
PASSER, DELICIAE MEAE PUELLAE,
QUEM IN SINU TENERE,
PRIMUM DIGITUM DARE APPETENTI
ET ACRIS SOLET INCITARE MORSUS,
CUM DESIDERIO MEO NITENTI
CARUM NESCIO QUID LUBET IOCARI
ET SOLACIOLUM SUI DOLORIS,
CREDO UT TUM GRAVIS ACQUIESCAT ARDOR:
TECUM LUDERE SICUT IPSA POSSEM
ET TRISTIS ANIMI LEVARE CURAS!
O VENERES CUPIDINESQUE,
EST HOMINUM VENUSTIORUM:
TUUS EST MEAE PUELLAE,
MEAE PUELLAE,
OCULIS SUIS AMABAT.
SUAMQUE NORAT
PUELLA MATREM,
MOVEBAT,
DO ILLUC
AM USQUE
ITER TENEBRICOSUM
REDIRE QUEMQUAM.
MALAE TENEBRAE
DEVORATIS:
ABSTULISTIS
PASSER!
LAE
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Translation of "the Depiction of the Great Church," by Paul the Silentiary, son of Cyrus

Rosella Liu

Introduction

The ascent of Christianity in the fourth century AD both complicated and enriched the cultural tapestry of the Late Roman Empire. The fervent spread of the new faith, coupled with stringent legislation against pagan practices, transformed the nature and portrayal of the period's literary works. Despite these shifts, paganism persisted within the intellectual realms of the empire, most notably within the circle of impassioned poets in Alexandria, Egypt.[1] Described by the Greek historian Eunapius of Sardis as being "mad with poetry," these professional bards, deeply rooted in Eastern traditions, roamed the empire in pursuit of renown and fortune.[2] Given the breadth and diversity of their works, it is surprising that they have not been more thoroughly scrutinized by contemporary scholarship. Often, classicists have dismissed the creations of these Byzantine poets as monotonous, regarding the Christian themes expressed through pagan forms as less inventive than their Latin counterparts. It is only in recent decades that these works of Byzantine ekphrasis have been reappraised for their literary and historical significance.

Paul the Silentiary's acclaimed poem on the Hagia Sophia stands as a quintessential example of such retrospective appreciation. While the ekphrasis' exposition on the basilica's architectural marvels has attracted the attention of art historians, the poem's intriguing structure was not parsed in historical and archeological contexts. Unique among its peers, Paul's "The Depiction of the Great Church" was crafted for a specific ceremonial purpose. Commissioned by Emperor Justinian the Great, the poem marked the rebirth of the Church of Saint Sophia after its repeated ruins caused by the Nika Riot of A.D. 532 and an earthquake in 558.[3] To engage his audience in a space emblematic of both imperial and ecclesias-

1 Alan Cameron, "Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt," *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 14, no. 4 (1965).

2 Ibid., 471.

3 Whitby, Mary. "The Occasion of Paul the Silentiary's Ekphrasis of S. Sophia." *The Classical Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1985).

tical grandeur, Paul the Silentiary introduced two distinct iambic prologues ahead of his hexameter verses. As Mary Whitby illuminates in "The Occasion of Paul the Silentiary's Ekphrasis of S. Sophia," this deliberate interruption of the usual poetic sequence had a purpose.[4] The first prologue was delivered before the imperial dignitaries and the emperor himself at the imperial palace, while the second and the ensuing ekphrasis were recited before a congregation of ecclesiastical leaders, headed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, and imperial courtiers within the patriarchal palace.[5] This translation aims to capture the first fifteen lines of the hexameter verses, reflecting the charged atmosphere symbolizing the union of church and state during the poem's delivery. It also reveals how the poet skillfully veiled the Byzantine Empire's precarious political climate, offering his audience a vision through a lens tinted with optimism.

Original Greek[6]

Παύλου Ζιλεντιαρίου, νίοῦ Κύρου, ἔκφρασις τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας[7]

Σήμερον οὐ σακέων με φέρει κτύπος, οὐδ᾽ἐπι νίκην
ἔσπερον ἠὲ Λίβυσαν ἐπείγομαι, οὐδὲ τροπαίοις
ἀμφὶ τυραννοφόνοις καναχήποδα ῥυθμὸν ἀράσσω,
Μηδοφόνων ἀβόητα μένοι κλέα σήμερον ἔργων.
Εἰρήνη πολύολβε, τιθηνήτειρα πολήων,
ἥν πολέον εὐπήληκος ἄναξ ἠγκάσσατο Νίκης,
δεῦρο, πολισσούχοισιν[8] ἐπαυχήσαντες ἀέθλοις
παντὸς ὑπερκύδαντος ὑπέρτερον οἶκον ἀγῶνος
εὐιέροις ὕμνοισιν ἀείσομεν, ᾧ ὕπο μούνῳ

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., 218.

6 The source material comes from *Descriptio Sanctae Sophiae.* Edited by Claudio De Stefani. *Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana* 2009. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011.

7 The translation project covers line 135 - 158 of the Ekphrasis of Hagia Sophia, The poem speaks as a representative voice of the Justinian era and serves as a witness to the grand cathedral's political and religious significance in the Eastern Roman empire. The whole poem can be divided in to four parts: the iambic prologues dedicated to emperor Justinian and the Patriarch of the Constantinople (line 1-134), the hexameters Ekphrasis of the cathedral with an intermezzo in iambics (line 135-920) and an epilogue in the hexameters. The prologue of the poem was recited by Paul himself in the imperial palace, praising the emperor, Constantinople, and the patriarch.

8 Poetic form of "πολιοῦχος," protecting a city.

πᾶν κλέος ὑψορόφοιο κατώκλασε θέσελον ἔργου.
ἀλλὰ σύ μοι βασιλῆα φερέσβιον, ὄμπωινα ῾Ρώμη,
στέψον ἀκηρασίοισι χύδην καταειμένον ὕνοις,
οὐχ ὅτι σὸν ξυγόδεσμον ἐφήρμοσεν ἔθνεσι γαίνης
ὅτι σῶν ἐτάνυσσεν ὑπέρβια μέτρια[9] θοώκων
τέλσα παρ᾽ἐσχατόωντα[10] καὶ ὠκεανίτιδας[11] ἀκτάς,
ἀλλ᾽ὅτι σὸν περὶ πῆχυν ἀπείρονα νηόν ἐγείρας
Θυμβριάδος ποίησε φαεινοτέρην σε τεκούσης.
εἴξατέ μοι,[12] ῾Ρώμης Καπετωλίδες εἴξατε φῆμαι,
τόσον ἐμὸς βασιλεὺς ὑπερήλατο θάμπος ἐκεῖνο,
ὀππόσον εἰδώλοιο θεὸς μέγας ἐστὶν ἀρείων.
ἔνθεν ἐγὼν ἐθέλω σε μελιφθόγγοισι χορείαις,
χρυσοχίτων ᾽Ανθοῦσα, τεὸν σκηπτοῦχον ἀείδειν.

