Another depicts his psychostasia, symbolizing Memnon's inherent goodness and piety. By looking at these two common scenes, it becomes clear that Memnon is neither Ethiopian nor Greek, but perhaps in a category of his own.

Scene 1

A common scene depicted on Archaic pottery is the duel between Achilles and Memnon described in the lost work *Aethiopis*, which takes place after the events of the *Iliad*. In these scenes, Achilles and Memnon face each other fully armed with weapons drawn. Typically, such scenes are identifiable without names because two women stand on either side of Achilles and Memnon—often their mothers Thetis and Eos, respectively. In addition, the scenes often show the body of a fallen soldier underneath Achilles' and Memnon's feet; this is typically thought to be Antilochus, the son of Nestor whom Memnon killed.



Figure 1



Figure 2

On the Attic red-figure krater (Figure 1), identifying each figure is simple, as the figures are labeled. The dead soldier lying at the bottom of the pottery is identified here as 'Melanippos.' To the right stands Memnon, holding a sword and a shield with a Gorgon head on it. Predictably, he is supported by his mother Eos on his right, who wears a crown and long, draped robes. His stance indicates he has just been stabbed by Achilles, as he is falling backwards into his mother's arms (Boston MFA description). On the left is Achilles, wearing similar-looking armor and using the same weapons as Memnon. Behind him stands Athena, cloaked in her aegis; she is replacing Thetis in this scene. Memnon and Achilles are dressed nearly identically, aside from different designs on their breastplates. However, nothing on Memnon's breastplate signifies his foreignness or his Aethiopian identity.

On the Attic black-figure amphora (Figure 2), a similar scene is displayed, albeit with no labels. Because the male figures are once again nearly identical, there is not much evidence to determine which figure is Achilles and which is Memnon. However, differences in their clothing may serve to highlight their different ethnicities. The figure on the left wears a long cloak and visible breastplate. On the other hand, the figure on the right wears an elaborately designed piece of clothing, lacking both a breastplate and cloak. In addition, the figure on the right holds a shield decorated with a snake, lion, and Gorgon head. Put together with Figure 1, one can assume that Achilles stands on the left and Memnon on the right. However, the hair arrangements of the two men, a typical marker of foreignness, are identical. The addition of the bird in this scene may represent Memnon's soul, as the duel ends in his death. If not for the two women standing behind the men, the figures could just as easily represent two random Greek soldiers.

According to one scholar, the symmetry in the dueling scenes indicates a “balance inherent in the myth” (Burgess 38). Often, the duel between Memnon and Achilles is compared to the duel between Hector and Achilles; in each duel, the soldiers are considered evenly matched and only fate decides the victor. As such, depictions of ethnic difference would not necessarily be at the forefront of the artist's mind. Instead, their goal might be to hide Memnon's ethnic identity in order to highlight the balance between the two soldiers; any differences in clothing may simply be to identify which is which. However, that does not mean artists did not see ethnic differences. As analysis of the next scene shows, markers of ethnic and racial difference were not uncommon in depictions of Memnon.

Scene 2

In many pieces of pottery, Memnon is depicted with two Aethiopian attendants surrounding him. These attendants often have different facial features and wear different clothing from Memnon.

What do these markers of difference mean—can we assume they indicate a difference in ethnicity between Memnon and his attendants?

On an Attic amphora made by Exekias, Memnon stands in the middle, flanked by attendants facing him on either side (Figure 3). Although his face is covered by a helmet, he is set apart from his attendants by the garb they wear. Memnon is fully armed and clothed in a breastplate, short chiton, and leg armor. In addition, his hair is long and set in three curls; he also has a beard. In fact, he more closely resembles Achilles, who is depicted on the other side of the same amphora (Figure 4). Much like in the duel scenes, Memnon and Achilles wear similar armor and have the same hairstyle; they are nearly indistinguishable from each other. Therefore, it is important to take note of their surroundings to identify the men. Achilles is identifiable in his scene because he is slaying an armored woman, the Amazon Penthesilea (Figure 4). On the other hand, Memnon is identified by the two attendants surrounding him. The attendants wear their hair in cropped curls and lack the beard that Memnon has; their noses are also visibly upturned, as opposed to Memnon's nose, which is covered by his helmet. Even if their physical features are not taken as markers of their ethnic difference, both attendants hold a club in their right hand, which is markedly different from the weapon Memnon has, a spear. Taken together, these differences in both weapons and physical features seem to place Memnon in opposition to his attendants. However, the figures' relationship is more complicated than simply "opposition." Because Memnon himself is Aethiopian, there must be a reason why he is displayed in a manner more consistent with Greek culture. An interesting point of note is that Memnon is consistently wearing a helmet, obscuring most of his face. In fact, it is possible that his helmet acts as a cover of sorts, allowing the artist to render him ethnically ambiguous to avoid answering the question of whether he is Greek or Aethiopian.

Interestingly, another amphora attributed to Exekias displays a man similar in appearance to the attendants in Figure 3. On this amphora, the man on the left side, labeled Amasos, is stabbed by Menelaos while attempting to flee from him (Figure 5). In the description from the Penn Museum, Amasos is identifiable through his "African features" (Penn Museum description). Such terminol-

ogy raises questions about what sort of features are perceived as “African,” and whether the ancient Greeks would have also seen those features as African. While this question has no definitive answer, one can still observe that Amasos stands out from the other figures on the amphora. Specifically, his lack of clothing stands in direct contrast to the Greek soldiers, who all wear varying levels of armor. In addition, he holds a club, while the Greek soldiers hold spears. These differences may indicate the ‘otherness’ of Amasos since they do not characterize Greek soldiers like Menelaos. By comparing Amasos and the two attendants, one can begin to understand that markers of ethnic difference were not uncommon in Archaic Greek pottery. In addition, the comparison casts doubt on whether the ethnicity of these figures can ever be accurately assigned, or whether all assignments rely on some level of guesswork.



Figure 3



Figure 4

On the terracotta amphora (Figure 6), a similar scene depicts Memnon turned toward the left, surrounded by his attendants. Although it is more difficult to tell what clothes Memnon is wearing in this scene, his helmet and shin guards indicate he is probably wearing armor underneath his

shield. His attendants are wearing what are possibly breastplates, though they are evidently not fully dressed in armor like Memnon is. However, what is interesting about this vase is the individual differences between the attendants. While the attendant on the right side is bearded, the one on the left is not. In many cases, hair plays an important role in the identification of ‘otherness,’ but the fact that these attendants differ in hair style suggests hair may not be significant in this case.

This marker becomes more confusing when compared to the amphora in Figure 3, where Memnon is differentiated from his attendants through his beard. There could be many reasons for the contrast, from the artist’s choice to the artistic style. More interestingly, in the description from the Metropolitan Museum, the attendants are called “Ethiopian squires,” unlike the descriptions from the Penn and British Museum, which simply represent the attendants as “African.” However, there does not seem to be any evidence indicating these attendants are Aethiopian. In fact, Memnon is not even labeled on the amphora, which would have justified this hypothesis more.



Figure 5

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Penn and British Museum, which simply represent the attendants as “African.” However, there does not seem to be any evidence indicating these attendants are Aethiopian. In fact, Memnon is not even labeled on the amphora, which would have justified this hypothesis more.

If Memnon is Aethiopian like his attendants are, then why is he portrayed differently? One possible explanation is that Memnon is seen as Achilles’ equal, and therefore must be portrayed like Achilles; this explanation falls into line with Scene 1 (the dueling scenes). In this explanation, the attendants may simply serve to identify the figure of Memnon, as ancient audiences would have known he was not Greek. However, this explanation assumes that an ancient audience would have recognized the attendants as Aethiopian, which imposes modern ideas of racial construction onto the past. As such, there is no fully adequate explanation that answers this question. The only conclusion that can be drawn at this point is that Greek artists recognized racial difference; the trap we must avoid is assuming that such depictions of racial difference provide evidence for a racial hierarchy. In fact, because Memnon was known to be Aethiopian himself, the opposite might in fact be true. As an ancient mythological hero revered for his honor and strength, he would not have been viewed differently from other mythological heroes solely based on his ethnicity. Instead, Memnon’s depictions may have been part of a greater theme of depicting mythological heroes in a specific style. Rather than being drawn to fit his Aethiopian background, he may have been viewed and depicted as part of the class of mythological figures who loom larger than life.

Conclusion

Based on the evidence surrounding depictions of Memnon, it is clear that Greeks in the Archaic period recognized ethnic differences. As such, Memnon’s depiction as culturally Greek may have been a deliberate choice. On the other hand, his depiction may provide insight into what the most important forms of identity were; for Memnon, his identity as an ancient mythological hero seems to take priority over his ethnicity. Though nothing can be answered definitively, more work must be done in order to unbind Memnon’s depictions from current perceptions of race and ethnicity.