Translation[13]

The Depiction of the Great Church by Paul the Silentiary, son of Cyrus

Today the clashing noise of the shield does not bear me on,
nor I hasten to (the celebration) of a victory in the west or Libya,
nor I strike out a resounding rhythm over the trophies for the tyrant-slaying.[14]
Let the glory of our Mede-slaying deeds[15] remain undeclared today!
Peace rich in blessing, the nurse of cities,

9 ὑπέρβια μέτρια," the over-powering size, which I translate as the towering rule.
10 "τέλσα...ἐσατόωντα" the border straying at the edge, which is a double emphasis that can be translated as the "outermost border."
11 The daughter of ocean.
12 Reference to Homer, *Illiad*, 715, when an old man calls people to make way for the wagon that carries Hector's body.
13 For a translation in comparison, please see Peter Bell's *Three Political Voices from the Age of Justinian.* The translation Bell provides is also quite literal.
14 "καναχήπους" literally referring to the sounding feet of the horse, which I translate as "resounding." The selection of words in these few lines projects a claim over Byzantine military greatness which parallels the literal conquest inside the ekphrasis, when Paulinus says the rhythms of his ode steps upon the Persian spoils. The word "τυραννοφόνος" refers to the showdown between Justinian and Persian armies in 540. The parallelism between military conquest and literary transgression is most famously explored by Virgil in the Georgics, which is a possible allusion that Paulinus employs here.
15 Emperor Justinian achieved a fifty-year truce with the Persian empire in A.D. 561 after failing to achieve a decisive victory.

whom our eternal King has adored more
than the beautifully helmeted Victory, come here now;
exulting in city- protecting wars,[16] let us sing in holy hymns
about a house which exceeds all the most glorious battles,
beneath which alone every holy, high-roofed,
and divinely conceived building bowed down low.[17] (145)
But you, flourishing Rome,[18] crown our life-giving emperor,
clothing him abundantly with pure hymns,
not because he fitted your yoke-band to the nations on this earth,
nor because he extended the towering rule of your seat
beyond the outermost boundaries and against the shores of Ocean,
but because, by raising this infinite temple about your arm,[19]
he made you more radiant than your Tiberian mother.[20]
Make way, the capital of Rome, make way, I say,
my emperor has topped that awe as great God is superior to a idol! (155)
Thence I desire you to sing in honeyed-voice of the scepter-bearer,
Anthusa coated in gold,[21] a dance-tune.

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16 ἀέθλοις," which is from ἆθλον, can mean struggles and conflicts. Here, its most common meaning "prize of contest" doesn't quite fit.

17 θέσκελον" has the connotation set-in-motion by God, thus I translate it as "divinely-conceived" rather than marvelous.

18 The adjective " ὄμπνιος" is related to corn, thus exhibiting another instance of Paulinus amplifying the prosperous image of the empire.

19 According to Peter N. Bell, Paul represents Hagia Sophia as "magnificent armlet" to adorn the personified Constantinople. The adj. "πῆχυν", or infinite, describes the cathedral as the symbolic cosmos, which is a common Byzantine trope.

20 The city Rome is regarded as the mother of Constantinople.

21 Anthusa is the personified epithet of Constantinople, means "blooming"; " χρυσοχίτων," in coat of gold.

America/Daisy/Rome: Complicating Juxtapositions in *Daisy Miller*

Jean Wanlass

With its contemporary operations continually asserting themselves in the midst of its ancient materiality, the city of Rome comes as a pre-existing juxtaposition of historical and cultural periods. In his novella *Daisy Miller*: A Study, Henry James makes full use of the multitudinous meanings which Rome presents for his characters—and for the reader—as he details a longtime expatriate's growing fascination with a young American girl touring Europe, followed by the unconventional and tragic path which she takes during her time abroad. As James translates the unfulfilled expectations which his characters hold for the city into a sense of narrative tension, draws up the potent duality of modern and ancient deaths which permeate the Colosseum, and tracks the course of Winterbourne's growing frustration with the titular Daisy's enigmatic behavior, he repeatedly weaves juxtapositions into the fabric of his text. In these, Daisy emerges as a continual point of contrast—a figure defined and yet complicated by her presence within the physical antiquity of Rome—who is ultimately unable to escape the forces of nature and mortality.

Here, 'all roads lead to Rome' is less an adage than a gravitational force, an attraction so strong it creates the very structure within which his characters interact and live. The anticipation of a trip to Italy is present in the very first interaction between Daisy and Winterbourne, quite literally giving Winterbourne "something else to say."[1] In addition, the conversation that follows is indicative of the roles which these characters will fill in the upcoming narrative. Randolph, Daisy's "urchin" of a brother, is indignant that "I don't want to go to Italy. I want to go to America," while Winterbourne insists that Italy is "a beautiful place!" and Daisy appears relatively uninterested in the conversation: answering "Yes, sir" and saying "nothing more," something which leads Winterbourne to feel slightly "embarrassed."[2] In this interaction, Daisy appears stuck—or entirely dismissive of any need to choose a side—between Randolph's brash, youthful, even puerilely nationalistic dismissal of Europe and the enthusiasm of Winterbourne, who has almost entirely forgone his American origins due to the time he has spend overseas. In their earnest opposition, the two arguably become personifications or

1 James, Henry. *Daisy Miller; a Study*. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1879), 8.
2 Ibid.

caricatures of America and Europe themselves: young against old, modern against ancient, stubbornness against suavity. Further, by presenting Daisy as an ambiguous, 'middle party' between the two, even in this otherwise relatively undramatic moment the reader receives the sense that Winterbourne's instincts are not quite equipped to interpret her and the way she interacts with the world: that she does not hold a very stable or secure position in the American/European dichotomy that defines his expatriate existence. In fact, in this interaction there is the latent suggestion that such an understanding of America and Europe is incompatible with Winterbourne's own worldview: although he sets himself apart from Randolph, Daisy is technically only caught between the opinions of two Americans.

As the anticipation of an arrival in Rome continues to drive the evolving relationship between these characters, James takes more opportunities to juxtapose youth, antiquity, and his titular character. After Daisy encourages Winterbourne to "promise her solemnly to come down to Rome in the winter," he develops his own vivid set of expectations, namely "the image of a very pretty girl looking out of an old Roman window and asking herself urgently when Mr. Winterbourne would arrive."[3] In this juxtaposition, Daisy fits neatly into a framework of old and new: she is a perfect, balanced complement to the antique landscape of Rome with which Winterbourne is familiar. However, upon reaching the city, Winterbourne finds that the "state of affairs" of Daisy's social life is "little in harmony" with his hopes, as she "goes round everywhere; she has made a great number of acquaintances."[4] His disappointment mirrors that of Mrs. Miller, who states "We had heard so much about it; I suppose we had heard too much. But we couldn't help that. We had been led to expect something different."[5] Through the promise which Winterbourne chooses to see in Daisy, he has brought himself close—perhaps uncomfortably so—to the state of mind of this family of disappointed American sightseers. And, although Winterbourne pushes his same optimism ("Ah, wait a little, and you will become very fond of it") Randolph again continues to claim only "hate" towards the city—which leads Winterbourne to declare that he is "like the infant Hannibal."[6] Given that the Carthaginian general ultimately lost his war without even reaching Rome, and that the Miller family's journey there will (unbeknownst to all except perhaps the reader, and James) result in the eventual death of his sister, this reference seems less a throwaway inclusion than a omen of Daisy's fate. Through these pieces of dialogue, James makes sure to infuse the unfolding narrative with all the tension which as-yet unfulfilled expectations can exude. Whether long-time expatriate, mysterious and defiant young woman, bratty child, or inattentive mother, James ensnares all of these Americans into some kind of 'Roman expectations', already project-

3 Ibid., 35.
4 Ibid., 37.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.

ing the way that their fates will entangle in at the very heart of this ancient city.

If James propels the characters—and thus the reader—down the road that leads to Daisy's ruin through a medley of anticipations and imagined versions of Rome, it is only fitting that the novel's climax, in which Winterbourne gains the "relief" of having confirmed that Daisy is "a young lady whom a gentleman need no longer be at pains to respect," occurs at the very epicenter of the ancient city in the tourist's imagination: the Colosseum.[7] In building up to this moment, James guides Winterbourne through a series of Roman landmarks, from a walk from dinner at "a beautiful villa on the Caelian Hill" to "the Arch of Constantine" and "past the vaguely lighted monuments of the Forum."[8] But this final journey through such a selection of sites does not just provide vibrant Roman scenery. Rather, James seems to drag his protagonist backwards in time. In choosing to pick out, in succession, a relatively modern setting, a monument relevant to the adoption of Christianity, and then a site dating back to at least the Republican period, he puts the scenery of this montage to work suggesting a passage through—or into—history, in addition to physical space. Although Winterbourne has spent much of the novel prevaricating and feeling trapped between his fascination with Daisy and his keen awareness of societal disapproval, James chooses now to set his character against the linear flow of time—an forward motion whose presence or reversal can be imagined, but never stopped. Continuing through this current, Winterborne arrives at last at "the dusky circle of the Colosseum," and after walking "to the middle of the arena, to take a more general glance, intending thereafter to make a hasty retreat" is able to see Daisy and her suspiciously close Italian friend Giovanelli, who are "stationed upon the low steps" of the "great cross in the center."[9] This scene is surrounded, not only by the Colosseum's "empty arches", but by reminders of death, both ancient and immediate. "Well, he looks at us as one of the old lions or tigers may have looked at the Christian martyrs!" Daisy exclaims, noticing Winterbourne's figure approaching. [10] Winterbourne, likewise, before even catching sight of the couple, has "remembered that if nocturnal meditations in the Colosseum are recommended by the poets, they are deprecated by the doctors" and observed that "the historic atmosphere, scientifically considered, was no better than a villainous miasma."[11] By bracketing the 'instant of recognition' in this way, James seems to firmly attach these characters to one of the two types of death which this site can be associated with. Winterbourne, who has been presented as ceaselessly concerned with the opinions of others, takes the modern threat of death—malaria—in a serious manner. He cannot, however, resist the urge to take just one "glance" from the

7 Ibid., 62.
8 Ibid., 61.
9 Ibid., 61-62.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.

center of the malaria-infected site. Daisy, on the other hand, jokingly casts herself and her relationship as martyred, preyed upon, and vulnerable, like Christians thrown to lions. While the awareness of death which Winterbourne brings to the scene is hypothetical, even slightly paranoid, something which may occur in the future if proper precautions are not taken, Daisy's has long since passed: all the martyrdoms have already occurred. In an additional level of subtly ironic foreshadowing, James associates Winterbourne more closely with the topic of fever, although it is Daisy who will succumb to the disease. Instead, he presents Daisy as almost hopelessly immersed in the past. When Winterbourne worries about how long she has been exposed, she responds "all the evening."[12] Her immediate segue back to dreamy-eyed commentary ("I never saw anything so pretty") and the fact that she speaks "gently" seem to subtly reinforce the fact that Daisy—unlike Winterbourne who urges her "to drive home as fast as possible" and even Giovanelli, who responds "rapidly" in response to this suggestion—is seemingly unconcerned with the passage of time, or the shortness and fragility of her life in contrast with this ancient space.[13] By choosing to have her invoke the Christian martyrs, especially in jest, James seems to draw a subtle comparison between her playful disregard and the total resignation of these long-dead figures to their ancient fate. James' emphasis on the inevitable passage of time and attentiveness to the discordant types of death associated with this space allows him to present Daisy as a kind of impossible martyr, someone so paradoxically convinced that she will not be harmed that she goes willingly to her own death.

Throughout the novella, as Daisy's fate draws nearer, James routinely emphasizes the contrast which her presence in Rome highlights in order to develop both her defiance of American expatriate and European social expectations and the unpleasant death which awaits her. Both before and after the climatic scene at the Colosseum, in which Winterbourne notes the incongruity of this "delicate young girl lounging away the evening in this nest of malaria,"[14] James repeatedly indulges in these juxtapositions, selecting locations for his scenes accordingly. Thus, Winterbourne encounters Daisy and Giovanelli at "that beautiful abode of flowering desolation known as the Palace of the Caesars," and the James' language is filled with further contrasting adjectives. Air full of "bloom and perfume" meets "the rugged surface of the Palatine," imagery which cultivates contrast not only through texture and sensation but even the sonic qualities of the words chosen. Daisy also appears "trolling along the top of one of those great mounds of ruin that are embanked with mossy marble and paved with monumental inscriptions," adding several elements of textural contrast to the scene. Yet, rather than the clashing premonitions of death or Daisy's apparent fragility within the nocturnal Colosseum, here Winterbourne merely notes an "enchanting harmony of line