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Perpetua in the Arena: A Translation and Literary Analysis

By Dara Sánchez



Martyr in the Circus Arena, Fyodor Bronnikov

Note: This piece consists of two parts: a translation of Perpetua's final vision followed by a literary analysis of the translated passage.

Latin Text: *The Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicity*, 10.1–10.15

10.1

Pridie quam pugnaremus, uideo in horomate hoc:
venisse Pomponium diaconum ad ostium carceris et
pulsare uehementer.

Translation

On the day before we were fighting, I was seeing¹ this
in the vision: that deacon Pomponius went to the
door of the prison and aggressively beat it.

10.2

Et exiui ad eum et aperui ei; qui erat uestitus discincta candida, habens multiplices galliculas.

10.3

Et dixit mihi: Perpetua, te expectamus; ueni.

Et tenuit mihi manum et coepimus ire per aspera loca et flexuosa.

10.4

Vix tandem peruenimus anhelantes ad amphitheatrum et induxit me in media arena et dixit mihi: Noli pauere.

Hic sum tecum et conlaboro tecum. Et abiit.

10.5

et aspicio populum ingentem adtonitum; et quia sciebam me ad bestias damnatam esse, mirabar quod non mitterentur mihi bestiae.

10.6

et exiuit quidam contra me Aegyptius foedus specie cum adiutoribus suis pugnaturus mecum.

10.7

ueniunt et ad me adolescentes decori, adiutores et fautores mei. et expoliata sum et facta sum masculus; et coeperunt me fauiores mei oleo defricare, quomo-

And I reached out to him and opened it for him; and he was dressed in a loose white robe, wearing fancy sandals.

And he said to me: "Perpetua, we are expecting you; come." And he held my hand and we began to go through rugged and twisted places.

With difficulty, we finally arrived panting to an amphitheater, and he led me into the middle of the area and said to me: "I do not wish to frighten [you]. I am here with you, and I will labor with you." And he departed.

And I gazed at the immense, stunned crowd; and because I understood that I had been condemned to the beasts, I was amazed that such beasts were not being released upon me.

And a certain Egyptian, foul in appearance, emerged opposite to me with his supporters, prepared to fight with me.

And beautiful young men came to me, as supporters and protectors for me. And I was stripped and made masculine; and my protectors began to rub me down

do solent in agone. et illum contra Aegyptium uideo in afa uolutantem.

10.8

et exiuit uir quidam mirae magnitudinis ut etiam excederet fastigium amphitheatri, discinctatus, purpuram inter duos clauos per medium pectus habens, et galliculas multiformes ex auro et argento factas, et ferens uirgam quasi lanista, et ramum uiridem in quo erant mala aurea.

10.9

et petiit silentium et dixit: Hic Aegyptius, si hanc uicerit, occidet illam gladio; haec, si hunc uicerit, accipiet ramum istum.

10.10

Et recessit. Et accessimus ad inuicem et coepimus mittere pugnos. Ille mihi pedes adprehendere uolebat; ego autem illi calcibus faciem caedebam.

10.11

Et sublata sum in aere et coepi eum sic caedere quasi terram non calcans. At ubi uidi moram fieri, iunxi manus ut digitos in digitos mitterem et apprehendi illi caput; et cecidit in faciem et calcaui illi caput.

with oil, just as is the custom for a competition. And on the opposite side, I saw that Egyptian rolling in the dust.

And a certain man of a remarkable magnitude, so that he was taller than even the top of the amphitheater, came out wearing loose clothes with purple in between two stripes going through the middle of his chest, and fancy sandals made from gold and silver, and carrying a stick, as if he were a trainer, and a green branch on which there were golden apples.

And he asked for silence and said: "This Egyptian, if he defeats her, he will kill her with a sword; this woman, if she defeats him, she will receive that branch."

And he withdrew. And we approached each other and we began to hurl our fists. He was hoping to grab my feet; but I kept striking his face with my heels.

And I was raised in the air and began to strike him in this way, as if I was not trampling the dirt. But when I saw that he happened to hesitate, I joined my hands so that I weaved my fingers into my own fingers and I grabbed his head; and he fell on his face and I trampled his head.

10.12

et coepit populus clamare et fauisoires mei psallere. et accessi ad lanistam et accepi ramum.

And the crowd began to cry out and my protectors began to sing psalms. And I approached the trainer, and I received the branch.

10.13

et osculatus est me et dixit mihi: Filia, pax tecum. et coepi ire cum gloria ad portam Sanauiuariam. et experrecta sum.

And He kissed me and said to me: "Daughter, peace be with you."

And I began to go with glory to the Sanavivarian gate. And I awakened.

10.14

et intellexi me non ad bestias, sed contra diabolum esse pugnaturam; sed sciebam mihi esse uictoriam.

And I understood that I was not going to face those beasts, but I was about to fight against the devil; yet I knew that victory was mine.

10.15

Hoc usque in pridie muneris egi; ipsius autem muneris actum, si quis uoluerit, scribat.

I did this all the way until the day before the spectacle; but let him, if anyone should wish it, write down the deed of the spectacle itself.

A Literary Analysis of Perpetua's Morality and Allusions in Her Final Vision

Continued by Dara Sánchez

Introduction

From a prison diary in Carthage, Perpetua gives a captivating account of martyrdom in the *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* (*Passio Perpetuae*). Amidst the foul conditions of the prison, her father's pleas for her to reject Christianity, and her separation from her infant, Perpetua wondrously describes the visions that come to her in dreams. For example, on the day before the spectacle where she would be martyred, she has her fourth and final vision, in which Perpetua describes deacon Pomponius leading her to an amphitheater where she is set to fight against an Egyptian. In preparation, Perpetua is rubbed in oil by a group of beautiful youths and masculinized. She fights, kicking and stepping on the Egyptian man's head, eventually leading her to victory, where she grabs a branch with golden apples held up by a large figure symbolizing God. This certifies her victory and the same God-figure kisses her. Upon awakening, Perpetua realizes the meaning of this vision: she will be fighting the devil in the arena. In her account of the dream, Perpetua raises many fascinating questions about her gender transformation and her fight against an Egyptian. This essay argues that in section ten of the *Passio Perpetuae*, Perpetua utilizes physical appearances to reveal the moral qualities of individuals and, despite favoring Christian values, makes both pagan and Christian allusions to align her account of martyrdom with Christian values.

Section I: Equating Appearance to Morality

Arguably one of the most interesting components of this episode is the Egyptian man, whom Per-

petua uses as a symbol of immoral and un-Christian values by equating physical appearance with moral attributes. For starters, Perpetua comments that the fight against the Egyptian represents her fight against the devil (10.14). Perpetua's depiction of the Egyptian aligns with other depictions of Egyptians and Ethiopians in Christian texts, where these peoples are appropriated as symbols of godlessness and evil (Gold 27). Nevertheless, Perpetua may also mention the Egyptian man because Egyptians were associated with polytheistic pagan cults, in opposition to Christians' one true God (Gold 27). Extending these interpretations, it is important to consider the foulness of the Egyptian (*Aegyptius foedus* [10.6]) in contrast to the beautiful young men (*adolescentes decori* [10.7]). This falls in line with previous depictions of physical appearance in Perpetua's narrative. For example, in an earlier vision, Dinocrates² is described as having dirtied clothes and a pale complexion (*sordido cultu et colore pallido* [7.4]) while he suffers in the afterlife, but after he is redeemed by Perpetua's prayer, he appears clean and well-dressed (*mundo corpore bene vestitum* [8.1]). In this way, Perpetua uses physical appearances in her visions to describe the moral conditions of an individual, thereby equating the foedus quality to an Egyptian pagan and decori to the psalm-singing youths that come to her aid. Thus cleanliness (and good looks) is close to godliness, while foulness is not.

As another example, Pomponius is described positively when he takes the role of a helpful Christian. Previously, Perpetua mentioned Pomponius when he bribed the guards to get better conditions for the imprisoned Christians (3.7) and tried to return Perpetua's infant to her (6.7). Thus Pomponius is consistently characterized as a helpful, Christian figure. After he summons her to martyrdom, Pomponius again takes the role of a helper, offering support before her fight in the arena: *Hic sum tecum et conlaboro tecum* [I am here with you, and I labor with you] (10.4). He demonstrates Christian values by supporting a fellow Christian in her metaphysical struggle against the devil. His white clothing (*uestitus...candida* [10.2]) implies he was rewarded for being a good Christian because his good physical state in Perpetua's vision reflects the good qualities of his soul.