12 Ibid., 63.
13 Ibid., 63.
14 Ibid, 62.

and color that remotely encircles the city," noting how "the freshness of the year and the antiquity of the place reaffirm themselves in mysterious interfusion."[15] Here, soft and rough, young and ancient, living and dead are drawn together, and through Winterbourne's perspective James presents the effect as something strangely beautiful. Viewing this world through Winterbourne's perspective, this is a rare moment where the reader experiences a sense of peace or contentment, rather than the grip of his confusion and turbulent feelings for Daisy. With her death, however, James includes some very similar imagery in a different context. Indeed, the site of Daisy's grave presents one last point of significant juxtaposition. After succumbing to (what is implied to be) malaria, Daisy is buried "in the little Protestant cemetery, in an angle of the wall of imperial Rome, beneath the cypresses and the thick spring flowers,"[16] and Winterbourne finds her grave a "raw protuberance among the April daisies."[17] Again, here the material details clash. But, additionally, there is a significant contrast between the "Protestant cemetery" and "imperial Rome". Part of this tension is religious, echoing the image of Daisy as a 'martyr' at the Colosseum. In addition, this image of the gravesite also represents a dramatic clashing of periods and institutions, rendering the ancient, early modern, and contemporary contexts of this site immediately visible to James' 19th century audience. A few features of this image suggest a more complex relationship between Daisy's mortality and the antiquity present at her final resting place. While the imperial Roman wall which James describes is, upon further reflection, undoubtedly a solid and immovable feature of the landscape, the placement of the later Protestant cemetery within its angle hints at a contradictory 'unreality' behind the scene, wherein Daisy's final resting place bends or carves out a niche within the preexisting wall. Daisy and this ancient ruin form yet another difficult juxtaposition, wherein the exact nature of their relationship seems much more complex than a simple contrast of new and old, or organic and inorganic. Furthermore, the specific choice to set Winterbourne's confrontation with Daisy's death at another site where seasonal flowers and ancient ruins coexist not only allows all the same thematic juxtapositions to continue, but makes this view of the grave into a mirror of Winterbourne's final, strange moment of happiness at the Palace of the Caesars before the climax. While the previous scene is imbued with a sense of lightheartedness, even as Winterbourne meets Daisy in yet another moment of suspicious intimacy with Giovanelli, here Winterbourne receives the surprising confirmation of Daisy's innocence from Giovanelli—although that 'question' itself is entirely pointless with her death. Between these two images of 'flowering desolation', clarity and happiness fail to affect each other.

From a modern standpoint, it is easy to read James' work and feel a sense of disappointment in the way that Daisy's refusal to adhere to the expectations

15 Ibid., 58-59.
16 Ibid., 65.
17 Ibid., 66.

of Winterbourne or the American expatriate community in Rome is seemingly rewarded in the text by her tragic death. While it is quite a stretch to suggest that James intends any potential feminist and anti-establishment readings of his work, that sense of palpable disappointment—the pit in the reader's stomach—is certainly something that he does purposefully cultivate through the lens of Winterbourne's perspective. Thus, it is crucial not to forget the subtitle of this work: A Study. By using the characters' expectations to draw them towards an satisfying conclusion, setting Daisy and Winterbourne's differences within the context of the Colosseum, and continually including contrasts which emphasize the coexistence of ancient history and modern lives, James uses Rome not just as a static backdrop, but a kind of 'laboratory' for examining Daisy, as well as Winterbourne's response to her. Daisy is presented to the reader as a 'negative space'—a silhouette which can only be seen when her position has been established in comparison to the much stronger forces of time, cultural expectations, history, and death, represented here only through the city's selection of ancient sites. Just as Winterbourne attempts to unravel the truth behind her behavior, James continually holds this Roman scenery up against Daisy's figure. And, just as Winterbourne spends the novel confused and frustrated by Daisy's failure to conform to the expectations of their expatriate society, James seems to hold off from drawing too simple a conclusion about the nebulous relationship between this young American tourist and the ancient city where she lives and dies. Has Daisy been punished for her hubris, in pushing the boundaries of 'appropriate' behavior? Has she—like a Christian martyr in the Colosseum—died tragically for her beliefs, victorious only in the grace with which she succumbs to forces greater than herself? In this conundrum, the myriad contexts and comparisons brought on by the novel's Roman backdrop become thematically bewildering, with the extent of their insights unclear. James, therefore, leaves the reader in the same place as Winterbourne: finding it very difficult to come to a conclusion about Daisy's life or her death.

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Democratized Salvation: Nama Siddhanta as a Contemplative Practice in Sri Vaishnavism

Dhruv Anand

Introduction

With the wave of bhakti-based (devotion-based) worship sweeping through South Asia in the 7th century CE around the same time the Sri Vaishnava tradition was first developing, it is no surprise that the two became closely intertwined. Conceiving of Vishnu as the supreme deity, Sri Vaishnava Hinduism espoused "ritual surrender to the lord" and "sustained meditation on his divine attributes"[1] as not only the primary means of worship but also as the very goal of the practice as well–bhakti is both the path to salvation and the salvation itself. Of the modes of bhakti, perhaps Nama Siddhanta—the recitation of the names of the lord—is the most fundamental. Differentiating itself from other rituals, name chanting is characterized by an ease of practice which lent itself to "Vaishnava bhakti's popular religious appeal; in principle, it was a path open to all, the promise of more direct access to the divine."[2] Given its relevance and widespread practice among Sri Vaishnava devotees, Nama Siddhanta has cemented itself in the daily lives of many, and though not explicitly conceived as such by practitioners, it is effectively a sustained meditation regimen.

Meditation practices are well-established to confer cognitive changes upon meditators and affect various senses of selfhood, naturally begging the question: how is selfhood affected by the practice of Nama Siddhanta? I argue that via the cognitive states cultivated by the focused attention and content-driven aspects of meditation on the names of the deity, self-referential processing shifts to incorporate the lord himself in one's self-schema.[3] Eventually, through the insights

1 Vasudha Narayanan, The Way and the Goal: Expressions of Devotion in the Early Sri Vaishnava tradition (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Vaishnava Studies, 1987): 1.

2 William J. Jackson, "Name-Devotion in Indian Religions and Kaveri Delta Namasiddhanta," Journal for the Study of Religion 7, no. 2 (1994): 40.

3 For the purposes of this paper, the self-schema is a catch-all term for mental representations of the self, a post-reflective self image.

gained upon further deconstructive practices regarding the nature of the deity as theorized by Sri Vaishnava theologians, the devotee can achieve the soteriological goals of the practice, such as the dissolution of self-boundaries and the experience of nondual consciousness.

Contextualizing Nama Siddhanta

Nama Siddhanta is foremost an accessible pathway to release from rebirth, the salvation sought by practitioners. Its accessibility was a novelty that set it apart from more involved and restrictive paths, like the Vedic ritual practices, and from pathways too esoteric and impersonal, like abstract contemplation of philosophical knowledge. A commentary on the Vishnu Sahasranamam ("The Thousand Names of Vishnu"), an important Vaishnava text, asserts the superiority of Nama Siddhanta as a means of worship because it "does not involve injury to a being in the form of sacrifice . . . you need no collection of men, money or material, nor observe any particular time, place or procedure."[4] This logistical ease of practice was also coupled with a greater ease of philosophical understanding.