Section II: Allusions to Pagan and Christian Traditions

Later in her narrative, Perpetua's account becomes more complex as we consider both the pagan and Christian allusions she utilizes. Although most of her allusions are to Christian concepts, she also references pagan traditions. As she attempts to align her narrative with Christian values, we can reconcile these opposing ideals. Perpetua appropriates pagan traditions to align herself with Christian values. For example, God holds out branches with golden apples (*mala aurea* [10.8]); and these fruits are common motifs in pagan myths (e.g., the golden apples of the Hesperides and of Atalanta's race). Golden apples evoke a heroic context, appropriate for the athletic contest in which Perpetua participates. This imagery is interesting to evoke in a Christian context as the golden apples highlight her heroic triumph over the devil. Perhaps it indicates pagan and Christian traditions were not strictly separate and compels us to place Perpetua's narrative back in the pagan society in which early Christianity was developing.

Turning back to her preparation for the fight, the beautiful young men rub Perpetua in oil and she is made masculine (*facta sum masculus* [10.7]), highlighting how Perpetua strives to align herself with the Christian ideal of the athletic martyr. We can view Perpetua's transformation and the aspects of athleticism in her account from numerous perspectives. For example, martyrs are described as athletes in other early Christian texts, and athletes had to be male as they were associated with good qualities like self-discipline, while women were not. In this way, Perpetua had to make herself masculine to conform to the manly ideals associated with martyrdom (Gold 27–28; 36). However, there are other angles to consider. For instance, it was common to be rubbed in oil and then sprinkled with dust in preparation for fights. The opposition of these two stages of preparation is apparent as Perpetua is only rubbed in oil, while the Egyptian rolls in the dust (10.7). For Christians, the oil rubbing may resemble the holy practice of anointing in oil, thus showing Perpetua in a consecrated form, while the dust portrays the Egyptian in the filth of dust. Moreover, because Perpetua was stripped naked for oiling, she enters the arena without pagan dress; later, Perpetua argues for the Christians' right to enter the arena without pagan attire (18.4–18.6). Nonetheless, women are

stripped naked in the arena to humiliate them in a culture that traditionally values modesty. However, in her vision, Perpetua's nakedness does not make her feel shame (in contrast to 20.4). By being masculinized, she further contests societal norms. Her transformation into a masculine form also means that Perpetua rejects her earthly ties to wifehood and motherhood (all societal titles expected of her), like other early Christian female martyrs. Consequently, the only title she accepts is the title of daughter (*filia*) because it comes from God (10.13), not earthly relations.

Finally, during the contest, Perpetua strikes her heel into the face of the Egyptian man (*illi calcibus faciem caedebam* [10.10]), making a biblical reference which puts her in a powerful position. This action alludes to Genesis, where God foresees that the head of the serpent will be crushed by the offspring of a woman as a punishment for the serpent's role in the story of Adam and Eve: "and between your offspring and her offspring/ he shall bruise your head,/ and you shall bruise his heel" (English Standard Version, Gen. 3.15). It is important to recognize that this is not Perpetua's first reference to Genesis. In fact, when Perpetua was climbing a ladder in a previous vision, she trampled on the head of a serpent (4.7). By equating her martyrdom with crushing the head of the serpent, Perpetua heightens the religious significance of her visions, contextualizing herself within the founding traditions of Christian texts.

Conclusion

To conclude, in the *Passio Perpetuae*, Perpetua utilizes physical exteriors to reveal the ethical qualities of individuals and alludes to pagan and Christian traditions in order to align her account of martyrdom with Christian values. This analysis is important because it explains the rhetorical devices Perpetua uses. As readers of Latin works, we can acknowledge the intrinsic value of Perpetua's account as one of the few surviving sources written by a woman, which simultaneously highlights the widespread use of Latin across the empire. From Perpetua's account, perhaps most importantly, we can see the formation of her own Christian identity and how she portrays this with rhetorical

devices in her diary. Finally, it is important to consider her narrative within the context of it being her fourth and final vision. To illustrate, in the last few lines of this episode, God kisses her and tells her to go through the Sanavivarian gates, which are the winner's gates in a gladiatorial fight. Perpetua accepts when God takes on a fatherly role, in contrast to how she behaves toward her biological father, whose cries she ignores when he tries to call her away from her Christian life. Readers are therefore left with a triumphant image of Perpetua, a Christian and daughter of God. This episode records the last words of Perpetua before her martyrdom is narrated by someone else because she is headed not only to her death, but to an eternal Christian victory.

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End Notes

1. As Gold explains Perpetua's repeated use of the verb *video* ("I see" in the present tense), she explains that the "use of the present tense here is strikingly vivid and represents for her audiences her experiences [... in which the visions] are continuing to pass before Perpetua's eyes and are performative and interactive" (23–24). While the present tense in English would sound awkward, I thought the past tense would be too dull and not capture the ongoing experience that Perpetua wants to capture, so I used the imperfect tense to try to capture the unfinished, habitual action of seeing these visions vividly.

2. Dinocrates is mentioned in section seven, where Perpetua sees him suffering in a vision. Perpetua tells us that he is her brother by blood (as opposed to a fellow-Christian brother) who died young due to cancer. When she first sees Dinocrates in her vision, he is suffering and reaching for water, which he can never attain. However, after Perpetua prays for him, she sees him in another vision clean and fulfilled with water.

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Analysis of a Surveyed Landscape: Euesperides, Cyrenaica

By Josiah Canon DeSarro-Raynal



“Euesperides (Benghazi). Area H, looking southwest.” Photo by Paul Bennett.

Introduction

Lying on the northwest coast of Cyrenaica in modern Libya, Euesperides is an important archaeological site that has been the focus of extensive research through surveys and excavations since the mid-twentieth century. Demonstrated through the findings later explored in this analysis, the site offers an exceptional opportunity to reconstruct the physical appearance of a Greek city from the

late-sixth century to the mid-third century BCE, when it was suddenly abandoned and inhabitants relocated to a nearby site called Berenice.¹ A Greek colony, the city experienced a short yet dramatic history concluding with an unusual departure. Various excavations and surveys since the mid-twentieth century paint this history for archaeologists and historians. Despite Euesperides' unique story, decades of archaeological study have revealed a level of connectivity between the site and other parts of the Mediterranean. Such evidence allows historians to draw conclusions about life and settlement in the broader region during the fifth through third centuries BCE.

Euesperides is only part of a larger group of sites in Cyrenaica; the nearby, younger city of Berenice plays an important role in the history of settlement in the region surrounding the modern city of Benghazi. This analysis of the surveyed landscape of Euesperides will primarily focus on the city center and its immediate surroundings. Berenice, the successor site to Euesperides, will largely not be covered since most surveys have not incorporated Berenice into their scope. Much of its site currently lies under the developed cityscape of Benghazi, so not enough information about Berenice is available. Euesperides does not have this issue at such a scale, even though modern human presence remains a factor in conducting regional surveys. This analysis will cover the major archaeological activities conducted at Euesperides over the past seventy years and present how researchers have adopted varying lines of inquiry into the site over time. Following this investigation will be a brief review of the survey reports, which help provide context for the archaeological work. The results of the collective surveys and excavations paint a clear picture of the Greek city-state, which can be used to draw more general conclusions about cities in the wider Mediterranean.

Summary of Surveys

Foundational Excavations

The surveys and excavations at Euesperides can be grouped into three stages: the initial excavations in the 1950s, the British Schools' programs in the 1960s, and the resurgence of activity in the

late 1990s. The first archaeological work began in the 1950s when aerial photographs taken by the British military displayed a layout of an ancient city outside Benghazi in Cyrenaica, Libya. City walls and the outlines of streets and buildings, impossible to see from the ground, were clearly depicted from the air.² The findings of Richard Goodchild, one of the first British archaeologists to research Cyrenaica, and those under the management of C. N. Johns in 1952 were instrumental in determining foundational information about the site. Important findings from their excavations included locating areas “littered with Greek pottery, much of it in remarkably fine quality.”³ Close analysis determined that much of this pottery originated in the Aegean cities of Corinth and Rhodes.⁴ Also found were mosaics, wall decorations, and the foundation of a temple likely dedicated to Aphrodite.⁵ The excavations further yielded the important limited information known about Berenice, which has been adapted and supported by later excavations: Berenice was founded during the mid-third century BCE, immediately preceding the abrupt abandonment of the settlement at Euesperides.⁶ Additional evidence from the 1950s excavations indicated that the small inland lakes next to the acropolis of Euesperides were drying up during the third century.⁷ Goodchild’s research also demonstrated that Euesperides was founded soon after the formation of Cyrene further along the Libyan coast.⁸ All of these findings would serve as the control for the conclusions of future excavations at the site.

Developing a Narrative in the 1960s

The next significant phase of archaeological activity at Euesperides took place in the 1960s. A series of excavations following surveys in 1968 and 1969 were jointly sponsored by the British Schools at Rome and Athens.⁹ Pottery finds confirmed the city’s foundation date near the end of the sixth century BCE.¹⁰ Archaeologists judged that the original nucleus of the city was located on the slightly elevated area surveyed a decade earlier, now the site of the Sidi Abeid cemetery.^{11, 12} Close reconstruction of the ancient streets was another accomplishment of the work done during these surveys. The uniformity of Euesperides’ road network is similar to that of other Greek settlements such as Olynthus and Rhodes.¹³ Evidence indicated that two stages of urban planning occurred at the site:

the first at its initial construction in the late sixth century and the second in the early fourth century, when new defenses and extension of the city southwards took place.¹⁴ After these conclusions were drawn, largely from pottery findings and measurements of wall construction, Euesperides would not see notable survey activity or excavation until construction work and development accidentally uncovered additional artifacts and evidence nearly thirty years later in the 1990s, sparking a resurgence of interest.¹⁵

Recent Findings from the 1990s and 2000s

The final important stage of surveys and excavations at Euesperides was conducted in the 1990s and into the early 2000s, after a gap in activity.¹⁶ Gar Younis University in Benghazi sponsored one of the first surveys in 1995, the aim of which was to “evaluate further the preservation of the ancient city, to refine understanding of its extent and development, and to raise public awareness of the presence of important ancient remains in this part of Benghazi.”¹⁷ This survey specifically focused on the northern section of the city, near its center, where problems of determining the urban topography were left unresolved from the 1960s excavations.¹⁸ Evidence of wells was found, along with extensive soil samples taken from human remains dated to the fourth and third century BCE. These findings resulted in definitive environmental, economic, and dietary data about the inhabitants of Euesperides.¹⁹ For instance, ancient diets of the site were dominated by wheat, barley, vines, and figs, in addition to substantial seafood, proven by the abundance of fish vertebrae and shellfish remains.²⁰

Other research during the 1990s proved important claims about the general nature of Euesperides as a Greek city. It was revealed that occupation of the site dates all the way back to the early sixth century, before the foundation of a full-fledged city.²¹ The city was established within the defensive lagoon on the coast of Cyrenaica as the westernmost of the region’s first cities.^{22, 23} Evidence indicated that throughout the occupation of the site, lasting until the mid-third century, the walls and buildings were constantly rebuilt and improved.²⁴ Distinct periods of construction coincided with

important demographic shifts. These trends included new waves of Greek settlers arriving in the fifth century and consistent aggression from native Libyan tribes, which kept the population from increasing for decades.^{25, 26} Euesperides' economic activity was additionally affected by important evidence found during the excavations in the 1990s–2000s. Abundant evidence of shellfish used for luxury purple dye was discovered, along with a wide variety of ceramic material from all over the Mediterranean, including Sicily, Punic North Africa, and the Aegean.²⁷ This makes sense considering the presence of significant amounts of food products from elsewhere, which suggests trade supplemented the city's lower agricultural production.²⁸ All of these conclusions, based on the excavations and surveys, combine with those from earlier archaeological research to form a relatively clear image of a typical Greek city during the fifth through third centuries BCE with particular regard to what people ate, what they produced for trading, and how they used physical space to live and work.

Analysis and Implications

The chronology of survey work and excavation at Euesperides has resulted in a complex and turbulent history of human settlement from the foundation of the Greek colony to the abrupt abandonment of the site, spanning over three centuries. All surveys agree that the city was one of the earliest settlements in Cyrenaica, originating in the late sixth century BCE, and that the newer city of Berenice was established close by in the mid-third century at a site directly adjacent to the Mediterranean coast.²⁹ The patterns of urban development expressed through the layout of walls and roads mimic those of other Greek cities; Euesperides is an exemplar of broader Greek colonization and migration in the Mediterranean region. The ceramics and pottery material from other Greek cities support this conclusion. The economic and cultural connections between the site and other settlements are shown through pottery found in Euesperides with Punic origins. The pottery evidence uncovered in the city spans centuries and multiple regions, demonstrating “a considerable degree of contact, both in terms of trade and transmission of technologies, between Greek-speaking

Cyrenaica and...Punic-speaking North Africa.”³⁰ Such connections between Euesperides and other sites help historians to conceptualize the scale of trade during the fifth and fourth centuries.

The results of these surveys and excavations have proven helpful in informing historians about the patterns of settlement in Euesperides. The physical extension of the city, the rebuilding and construction of walls, and the limited number of public buildings each allow archaeologists to make conclusions about specific judgments, including estimating the number of inhabitants of the site at a given time. Information pertaining to how people lived within a class system can also be determined. For instance, the existence of mosaics in buildings atop the elevated northern region compared to buildings in other areas lacking such decoration suggests that inhabitants of the city had a wide range of social statuses.³¹ This conclusion is one example in which survey results yield what could eventually be determined as historical fact. In a broader example, the realization that the city was abandoned around 250 BCE in favor of a new settlement on the coast highlights a rising reliance on the sea for travel, trade, and food. Combined with relatively lower rates of agricultural production and attacks from native Libyan tribes, the city’s relocation can be considered a necessary demographic shift for the continued presence of a Greek colony in the area. With regard to the surveys and studies described throughout this analysis, most were helpful in both supplying information confirming previously held assumptions and yielding new information that might have challenged such assumptions, particularly the reasoning for Euesperides’ abandonment around 250 BCE.

A critical analysis of these various sources supplements the subject matter by taking into account the studies’ contexts and how information is presented. The delivery of information in many of the survey reports was, for the most part, succinct and clear, but very few authors described the specific methodology of how they found evidence. This absence of discussing methodologies is common for archaeological work of the 1960s to the 1990s, thus representing a wider insufficiency in the field. It is unclear what was determined through survey, photography, or virtual rendering technology and

what was determined through intensive treatment of the environment, such as involved in excavations. However, despite this shortcoming, some sources acknowledge the general use of advanced virtual technology, particularly geographic information systems (GIS), in the later phases of research. Such utilization of modern information technology allowed “different types of data (maps, plans of excavated areas, photographs...) [to] be put together so as to make the computer screen into a window to the archaeology and history of an ancient Greek colony.”³²

Conclusion

Setting the site of Euesperides in the greater context of the entire Mediterranean region is important for understanding broad themes present in ancient history. Euesperides shares many characteristics of a typical Greek settlement and maintains abundant evidence of trade through maritime commercial networks. The site’s cultural continuity and economic circumstances prove interconnectedness played an important role in the Mediterranean world, even before the political unification of the whole region under the Roman Empire. The Mediterranean was long interwoven with complex economic and cultural relationships throughout a wide variety of settlements; the surveys and excavations at Euesperides have produced a wealth of information that supports this conclusion. Euesperides can be considered a testament to the interconnectedness of the pre-Roman period in the Mediterranean.

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27. Wilson, "Euesperides (Benghazi)," 131, 133.
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Politics

“It is evident that the city belongs among the things that exist by nature, and that man is by nature a political animal.”

- Aristotle, *Politics*, 1253a

Money and Identity: The Socio-Political Power of Ancient Coinage and the Emergence of Greco-Bactrian Culture

By Michael Pagano



Drachma of Eukratides I, c. 150 BCE

Deep in the heart of Central Asia lies a civilization lost to time, a symbol of the interconnected nature of the ancient world near modern-day Afghanistan: the Kingdom of Greco-Bactria. For hundreds of years, this kingdom served as a hub of multiculturalism along the Silk Road. The taxation of luxury goods along the Silk Road and abundant natural resources allowed the Greco-Bactrians to fund massive initiatives to build hundreds of cities. Despite the cultural impact the Greco-Bactrians had on

Central Asia, little remains besides their coinage. Although some historians have argued the traces of the Greco-Bactrian culture perished after the kingdom fell, the coins produced during and after the end of Greco-Bactrian control of the region suggests otherwise.

After Alexander the Great's death in 323 BCE, his empire fractured into pieces fought over by his generals in the Wars of the Diadochi. The Seleucid Empire, one of these successor states founded by Seleucus I Nicator, spanned from Anatolia to the Indus River, and owned the territory that would become the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. In 250 BCE, Diodotus I broke the rich region of Bactria away from the Seleucid Empire, which was ruled at the time by Antiochus II, and immediately began to change the coinage. Three types of coins from the beginning of Diodotus' reign have emerged: the normal commissions with the image and name of Antiochus followed by a new type, with the figure of Zeus striding to the left hurling a thunderbolt, bearing Antiochus' name but Diodotus' portrait and royal diadem. Finally, we find issues similar to the second type, but bearing the name and portrait of Diodotus.¹ Diodotus consolidated control by replacing one aspect in each new issue of coinage, which may have prevented many from noticing a transition from Seleucid to Greco-Bactrian rule. Later Greco-Bactrian rulers would continue this pattern of coinage, modeling their coinage after Diodotus' designs. At the same time, the Greco-Bactrians continued using the "Attic standard," a silver-based weight system for coins introduced by Seleucus.²

Diodotus II "only issued coins with his father's portrait," transplanting the practice from Greece.³ This demonstrates the Greco-Bactrian elites had not completely adapted to their new environment, with Diodotus II clinging onto a more Greek culture than his syncretic successor. After his short reign, Euthydemus I usurped the throne, founding the Euthydemid dynasty, which marked a shift in the foreign policy of Bactria from one of defending itself from the encroaching Seleucids to one of expansion into India.