In Gaudiya Vaishnavism, a distinct but closely related school of Hinduism, the deity Krishna, more widely understood outside the Gaudiya context to be a form of Vishnu, "[causes] his various companions to 'forget' that he is the supreme deity in order to facilitate exchanges of increased intimacy, which would otherwise be inhibited by awareness of his status as supreme Lord."[5] This reconceptualization of the deity was an important mechanism that caused such practices to become popular in the first place.

Furthermore, Tulasi Das, a prominent Vaishnava poet-saint, explicitly promoted remembrance of the divine name "when meditation on the personal God is distasteful and the impersonal too is far away from the mind" as a means to "shield against misfortune."[6] It can be inferred from this that, although release from rebirth remains the final goal of this devotion, it need not be the reason a practitioner begins following this path. Rather, protection against everyday tribulations is a perfectly legitimate reason to undertake a consistent Nama Siddhanta practice when more lofty goals may not yet be conceived by an average devotee. Indeed, "singing holy names in bhajan groups continues to be a central practice

4 C. Ramanujachari, The Spiritual Heritage of Thyagaraja (Madras: Sri Ramakrishna Math, 1966): 103.

5 T. Chillcott and R.F. Paloutzian, "Relations between Gauḍiya Vaishnava Devotional Practices and Implicit and Explicit Anthropomorphic Reasoning about Krishna," Journal of Cognition and Culture 16, no. 1-2 (2016): 110.

6 Jackson, "Name-Devotion," 41.

for many South Indians,"[7] a testament to its pervasive popularity.

Still, the theological goals of Nama Siddhanta remain essential to its identity as well. The opening of the Vishnu Sahasranamam sees Bhishma explaining to Yudhisthira, both characters in the epic Mahabharata, that "constantly [adoring] in devotion the lotus-eyed Lord with hymns . . . is supreme over all the dharmas" and such practice will release one "from the fetters of birth and rebirth."[8] Reincarnation, as it is understood by the Vaishnavas, stems from "the fundamental problem of thoughts and feelings of 'my-ness' towards products of the mundane world . . . [which] motivates a deluded living being to engage in mundane activities. [This] perpetuates a living being's mistaken identification with various psychophysical complexes of material bodies."[9] From this, a central idea emerges: through devotion to Vishnu, particularly through name worship, practitioners can eventually obtain a mental state of lacking ownership and possession over bodies. If the realization of this state will cause one to be released from rebirth, what is the cognitive process to achieve this? As enumerated in the following sections, I argue that various aspects of Nama Siddhanta as a contemplative practice can lead to the cultivation of such a state of consciousness.

Nama Siddhanta as a Contemplative Practice

As a contemplative tradition, Nama Siddhanta carries elements of all three families of meditation outlined by Dahl et al. (2015): the attentional family, the constructive family, and the deconstructive family. Through its insistence on intentionality, content-driven practice, and insight cultivation, Nama Siddhanta influences a variety of cognitive processes, leading to the eventual soteriological effects sought by practitioners.

Nama Siddhanta as a Focused Attention Practice

As defined by Dahl et al., focused attention practices hone concentration "on a single object,"[10] such as a physical anchor, an external stimulus, or in this

7 Ibid.

8 V. Raghavan, The Power of the Sacred Name: Indian Spirituality Inspired by Mantras (Bloomington, Ind.: World Wisdom (The Library of Perennial Philosophy), 2011): 89.

9 Chillcott, "Transforming Adverse Cognition," 55.

10 Cortland J. Dahl, et al, "Reconstructing and deconstructing the self: cognitive mechanisms in meditation practice," Trends in Cognitive Sciences 19, no. 9 (July

case, a mantra. The paper makes sure to emphasize, however, that this meditative practice is different from other absorptive hypo-egoity because it cultivates a "presence of meta-awareness" which leads to a decrease in experiential fusion.[11] Though the Sri Vaishnava tradition does include examples of people touting the salvific properties of the holy name even when spoken unintentionally–the story of Ajamila as relayed in the Bhagavata Purana, for example–the sort of dedicated effort advocated for by figures such as Thyagaraja, an 18th-century theologian and poet, seems to be much more relevant to the discussion at hand.

The term mantra itself in Sanskrit can be etymologically "broken into 'man' for mind and 'tra' for tool. Thus, mantra is said to be an instrument for disciplining the mind."[12] This honing of contemplative skill is a difficult task. Eliade (2009) notes how similar mantra practices in the tantric tradition are "preceded by a purification of thought; the practitioner must concentrate on each of the letters composing the mantra [and] avoid fatigue."[13] Gradually, as is commonly seen with experienced meditators, one's capacity for sustained attention, meditation, and decentering grows through this effort.

The 'purification of thought' cited above is expanded upon in the following section, as one can argue that in the Sri Vaishnava tradition, the primed mental state sought is not simply emptiness or open monitoring, but the emotional content of intense love for the deity. In fact, Thyagaraja insists that "the uttering of the Lord's Name . . . should be informed by love for the Lord,"[14] indicating a form of the practice in which the devotee is already primed towards a certain cognitive state and ready to focus on Vishnu and his names as the objects of meditation.

Nama Siddhanta as a Content-Driven Constructive Practice

In contrast with methods from the attentional family, constructive practices do not simply monitor "cognitive and affective patterns." Rather, they "systematically [alter] the content of thoughts and emotions," eventually causing impacts on patterns of brain function through these modifications to the self-schema.[15] In addition to fostering well-being, historical constructive practices are "designed to cultivate qualities . . . that safeguard the mind from the stressors of daily life" or

2015): 516.

11 Ibid.

12 Jackson, "Name-Devotion," 39.

13 Mircea Eliade, Yoga: Immortality and Freedom (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009): 214.

14 C. Ramanujachari, The Spiritual Heritage of Thyagaraja (Madras: Sri Ramakrishna Math, 1966): 117.

15 Dahl et. al, "Reconstructing and Deconstructing the Self," 518.

"[reorient] the mind toward" what is deemed by the culture surrounding the practice to be meaningful.[16] In the case of Nama Siddhanta, both of these criteria are met by the cultivation of a cognitive state of love towards the deity. The recitation of the holy name itself should already be primed by a certain devotion towards Vishnu, and according to the Bhagavata Purana, this devotion is furthered during practice, for "when one keeps on muttering the name of a thing, one's mind develops a love for and a gradual absorption in it."[17]

This emphasis on a tangible emotional experience is yet another factor which aids in Nama Siddhanta's popularity and accessibility– in order to cultivate this state, the conception of the Lord in this practice was shifted from "an abstraction to a Personality endowed with infinite excellences."[18] And indeed, when listening to or chanting passages like the Vishnu Sahasranamam, a devotee is treated to an assortment of names, each of which conveys "a glory or . . . an episode in the deity's" story.[19] As the introduction to the Vishnu Sahasranamam states, "yani namani gaunani"—that is to say, all these names themselves are only manifestations of the qualities of Vishnu. Through meditation on this content, one could undergo the corresponding perceptual shift brought about by love for the deity's splendor. Dahl et al. note how certain constructive practices aim to shift self-schema by altering both "the perception of sensory objects as well as the subjective perspective itself," for example, through the "development stage" practice, which sees participants shifting their perception by "imagining oneself to be the embodiment of compassion."[20] I argue that through Nama Siddhanta, shifting one's perception to envision oneself in a loving and intimate relationship with Vishnu induces corresponding shifts in a devotee's self-schema, causing them to conceptualize the deity as more integral to their self-construal.