Before the Euthydemids began their expansion into Northwestern India, Euthydemus repelled a Seleucid attempt to reconquer Bactria. Euthydemus celebrated his triumph by minting a Greek-style commemorative coin, suggesting the presence of Greek artisans and the preservation and localization of Greek minting techniques in Greco-Bactria.⁴ Euthydemus' coin started the Greco-Bactrian tradition of minting commemorative coins to celebrate the accomplishments of kings and their predecessors. Coins with differing depictions of the king, varying in levels of realism, suggests Greek coin-makers in the mints may have taken on apprentices to teach coin-artisanry. This cements the process of localization of minting practices and the development of a unique Greco-Bactrian identity.⁵

Euthydemus' successor, Demetrius I, conquered Northwest India, after which he depicted himself with "an elephant scalp helmet," starting a tradition of depicting headgear on Greco-Bactrian coinage.⁶ This addition demonstrated Demetrius' new power base, representing his might by wearing a symbol of power from the region. Furthermore, Demetrius began the trend of bilingual Greek/Kharosthi coinage, which weighed less than the Attic standard, in order to integrate the local populations of his new territories, a feature otherwise unattested in Hellenistic coinage.⁷

Cupro-nickel coins minted by Euthydemus II also provide evidence that he expanded the kingdom into "Chinese Turkestan" as the Europeans did not use nickel until 1700 CE; ergo, Euthydemus localized the currency to the available metals.⁸ Yet again, the Greek elites localized their coinage and a stronger Greco-Bactrian identity formed. Pantaleon, a successor king in the Indian territories of Bactria, also adapted many Greek traditions by issuing coins on which Hekate holds two torches, whereas the reverse on Alexander the Great's coins depicts an image of Zeus.⁹ Pantaleon and subsequent Indo-Greek rulers changed coin's shape to a rectangle, with Greek on one side and Brahmi script on the obverse together with the foreign god Laksmī, highlighting the commitment to cultural syncretism.¹⁰ The implementation of rectangular and bilingual currency, the placement

of a god from a different pantheon, and the depiction of more elephants to fit with the local culture's assumptions on power reaffirms this notion.¹¹

After seizing the throne from the Euthydemids in a civil war, Eucratides the Great continued the previous monarchy's customs of bilingual coinage and depicted himself with an elite headpiece, the Boeotian helmet, and continued and altered the headgear worn to compare his own successes during the civil war to the conquests of Alexander the Great and his Boeotian cavalry detachment.¹² Another change introduced by Eucratides was the usage of the uniquely Indian title "rajadirajasa," a translation of his own title, on his bilingual coins. Through this, Eucratides indicated his commitment to and dominance over his Kharoshti subjects.¹³ Eucratides perpetuates the trend of gradual changes in Greco-Bactrian coinage started by Diodotus I, maintaining stability while adapting to the local culture.

After the collapse of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom, Timarchus, the leader of one of the conquering Nomadic tribes, took Eucratides' title of Great King and minted coins imitating Eucratides, unintentionally mimicking Diodotus I's secession methods.¹⁴ Although Timarchus may or may not have known who Eucratides was, these post-collapse coins provide proof that Greco-Bactrian culture lived on through the nomads.¹⁵ In India, Asoka the Great erected several bilingual Greek and Prakrit pillars to display regal messages, suggesting the presence of educated Greeks integrated into the local populations.¹⁶ These archaeological discoveries provide a substantial piece of evidence to the survival of a distinctive Greco-Bactrian culture.

The Greco-Bactrians who maintained control of the region respected the indigenous Bactrian culture, allowing the Greek and Bactrian cultures to form one distinctive culture. The coins, which years of archaeological discoveries have yielded, only seem to prove the mixture of these two cul-

tures. Each ruler from Diodotus I to Eucratides the Great made gradual alterations to the coinage, producing a unique coin-making tradition that paralleled the development of the Greco-Bactrian culture, which the successors to the Greco-Bactrian kingdom preserved in their own coin minting techniques.

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Figure 1. "Silver tetradrachm of Demetrios I, 16.51 g, 34 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection," (Glenn, as cited by Mair 472).



Figure 2. "Silver tetradrachm of Eukratides I, 16.67 g, 32 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Oman 1947," (Glenn, as cited by Mair 472).



Figure 3. "Bronze coin of Pantaleon, 10.93 g, 21 x 22 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Oman 1947," (Glenn, as cited by Mair 474).



Figure 4. "Bronze coin of Agathokles, 5.33 g, 21 x 14 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Short Bequest 1975," (Glenn, as cited by Mair 474).



Figure 5. "Silver 'tetradrachm' of Menander I, 9.53 g, 26 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection," (Glenn, as cited by Mair 480).



Figure 6. "Silver 'tetradrachm' of Menander I, 9.53 g, 26 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection," (Glenn, as cited by Mair 475).



Figure 7. "Silver 'tetradrachm' of Antialkidas, 9.86 g, 25 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection," (Glenn, as cited by Mair 475).



Figure 8. "Cupro-nickel coin of Agathokles, 8.08 g, 24 mm, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Hollis Collection," (Glenn, as cited by Mair 480).



Figure 9. "A so-called barbarian imitation of a coin issued by Eucratides," (Holt, *Lost World*, 201).

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5. Sidky, 163.
6. See Figure 1; Rachel Mairs, and Simon Glenn, “History from Coins,” *The Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek World*, (Routledge, London, 2021), 465–486.
7. Sidky, 189.
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9. Hekate does not appear on coinage anywhere else in the Hellenistic world; Glenn, as cited in Mairs “History from Coins,” *The Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek World*, 472–473.
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11. See Figures 6 and 7.
12. See Figure 2; Glenn, as cited in Mairs “History from Coins,” *The Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek World*, 472.
13. Translates from Kharosthi into King of Kings; Sidky, 220.
14. Sidky, 225–226.
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Pericles's Funeral Oration: A Partial Translation of *The History of the Peloponnesian War* 2.37–41

By Noah Apter



An idealized bust of Pericles from the British Museum. A Roman copy of the original Greek bust. (Original is dated 440–430 BCE, copy 2nd century CE)

Author's Statement

Pericles's funeral oration comes down the centuries as one of the most difficult pieces of ancient Greek literature to properly translate. As classicists, it seems that Thucydides wishes to help us sharpen our teeth on his grammar. Why? It is in the nature of speeches to differ from narrative texts, the former tending to be "live" while narratives deliver recollections of events past. Pericles's *epitaphios logos* is designed to persuade those soldiers standing in the cold of winter. It is ornate, baroque, and rousing, with rhetorical devices rarely encountered in sequential narratives. The author has stepped back to allow our victorious general to speak for himself.

We arrive at our translation *in medias res*. What follows is but a small part of the oration. The occasion is an annual public funeral and Pericles urges his soldiers to continue the fight to preserve the glory of Athenian democracy. Little does our general know, he too will die a year after the speech.

Greek Text: *The History of the Peloponnesian War* 2.37–41

37. ἡρώμεθα γὰρ πολιτεία οὐ ζηλούση τοὺς τῶν πέλας νόμους, παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες τισὶν ἢ μιμούμενοι ἑτέρους. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται: μέτεστι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὥς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκιμεῖ, οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλεον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται, οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν, ἔχων γέ τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀξιώματος ἀφανεία κεκώλυται.

Translation

For we employ a form of government which does not emulate the laws of our neighbors, but on the contrary, we ourselves are a model for some rather than imitators of others. And our government has been named a democracy by name because we govern not for the few but for the many: according to the laws, equality is afforded to all in private disputes; each man receives honor in accordance with his reputation, as each man earns good repute with regard to public affairs not by lot more than by virtue; one is not barred from public rank by obscurity of his position due to poverty, if he is able to do anything good for the city.

[2] ἐλευθέρως δὲ τὰ τε πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν
καὶ ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν
ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν, οὐ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας,
εἰ καθ' ἡδονὴν τι δρᾷ, ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ ἀζημίους μὲν,
λυπηρὰς δὲ τῇ ὄψει ἀχθηδόνας προστιθέμενοι.