I believe that perceived intimacy with the deity and constant preoccupation on his various virtues both cause the devotee to, in a colloquial phrasing, become more connected to 'the God in them,' strengthening their relation to Vishnu and in turn incorporating the deity more thoroughly into their self-schema as the deity occupies a greater presence in the relational self.[21] I hypothesize that neurologically this process is similar to the culturally sensitive self-referential processes referenced by Han (2012). Building off the "idea that the independent self tends to pay more attention to the self than to others [while] the interdependent self is sensitive to information related to significant others," Han cites several studies related to the subject and arrives at the following points: self-awareness can be augmented by independent self-construal priming, and neural representations in

16 Ibid.
17 Ramanujachari, Spiritual Heritage, 99.
18 Ibid, 101.
19 Jackson, "Name-Devotion," 40.
20 Dahl et. al, "Reconstructing and Deconstructing the Self," 518.
21 A representation of the self in relation to others in one's life.

the MPFC are comparable between oneself and close others in interdependent cultural contexts.[22] It seems reasonable based on these two claims to propose the following: in the relatively interdependent social context of South India where Sri Vaishnavism is most widely practiced, participants will be primed by social context to represent the deity as a part of their self-construal rather than view themselves as fundamentally separate. Additionally, the decreased engagement of self-recognition processes primed by interdependent social contexts could lend itself to the deconstructive aspects of Nama Siddhanta, further discussed in the following section.

Nama Siddhanta as a Deconstructive Practice

Name chanting in Sri Vaishnavism ultimately seeks to release the practitioner from rebirth by reducing their attachments to a material world which motivates them to continue 'mundane' action. Chillcott (2016) does note that there exists a "relationship between recommended practices of rule-based devotion (vaidhi-bhakti) and the modulation of thoughts and feelings of possessiveness towards mundane objects" in Gaudiya Vaishnavism.[23] Though once again not technically Sri Vaishnavism, the similarities between the two traditions allow one to claim that this link illustrates the self-deconstructive aspects and goals of Nama Siddhanta as well. In the Brahma Upanishad, a Vaishnava theological text, the fourth stage of Upaya-Nama, or 'the Way of the Name,' is a stage of "non-differentiating advaitic" consciousness where a "devotee sees not any difference between himself and that state which Rama Nama would endow him with."[24] This state is an experience of oneness with the world and self-boundary dissolution. After this stage of unity, aspirants reach the "final realization where there is no question of duality or non-duality; it is the absolute impartite state of realization."[25]Another text, the Padma Purana, also notes that one of the pitfalls of this final stage of name chanting is when a practitioner's experience continues "to be dominated by Ahamkara and Mamakara, the sense of 'I' and 'mine,'"[26] a subjectivity and possession experienced through the mundane body.

One feature of the practice of Nama Siddhanta, closing one's eyes during chanting, could lend itself well to this deconstructive goal. Ataria (2015) sought to

22 Shihui Han and George Northoff. "Understanding the Self: A Cultural Neuroscience Perspective." In Cultural Variations in Psychopathology: From Research to Practice, ed. Sven Barnow and Nazli Balkir (Hogrefe Publishing GmbH, 2012): 32.
23 Chillcott, "Transforming Adverse Cognition," 49.
24 Ramanujachari, Spiritual Heritage, 109.
25 Ibid, 110.
26 Ibid, 120.

draw a clearer distinction "between one's sense of boundaries . . . and one's physical boundaries", and among other conclusions, asserted that the "sense of boundaries is generated by the active senses."[27] Specifically, the sense of sight "sharpens the sense of boundaries" because it most strongly informs one of their relation to other objects in the world.[28] The sense of sound serves a similar function but at a weaker capacity due to the difficulty of locating objects based on sound alone. By closing one's eyes, a devotee shifts their sensory field to being purely auditory, weakening one's sense of boundaries and making one more susceptible to experiencing "a sense of 'sameness with' and 'being one with' the world."[29]

Thus, after investigating the late-stage goals of Nama Siddhanta, it is evidently a self-deconstructive process in line with the definition set forth by Dahl et al. (2015), which delineates these practices as "designed to elicit an experiential shift into a mode of experiencing in which the cognitive structures of self/other and subject/object are no longer the dominant mode of experience."[30]

Self-Construction Leading to Self-Deconstruction

On the surface, it may seem counterintuitive that a constructive family practice that necessitates the existence of a self-schema eventually leads to a mode of experience characterized by a lack of subjectivity. However, I would argue that progression through the earlier stages of content-driven practice prepares the aspirant for–and is therefore necessary for–the dissolution of self-boundaries after insight regarding the true nature of the deity.

Dahl et al. (2015) notes how there is already a thin distinction between the attentional practices that cultivate meta-awareness and the deconstructive family of practices–this line is drawn between the differing goals of the two sets of practices. Deconstructive practices may use a "similar configuration of attention" to open monitoring practices but deviate in their goal of cultivating "insight into the nature of sensory experience." Without the ability to enter a state of meta-awareness and experiential de-fusion developed by the attentional aspects of Nama Siddhanta, the practitioner would ultimately be impeded in their "various forms of self-monitoring." Furthermore, "reducing experiential fusion with emotional experiences [facilitates] the regulation of emotions by decreasing their perseveration,"[31] one of the key virtuous qualities cultivated by Nama Siddhanta that also

27 Yochai Ataria, "Where do we end and where does the world begin? The case of insight meditation," Philosophical Psychology 28, no. 8 (2015): 1129-1130.

28 Ibid, 1133.

29 Ibid, 1130.

30 Dahl et. al, "Reconstructing and Deconstructing the Self," 519.

31 Ibid., 517.

ultimately works towards reducing attachment to the 'mundane' world. Thus, the sustained insight experienced towards the end of the process is only possible through the cognitive training of awareness done prior through attentional family practices.

As for the role that the constructive aspects of Nama Siddhanta play in this process, the crux of the matter rests with the change in self-schema induced by love for the supreme. Whether this change is a state of absorption into the deity or rather seeing the deity as an integral part of the worshiper is unclear, but it seems that cultivation of this state leads to a gradual reduction in attachments to the world. The Gaudiya Vaishnavas view the cultivation of this relationship to the deity as a detachment from "the temporary phenomenal world . . . towards acting exclusively for the enjoyment of [the deity] and developing an exclusive attachment to him."[32] Perhaps by providing an outlet for the human drive for attachment, Vaishnava bhakti practices make the process of gradual detachment more accessible and palatable to devotees.

Furthering this idea that content-driven practice allows for greater achievability of the deconstructive theological goals is an argument cited by Chillcott and Paloutzian which posits "that knowledge about humans and the self both likely serve as the basis for induction when reasoning about nonhuman agents because knowledge representation of these is acquired earlier and is more richly detailed"[33] — effectively, incorporating cognitive content surrounding a more anthropomorphic form of the deity into one's self-schema is an easier task than doing the same for a non-anthropomorphic conception of the deity. It is only after this shift in self-schema has taken place that a devotee can then begin to meditate on cultivating insight regarding the true nature of Vishnu and reality, arriving at a state of nondual awareness by realizing the widely theologically accepted view that Vishnu is beyond anthropomorphic dimension.

Still, the question remains surrounding the exact nature of this transition: Through what cognitive mechanism is it attained? How can a practice that makes changes to a post-reflective sense of self, the self-schema, affect a pre-reflective sense of body ownership and self-specifying processing? Here, I propose that the entraining to the vibrations of the chanting itself lends itself to an explanation from philosophical and physiological perspectives.

Various Hindu schools of thought posit the mystical power of mantra chanting. For example, Mimamsa Darshana "supports a theory of the infallibility" and the eternal nature of the Vedas, claiming that Sanskrit is not just a mere language, but "an emanation of Being (sat) in sound."[34] To the Mimamsikas, the powerful effects of mantra chanting come from the primordial vibrations that underlie reality

32 Chillcott and Paloutzian, "Relations," 110.

33 Ibid., 117.

34 Heinrich R. Zimmer and Joseph Cambell, Philosophies of India (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020): 607.

itself. Tantric traditions expand upon this concept, mapping the "entire cosmos," including the human body, onto a "certain number of mantras." Chanting these mantras can enable one to awaken the embedded forces within oneself.[35] Lastly, a figure named Vasubandhu offers up a link between mantra and nonduality in his text, the Bodhisattvabumi–to him, "the true meaning of the mantras lay in their absence of meaning, and that by meditation on their nonmeaning, one came to understand the ontological unreality of the universe."[36] While these explanations lie outside the purview of Sri Vaishnava theology, I nonetheless believe their insight has some value to offer in this conversation, seeing as how mantra chanting is a shared practice between these schools of Hinduism.

From a physiological lens, both modern research and religious sources offer some helpful information. Jackson (1994) claims that the "rhythmic repetition" and "acoustic vibrations" of mantra chanting can "make an impact on the nervous system" and potentially "re-empattern a person's thoughts, feelings and perception," aiding in "breaking down structures of time, language and mental concepts." He further supports this argument by citing the theory surrounding the practice of nada-yoga, in which the "vibration of chanting the name" allows one to participate "in the nature of that which is named" and can, in theory, help encode within an organism the presence of the deity.[37] While this seems hard to verify with Jackson's own words, I offer Babo-Rebelo and Tallon-Baudry's theory of interoceptive signals encoding self-specification as a potential bridge between western neuroscience and this eastern philosophy.

In their 2018 chapter from The Interoceptive Mind, Babo-Rebelo and Tallon-Baudry aim to challenge the prevalent notion that self-specification and subjectivity arise from sensorimotor feedback compared to interoceptive predictions; they argue that "first-person perspective should be continuously defined," rather than being defined by a change in a base state. As a result, they claim that the unconscious monitoring of visceral inputs, such as the basal gastric rhythm and heartbeat, is a more likely candidate for encoding self-specificity.[38] After defining the "self at a biological level," this "reference frame" could then be used to tag mental processes with a sense of possession.

They offer further evidence in the form of the full-body illusions linked to heartbeat-evoked responses, or HERs. Participants in a study could be made to experience a virtual body as their own if a visual stimulus of stroking on the virtual body aligned with stroking on their own body– experience of the illusion

35 Eliade, Yoga: Immortality and Freedom, 215- 216.

36 Ibid., 216.

37 Jackson, "Name-Devotion," 53.

38 Mariana Babo-Rebelo and Catherine Tallon-Baudry, "Interoceptive signals, brain dynamics, and subjectivity," In The Interoceptive Mind: From Homeostasis to Awareness, ed. Manos Tsakiris and Helena De Preester (Oxford University Press, 2018): 48.

was linked to a corresponding change of "HER amplitude" in corresponding brain areas. Furthermore, another study found that researchers could induce a "bias in a subsequent self-recognition task where [another] person's face was included to a greater extent in the representation of one's own face" after the stimulus was synchronized to the participant's heartbeat.[39] These results illustrate a strong "correlation between HER amplitude and the self," though the causal nature of this relationship has yet to be studied.[40]

With this in mind, I propose a potential mechanism through which the 'mineness' encoded by these signals can be disrupted by the vibrations of chanting, perhaps inducing the insight of the loss of subjectivity. When sitting still and chanting, whether alone or with a group, a devotee will start to cultivate the prescribed affective state, love for Vishnu. This change in mood can in turn influence heart rate, and if this heart rate synchronizes to some degree with the chant, which is established philosophically to be entangled with the essence of the deity himself, it seems reasonable to posit that this can induce a body-ownership illusion in the participant. With their heartbeat aligned to the chant, perhaps participants start incorporating the deity into their pre-reflective self, laying the foundation for future deconstructive insight. Alternatively, this synchrony between heartbeat and the representation of the deity in sound could induce an insight that the 'mine-ness' felt over one's body belongs rather to the deity, dissolving the self-deity boundary and cultivating a state of nondual unity.

Conclusion

Several questions arise as a response to the claims put forth in this argument: firstly, how does the experience of this insight solidify itself as the permanent mode of experience, especially when a devotee is not actively chanting? Earlier, I mentioned that the training of sustained meta-awareness would be a mechanism through which insight could propagate. However, because the proposed mechanism of insight is so firmly rooted in interoceptive processing, perhaps meta-awareness of conscious thought is not the only force at work.

Additionally, the interaction between the names of the Lord and South Asian culture is so prevalent that perhaps this conclusion carries additional implications. A sizable population of the South Asian diaspora bears Sanskrit or Sanskrit-derived names, some of which are direct epithets of divine figures like Vishnu. Could being named in such a way affect the narrative self? For example, could the qualities, virtues, or stories associated with a certain name get integrated into that person's self-narrative in such a way that affects the processes of devotion

39 Ibid, 53.
40 Ibid, 56.

outlined in this essay? On another note, how does engagement in practices like Nama Siddhanta affect important cognitive and social functions, like name or face recognition, in such devotees? Does one gradually cease associating their self-image with a name they perceive as belonging to another being?