[3] ἀνεπαχθῶς δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσομιλοῦντες τὰ δημόσια
διὰ δέος μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν, τῶν τε αἰεὶ ἐν
ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκροάσει καὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ μάλιστα
αὐτῶν ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ τῶν ἀδικουμένων κεῖνται
καὶ ὅσοι ἄγραφοι ὄντες αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην
φέρουσιν.

38. 'καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας
τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπορισάμεθα, ἀγῶσι μὲν γε καὶ θυσίαις
διετησίῳ νομίζοντες, ἰδίαις δὲ κατασκευαῖς
εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν ἡ τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν
ἐκπλήσσει.

[2] ἐπεσέρχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης
γῆς τὰ πάντα, καὶ ξυμβαίνει ἡμῖν μηδὲν οἰκειότερα τῇ
ἀπολαύσει τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ γιγνόμενα καρποῦσθαι ἢ
καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.

And we live as free citizens with respect to our
public life, and as regards the suspicion against
each other for our pursuits throughout the day,
we are free from it; we do not regard someone
near us with anger, if he does as he likes, nor do
we make annoyed looks — although they are
harmless, they are still painful burdens on the
face.

Although we hold intercourse in private mat-
ters without offense, we do not act unlawfully in
public matters because of fear above all else, we
attend to those who are always in power and the
laws, particularly those which are established
for the help of those who are wronged and laws
which, although unwritten, carry a shame which
is universally understood.

38: And truly we have brought for the mind plen-
ty of respites from work, and indeed we institute
games and sacrifices throughout the year, and we
are also well accustomed to elegant homes, and
every day the delight of these things expels our
grief.

And on account of the magnitude of our city, all
goods from around the world come to us, and
it has fallen to us to enjoy these fruits of other
countries which are as familiar to our men as
those of Athens.

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Change

"Everything flows onward; all things are brought into being with a changing nature; the ages themselves glide by in constant movement."

- Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 15.177–178

Plague, Climate Change, and the End of Ancient Civilizations

By Daniel Stein



The Course of Empire: Destruction, Cole Thomas (1836)

Periodically, civilizations collapse. Whether through war, disease, famine, or internal strife, complex societies can rapidly vanish, leaving the survivors to start a process of rebuilding that can take centuries. “A society has collapsed,” writes anthropologist Joseph Tainter, “when it displays a rapid, significant loss of an established level of social complexity.” These events often mark the transition between historical eras. The collapse of Bronze Age civilization in the Eastern Mediterranean between the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BCE led to a brief “Dark Age” and then the beginning of the Iron Age. The collapse of the Roman Empire set the stage for the Middle Ages. The speed with which these events can occur sometimes leaves modern scholars at a loss to explain what happened. Why do some societies collapse while others succeed? Why does a society which survives serious threats at one period of its history collapse when it faces the same threats later on? What makes a society vulnerable to collapse? As fears of climate change become increasingly widespread today,

some researchers have proposed environmental causes for the demise of ancient civilizations. They see this as a precedent and warning for our society's current struggle with climate change. This essay will look at the relationship between the environment and the collapse of ancient states.

Various sources provide evidence about the ancient climate. Ancient writers sometimes comment on the environment, especially natural disasters like storms, droughts, volcanic eruptions, and since pollen data are affected by humans and have traditionally been reported as percentages and not as absolute values, it is hard to distinguish climatic effects from human effects. Researchers must also be aware that any positive increase in one type of vegetation will automatically lead to a negative "correlation" with other types of plants. Overall, these techniques have allowed scientists to reconstruct "climate series" that track environmental changes over time. Scientists can then compare these series to the historical record to see if there is any correlation between the climate and human events.

Was climate change responsible for the end of the Bronze Age? After flourishing for hundreds of years with extensive trade and diplomatic contacts, the Bronze Age civilization of the Eastern Mediterranean suddenly collapsed. Most of the Mycenaean palaces were violently destroyed around 1200 BCE. The old hierarchy of kings, warriors, priests, and local officials disappeared, along with the Linear B writing system. Bands of marauders known as the Sea Peoples sailed along the coast of Asia Minor and the Levant, sacking cities. A tablet from the last year of the Greek palace of Pylos conscripts men for duty as "watchers on the coast," suggesting a fear of invasion. As trade routes failed, Hittite kings tried desperately to maintain their supplies: "You must furnish them with a large ship and a crew, and they must transport the grain to their country . . . You must not detain their ship!" The pharaoh Merneptah recorded that he had "caused grain to be taken in ships, to keep alive this land of Hatti." Writing to the king of Cyprus, the king of Ugarit lamented: "my cities were burned, and they did evil things in my country . . . the country is abandoned to itself." Within a few decades, the crisis was over. The Hittite empire disappeared, as did the Mycenaean palaces and most other Bronze Age powers. As one writer put it, "the major empires of the Late Bronze Age . . . seem to have evaporated as quickly as moisture on a hot afternoon." Egypt defeated the Sea Peoples but never again attained the same level of prosperity or influence. The demise of Bronze Age empires

opened the way for the Iron Age and the rise of new powers like Phrygia and the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

There is evidence that climate shifts may have contributed to the end of the Bronze Age. One study of the palace at Pylos concludes that “a brief period of drier conditions around 3200 yrs BP [ca. 1250 BCE] may have disrupted the Mycenaean agricultural system,” while increasing aridity in the years after the palace’s destruction “probably reduced crop yields and helped to erode the basis for the re-institution of a central authority and the Palace itself.” On a larger scale, analysis of fossilized pollen grains concluded that “the driest event throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages occurred ~1250–1100 BCE,” followed by a “dramatic recovery in the Iron I,” which led to “settlement recovery.” Scholars David Kaniewski and Elise Van Campo conducted their own pollen analysis and concluded, “the LBA [Late Bronze Age] crisis coincided with the onset of a ca. 300-year drought event 3200 years ago. This climate shift caused crop failures, dearth and famine, which precipitated or hastened socio-economic crises and forced regional human migrations at the end of the LBA in the Eastern Mediterranean and southwest Asia.” Oxygen-isotope analysis of speleothems at the Soreq Cave in northern Israel suggests a period of low annual precipitation between the Bronze Age and Iron Age, while pollen cores from Lake Voulkaria in western Greece show that local plants were adapting to a new arid environment. In *1177 BCE.: The Year Civilization Collapsed*, archaeologist Eric Cline suggests the possibility of “earthquake storms” caused by a series of sequential shifts along a fault line. He cites evidence of late Bronze Age earthquakes at Mycenae, Pylos, Tiryns, Midea, Thebes, Kynos, Lefkandi, Kastanas, Korakou, Profitis Elias, and Gla in Greece; Troy, Karaoglu, and Hattusa in Turkey; and Ugarit, Megiddo, Ashdod, and Akko in Syria and Israel. The evidence for earthquakes at Mycenae and Tiryns includes crooked walls and unburied bodies. Combined with reports of famine and supply shortages (“I have no grain in my lands,” wrote one Hittite queen to Rameses II), this may have destabilized Bronze Age states and driven the migration of groups like the Sea Peoples.

Building on this evidence, some have argued that the root cause of the Bronze Age collapse was the environment. One group of researchers argues, “We believe the domino effect . . . cold spells, droughts and famine in the north, causing groups to invade sedentary lands in the south—explains the Late Bronze collapse.” Another group says, “The abrupt climate change at the end of the Late

Bronze Age caused region-wide crop failures, leading towards socio-economic crises and unsustainability, forcing regional habitat-tracking [population movement to habitable areas].” According to Professor Brandon Drake of the University of New Mexico, “A sharp increase in Northern Hemisphere temperatures preceded the collapse of Palatial centers, a sharp decrease occurred during their abandonment . . . These climatic changes could have affected Palatial centers that were dependent upon high levels of agricultural productivity. Declines in agricultural production would have made higher-density populations in Palatial centers unsustainable.” In other words, whether or not climate was directly responsible for the collapse, these scholars argue that climate was the ultimate source of the problems that ended the Bronze Age.

A similar argument can be made for the other major collapse of antiquity: the fall of the Roman Empire. In *The Fate of Rome: Climate, Disease, and the End of an Empire*, Kyle Harper argues that Rome reached the peak of its prosperity and extent during the Roman Climate Optimum (200 BCE–150 CE), followed by a Late Roman Transitional Period (150–450 CE) and the Late Antique Little Ice Age (450–700 CE) during which a steadily deteriorating climate and a series of plagues gradually destroyed the empire. As climate researchers note, between the third and seventh centuries CE, regions including Anatolia, the Aegean, the Black Sea, Syria, and even the Negev desert enjoyed an extended period of “late antique prosperity”—defined by increased numbers of settlements, agricultural expansion into previously uncultivated areas, and population growth. They then entered a rapid decline (eighth to ninth centuries) as once-flourishing lands were abandoned and turned into deserts. There are 106 recorded sites in the Upper Galilee during the Hellenistic period, 170 in the Roman period, 194 in the late antique period, and then only thirteen for the early Islamic period, suggesting a “dramatic decline . . . during the 7th–8th c. CE.” According to one group of researchers, “it seems that the previously homogeneous and prosperous rural world of the late antique Eastern Mediterranean more or less collapsed across the central zone stretching from Gaza to Cappadocia” following the seventh century. Another group explains that there is “a steady increase and peak of settlement numbers in the Roman and Early Byzantine periods, followed by a significant reduction of Middle Byzantine evidence. These changes are consistent with data from across the Eastern Mediterranean and are frequently hypothesized to result in part from changing

climatic and environmental conditions.” So many settlements were abandoned that they have become known collectively as the “dead cities of northern Syria.”

Was the climate to blame? In a study of climate and settlement in southwest Anatolia, Jacobsen et al. concluded that climate “may have some responsibility” for depopulation and settlement contraction and abandonment in the sixth and seventh centuries CE. Weather conditions after 460 CE shifted from wet to arid, with the minimum annual precipitation between 570 and 590. In 536, a major volcanic eruption left a twelve–eighteen month dust veil over the northern hemisphere, leading to environmental cooling and a “536–550 CE climate downturn.” There is also evidence for a larger pattern of cooling from 450–800 CE, which has been labeled the Dark Ages Cold Period (DACP) and may have lowered agricultural productivity. The authors are careful to note, however, that “there were earlier instances of dry climatic conditions where the local population appears to have been relatively unafflicted, or even to have prospered.”

In addition to possible climate change, the Roman Empire was struck by a series of major epidemics. The Antonine Plague (165–180 CE), brought back by soldiers campaigning in the East, is said to have killed between a quarter and a third of the empire’s population. At the height of the plague, the historian Dio Cassius estimated that 2,000 people were dying per day in Rome. A century later, the Plague of Cyprian (250–270 CE), named after the bishop who described its symptoms, was said to have killed 5,000 people per day. These epidemics decimated the Roman population and made it harder to defend the empire’s borders. In 541 CE, the first major outbreak of bubonic plague, known as the Plague of Justinian, appeared in Egypt, sweeping through the empire and ravaging the population over eighteen successive waves during a period of 200 years until 755. The Byzantine historian Procopius called it “a pestilence by which the whole human race was near to being annihilated,” and recent estimates have placed total fatalities between twenty and fifty million.

In short, there is evidence that climate contributed to the ending of the Bronze Age and the Roman Empire. However, it is important to be cautious when designating factors like climate change as the sole or even primary cause of a civilization’s collapse. Humans have adapted to a wide range of environments, so there is no reason to think that a shift in climate would automatically entail a collapse

of society. While climate-based explanations tend to focus on periods where climate change can be associated with political crises, there are many more cases where drought, earthquakes, and epidemics did not lead to the collapse of society. As Cline notes, “We must . . . acknowledge that droughts have been frequent in [the Levant] throughout history and that they have not always caused civilizations to collapse.” The earthquakes at Mycenae and Tiryns preceded the final destruction of these sites by at least a few decades. At the Iron Age city of Gordion, a fire destroyed the citadel around 800 BCE, but the inhabitants quickly recovered and rebuilt the entire structure on new foundations. The plague of Athens (430 BCE) may have killed up to twenty-five percent of the city’s population, but the Athenians continued to fight the Peloponnesian War for nearly three more decades. In Asia Minor, reduced effective moisture beginning in the fifth century led to “urban water infrastructure adaptations,” which helped save and distribute water more effectively. Theories about historical climate change may give too little credit to human resilience and ingenuity.

Recent critiques have identified a number of issues with current models of human-climate interaction. According to Jacobsen et al., there are “significant and recurring issues” with these studies, including “correlation-based conclusions that lack convincing causal explanations,” “a bias towards periods of ‘crisis’ which mischaracterizes human-environment interactions,” and “a focus on large regions without high-quality comparative data sets.” A comprehensive review published in *Nature* found many of the same problems. The authors note that “populations survived—and often thrived—in the face of climatic pressures,” citing numerous cases where society adapted to make the best use of a changing climate and concluding that “the overwhelming focus in HCS [History of Climate and Society] on crisis and collapse misrepresents the character of historical interactions between humanity and climate change.” As they note, proxy-based climate reconstructions (i.e., reconstructions based on evidence like pollen or speleothems) are often imprecise and represent an average of conditions over decades or even centuries. They are not a direct record of climate conditions but rather a product of “statistical interpretations of available sources,” which makes it difficult to prove a connection between climate and historical events or even compare data for different time periods. They also ignore high levels of climatic variability within broader periods of climate change. Moreover, “the basic assumption that higher temperatures and water availability will facilitate higher agricultural productivity is too simplistic.” So when looking for the causes of a specific

collapse, researchers should use environmental data with caution and look for other non-environmental causes before reaching broad conclusions.

Bronze Age sources are so limited that it is difficult to know what specifically caused depopulation or the migration of the Sea Peoples or who the Sea Peoples were in the first place. Aside from climate, the Bronze Age collapse may have been caused by the invasion of Dorians from the north or by internal tensions within the palace system, or more likely by a combination of factors with the climate playing a role. For the Eastern Roman Empire, there are clear non-environmental factors that explain the collapse. The Byzantines had fought a long and exhausting war with the Sassanian empire (Iran) during the fifth and sixth centuries CE, followed by an equally destructive invasion of Muslim armies during the seventh century. The evidence for a “Roman Climate Optimum” from the second century BCE to first century CE is weak to nonexistent. While the environment may have contributed to the decline and collapse of the Bronze Age empires or Rome, it is unlikely that this was ever the sole or even primary factor in the fall of ancient civilizations.

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Daedalus and Icarus: A Tale of Many Metamorphoses

By Erin Schott



The Fall of Icarus, Jacob Peter Gowy (c. 1636)

Author's Note

In his fifteen-book magnum opus, Ovid recounts over 250 myths. These range from the disturbing and violent (Procne and Philomela) to the sweet and innocent (Baucis and Philemon) and all shades in between. Yet what unites this seemingly disparate set of myths is the poem's title, *Metamorphoses*, for each myth describes a change or evolution. As I translated Ovid's version of the famous Daedalus and Icarus tale, I pondered the plethora of metamorphoses present in this single myth. Although the most overt metamorphosis in the story is the melting

of the wax wings, which leaves Icarus without a means of steering in the air, the myth contains numerous other changes in just over fifty lines of poetry: from imprisoned to liberated, from life to death, and, as Ovid observes, from father to “no longer a father.” Even Ovid the poet appears to metamorphose in his writing, constantly switching tenses between present and perfect. When I attempted to preserve these tense shifts in English, however, the result read like a stream of grammatically incorrect verses, so I have used the perfect tense for most of my translation. And although I have lost one metamorphosis by rendering the poem into English, I hope to have otherwise done justice to Ovid’s retelling of this myth, whence comes the warning “don’t fly too close to the sun.”

Latin Text: Metamorphoses VIII: 183 –235.

Daedalus interea Creten longumque perosus
exilium tactusque loci natalis amore
clausus erat pelago. ‘terras licet’ inquit ‘et undas
obstruat: et caelum certe patet; ibimus illac:
omnia possideat, non possidet aera Minos.’

Dixit et ignotas animum dimittit in artes
naturamque novat. nam ponit in ordine pennas
a minima coeptas, longam brevior sequenti,
ut clivo crevisse putes: sic rustica quondam
fistula disparibus paulatim surgit avenis;
tum lino medias et ceris alligat imas
atque ita conpositas parvo curvamine flectit,
ut veras imitetur aves. puer Icarus una
stabat et, ignarus sua se tractare pericla,
ore renidenti modo, quas vaga moverat aura,
captabat plumas, flavam modo pollice ceram

Translation

Daedalus, detesting Crete and his long exile, was shut off by sea and struck by a love of his birthplace. “Even though Minos obstructs the lands and seas,” he said, “surely the sky lies open; we shall go that way. Minos may be master of everything, but he is not master of the heavens.”

Thus he spoke, and he sent forth his mind to unknown crafts and made nature anew. For he set down feathers in sequence, starting with the smallest, following the long from the shorter, so that you might suppose they had grown on an incline, similar to how, oftentimes, the reeds of a rustic pipe rise by degrees. Then he bound the middle feathers with cloth and the lowest feathers with wax. And next, he bent the joined-together wings with a slight curve so that they might imitate those of true birds. His boy Icarus stood beside him with a resplendent smile and, ignorant that he touched things at his own peril, seized the feathers which the wandering breeze had blown. He was softening the golden wax with his

mollibat lusuque suo mirabile patris
impediebat opus. Postquam manus ultima coepto
inposita est, geminas opifex libravit in alas
ipse suum corpus motaque pependit in aura;

Instruit et natum 'medio' que 'ut limite curras,
Icare,' ait 'moneo, ne, si demissior ibis,
unda gravet pennas, si celsior, ignis adurat:
inter utrumque vola. nec te spectare Booten
aut Helicen iubeo strictumque Orionis ensem:
me duce carpe viam!' Pariter praecepta volandi
tradit et ignotas umeris accommodat alas.

inter opus monitusque genae maduere seniles,
et patriae tremuere manus; dedit oscula nato
non iterum repetenda suo pennisque levatus
ante volat comitique timet, velut ales, ab alto
quae teneram prolem produxit in aera nido,
hortaturque sequi damnosaeque erudit artes
et movet ipse suas et nati respicit alas.

Hos aliquis tremula dum captat harundine pisces,
aut pastor baculo stivave innixus arator
vidit et obstipuit, quique aethera carpere possent,
credidit esse deos. et iam Iunonia laeva
parte Samos (fuerant Delosque Parosque relictæ)
dextra Lebinthos erat fecundaque melle Calymne,

thumb and, in his play, was impeding the miraculous work of his father. After the finishing touches were placed, the craftsman positioned his body between the twin wings and hung suspended in the stirring air.

And he instructed his son, "Travel on the middle path, Icarus. I warn you, for if you go lower, a wave may burden your wings, and if you go higher, a fire may ignite them. Fly between both spaces. I order you not to gaze at Bootes nor Helece nor the drawn sword of Orion. Take this path with me as your guide." While he was delivering the rules for flying, he fit the unfamiliar wings to Icarus's shoulders.

Amid the work and the warnings, the cheeks of the old man grew wet, and the hands of the father trembled. Daedalus gave a kiss to his son which would never again be repeated, and then he lifted himself up by his wings, flying forward, and feared for his companion. Just as a bird that has brought forth its delicate offspring from a lofty nest into the air, so Daedalus encouraged Icarus to follow and taught him the destructive art, and he flapped his wings and looked back at the wings of his son.

The man in the process of catching fish with a shaking rod, or the shepherd supported by his staff, or the plowman by his plow handle, saw them and was astonished, believing that those who could seize the heavens were gods. And now on the left side was Junonian Samos (Delos and Paros were far behind). On the right were Lebinthos and Calymne, fertile

cum puer audaci coepit gaudere volatu
deseruitque ducem caelique cupidine tractus
altius egit iter. Rapidi vicinia solis
mollit odoratas, pennarum vincula, ceras;
tabuerant cerae: nudos quatit ille lacertos,
remigioque carens non ullas percipit auras.

oraeque caerulea patrium clamantia nomen
excipiuntur aqua, quae nomen traxit ab illo.
at pater infelix, nec iam pater, 'Icare,' dixit,
'Icare,' dixit 'ubi es? qua te regione requiram?'
'Icare' dicebat: pennas aspexit in undis
devovitque suas artes corpusque sepulcro
condidit, et tellus a nomine dicta sepulti.

in honey. When the boy began to rejoice at his bold flight, he deserted his leader, and, drawn away by a desire for the sky, he took a higher route. The nearness of the fierce sun softened the scented wax, the fetters of the feathers. The wax had melted. He shook his bare arms, and, lacking his wings, he did not grasp any air.

His mouth, calling the name of his father, disappeared into the cerulean water, which now takes its name from that boy Icarus. The unfortunate father, for he was no longer a father, cried, "Icarus! Icarus, where are you? In which region shall I seek you?" He was crying, "Icarus!" and then he saw the feathers in the waves and cursed his craft. He placed the body in a tomb, and the land was thereafter called by the name of the buried boy.

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Change and the Logos of Heraclitus

By Syed Riza Qadri



West Point, Prout's Neck, Winslow Homer (c. 1900)

Heraclitus's fragments on change and the impermanence of nature read like reminders of one's own passing existence. "It is not possible to step twice into the same river" seems to say (DK 22B91), "Yesterday is gone, and today shall be gone tomorrow." But as one reads through these extant writings of the philosopher, the thought that some day one shall be

gone as well doesn't feel morose. The writings seem to call one to notice the changes in nature, in life as it comes and goes, and prompt one to ask, "What is the account (logos) behind their coming and going?" One might even think that by reminding people of their impermanence, Heraclitus seeks to distract them from the pull of satiety (DK 22B29).

But is the world then, as Heraclitus describes it, too quick or ephemeral to be understood? Is change, in fact, disconcerting? Here is a fragment that may evoke such a reaction:

“The sun is new each day” (DK 22B6).

Is the sun that I see today the same as the sun that I saw yesterday? I feel inclined to answer “no.” Today is, after all, a day other than yesterday, and whatever is in today cannot be the same as all that happened the day before. Even I am not who I was yesterday; I have aged a day. The same is true for every other living being, including the sun. Every day, I become someone new, and so does the rest of nature. Everything changes too quickly to be conclusively named or understood.

Thinking like this leads one nowhere but to confusion. One is dismayed by the inability to know anything at all because now nothing can be talked about with certainty. It may be right to say that the sun is new each day, for each day is different from the others; however, the sun is also the star that shines upon the earth every day. We have learned, with time, its characteristics and their effects upon us. We know, for example, that our bodies can bear exposure

to the sun only to a limit. And we know that our lives without its light are impossible. So, it is not as though we go to sleep every night apprehending the rising of yet another new, unknown star in the skies tomorrow or dreading the sudden disappearance of our own.

The sun is indeed a day older every new morning; new atoms may be burning inside it, and old ones lost; but we know that it is, despite these changes, the same star that lies in the center of our solar system. Here, amid all this impermanence, is some stability.

Heraclitus seems to point out that there is an unrelenting change in the world, but it is not meant to disorient us. At the heart of this change lies the Logos, as “all things come to be in accordance with [it]” (DK 22B1). The Logos itself is stable and eternal.

But one will never be able to discern the Logos unless one reflects deeply upon the changes in nature, inquiring, for example, what has the flow of a river, or the rising sun, to teach me? A person who does not pause to notice these changes lives “at odds with the Logos” (DK 22B72), and his life, in disharmony with the Logos, is unstable and restless. He is “in continuous contact [with the Logos],” as change does exist in his life, but the Logos remains unknown to him. “[T]he things [he] meet[s] every day appear strange” because

he does not inquire into them (DK 22B35). He does not wonder how they are in one place, “at rest” (DK 22B84a), though they do not cease to change.

It is not just the tendency of things to change that Heraclitus wants one to know in the end. Observing nature’s impermanence should make one curious about the existence of permanence: is there something that does not and will not go away? If “we are and we are not” (DK 22B40a), and if we are “both living and dead” (DK 22B88), how do the opposites—existence and nonexistence, life and death—work at once? And how do things, despite their constant change, stay in place? I am both living and dying at this moment; new cells in my body are replacing old ones; I am closer to death today than I was yesterday, and yet I am alive. How am I not violently confused? How can I be in two states simultaneously, alive and dying, and still be one thing, going simply about my day? Where does this harmonia, which is “composed of things at variance” (DK 22B8), come from? What keeps nature at rest while changing it (DK 22B84a)?

Given this mystery, it seems foolish to spend time fulfilling one’s desires for too much wealth, food, and other adornments of this impermanent, worldly life. Spoiling one’s senses on desires rather than searching

for the Logos would be to see life come and go without realizing why it did so. It would be to rob oneself of “understanding (*noos*) [and] intelligence (*phrēn*)” (DK 22B104), two qualities that come to those who are determined to know what this world and the life that we live in it are really about.

Change is not meant to confuse or alarm us. We experience it noiselessly every day, as Heraclitus writes, in “[c]old things [as they] grow hot, a hot thing cold, a moist thing [as it] withers, a parched thing [as it] is wetted” (DK 22B126). And even as “we are and we are not” in a single moment, we do not become unknowable to ourselves; hence Heraclitus’s indirect call to “search [one]self” (DK 22B101), and the reminder that “[t]he soul has a self-increasing Logos” (DK 22B115) whose “road[s]” one is encouraged to travel (DK 22B45). Change in nature does not tell us just that we are beings awaiting death. Our impermanence is, of course, important to know but not all there is to know: if we are here for only a little while, why is that? How does life exist in dying things? Or death in living things? If things always change, will one feel forever a lack of permanence? The answer, Heraclitus says, lies in reflecting seriously upon the observable world, in “paying attention to [nature]” (DK 22B112), and staying in pursuit of the changelessness that “[brings]

together by [bringing] apart” (DK 22B51)—a phrase which can be interpreted in many ways. Here, I will interpret thus: it is by causing change that the Logos

makes everything stable; it is by the sun’s setting and rising every day that the earth continues a safe, undisrupted life in the cosmos.

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