Regardless, the status of Nama Siddhanta as a contemplative practice is made clear through its various aspects belonging to all three families of meditation as outlined by Dahl et al. The interaction between these dimensions of Sri Vaishnava name chanting allows aspirants to progress to their theological goal of release from rebirth through self-deconstruction–I argue that cognitively, this final step is achieved through a disruption of the self-specification encoded by interoception of visceral signals, though this is dependent on the meta-awareness and change in affect previously cultivated through the attentional and constructive aspects of Nama Siddhanta.

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Mollitia in Horace's *Epodes*

Anna Zulueta

The concept of mollitia ("softness") is closely tied to notions of masculinity and femininity. In fact, it has been proposed that the word mulier ("woman") is derived from the comparative of *mollis*: *mollior*.[1] Mollitia was also associated with luxury, hedonism, aestheticism, effeminacy, and amor;[2] Craig Williams has created a partial polysemy network, drawing on findings from the linguistic field of semantics, to show how these senses of the moll- lexeme are related.[3] In this paper, I will examine six occurrences of the moll- lexeme in Horace's Epodes, demonstrating how the concept of mollitia acts as a prism through which to explore the larger theme of destructive inversion. I will argue that though Horace the persona is portrayed as *mollis*, Horace the poet is fortis due to his ability to control the portrayals, and this opposition plays out in both the personal and the public sphere.

The moll- lexeme first occurs in *Epode 1*, in which Horace the poet establishes his persona as *mollis*. He accomplishes this by describing his persona as imbellis ac firmus parum (1.16) and filling the epode with xenonyms of *mollis* that set up opposition from the beginning. Before he says that he is "unwarlike and not strong enough," however, he asks:

> Utrumne iussi persequemur otium
> non dulce, ni tecum simul,
> an hunc laborem, mente laturi decet
> qua ferre non mollis viros? (1.7-10)

"Non mollis viros" is the first instance of mollis in the collection, but Horace could have easily used another adjective to say "strong" (fortis), what "not-soft" means. The choice is intentional; a philonym of viros like fortes lacks the contras-

1 Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, A Latin Dictionary, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879. S.v. "mulier."

2 Clifford Weber, "Mollis and its Stylistic Resonance in Vergil," Vergilius (1959-) 65 (2019): 33; Kelly Olson, "Masculinity, Appearance, and Sexuality: Dandies in Roman Antiquity," Journal of the History of Sexuality 23, no. 2 (2014): 182–205.

3 Craig Williams, "The Meanings of Softness: Some Remarks on the Semantics of mollitia," EuGeStA 3 (2013): 240–263. I find figure 4.1 extremely helpful for visualizing what Williams lays out in the text of his article.

tive power of the xenonym *mollis*.[4] *Laborem* (1.9) provides additional contrast, as it recalls the fortissimus vir Hercules, who endured the twelve hardest labores. Similarly, Horace's description "imbellis ac firmus parum" (1.16) also defines his persona through what he is not. As Charles Babcock notes, the use of negatives is hardly unusual for Horace's style.[5] This first definition of Horace's persona appears in the private sphere: with his patron Maecenas, but many scholars, such as David Mankin,[6] consider this poem to be referencing the Battle of Actium (31 BCE), an event of decidedly public and significant political importance, and which has its own overtones of mollitia through Cleopatra.[7]

How does this first occurrence contribute to the theme of destructive inversion? Readers may notice that the poem does not seem to be particularly destructive or even invective, strange considering the iambic genre. However, there are several things being destroyed—one, what readers expect to happen, and two, Horace's hope to be with Maecenas in battle, as this is quite unlikely to be fulfilled. Thus the poem speaks to the theme of thwarted hopes, much like Alfius's in *Epode 2*, a motif that repeats throughout the collection.[8] While the destruction here is mild in comparison to later poems, the downward momentum of the collection, to borrow David Porter's term,[9] is signaled by the poem's first word, ibis, and it requires the poem to start at a higher elevation, explaining the congeniality of the iambic poem. Additionally, as Mankin suggests, the friendliness of the first poem acts as a touchstone against which the other poems can be gauged.[10] Notions of inversion are also present, if in less immediately obvious ways, in presenting Horace as *mollis* rather than firmus, and also in the structure of the poem, in putting a twist on the genre of propempticon,[11] a 'Bon voyage, except I don't want to leave you.' In this way, the first epode establishes central ideas for the rest of the collection.

The next occurrence, in Epode 5, dives into the theme of impotentia, a man-

4 See Williams (2013) for an in-depth discussion on the philonyms and xenonyms of the moll- lexeme, especially figure 3.

5 Charles Babcock, "Omne Militabitur Bellum. The Language of Commitment in Epode 1," *The Classical Journal* 70, no. 1 (Oct. - Nov., 1974): 18.

6 David Mankin, *Horace: Epodes*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (ed. 1995), 49. Babcock (1974) treats the debate over timing more thoroughly (p. 14-16).

7 For more on Cleopatra, see Horace's *Epode 9* and *Carm. 1.19*.

8 David Porter, "'Quo, Quo Scelesti Ruitis': The Downward Momentum of Horace's 'Epodes,'" *Illinois Classical Studies* 20 (1995): 116.

9 Ibid, 107-108.

10 Mankin, *Epodes*, 49.

11 Readers may wish to compare Epode 1 with Carm. 1.3, Horace's propempticon to Virgil. The genre of the propempticon, i.e. a poem wishing someone well on a journey, dates to the Greek archaic period, as seen in Sappho fr. 5, where she hopes for her brother's safe return.

ifestation of the larger theme of destructive inversion. In this first Canidia poem, a poor puer pleads with Canidia and her witches with soft words: mollibus verbis (5.83-84).[12] This sense of *mollis* applies its primary definition of "soft" to non-physical qualities—the words are perhaps soft in volume and tone and their goal is to soften (lenire) the witches. However, the boy is unsuccessful, making the sense of *mollis* as "weak" also applicable. Significantly, this weakness occurs alongside Canidia's strength, creating an environment of impotentia, which Ellen Oliensis characterizes as female heat and male debility.[13] Oliensis details the connection between the Dog Star Sirius, or Canicula, and Canidia; besides the wordplay, Oliensis claims that Canidia embodies the Dog Star.[14] Teased in *Epode 1* by Horace's inclusion of the Dog Star sidus fervidum (1.27), *Epode 5* is where it starts to come to fruition as impotentia transforms from a far-away star to a living woman. Furthermore, Oliensis describes impotentia as an indecorous reversal of sexual hierarchy;[15] the inversion is indeed destructive for the boy, who ends up buried and starved to death—all for a love potion. Here, the *Epodes*' downward momentum noted by Porter is accompanied by spatial descension as the boy is buried in the earth with only his chin sticking out (5.36). The boy's hunger is also reflected away from himself and towards another hapless male, Varus (5.73), all of which is overshadowed by Canidia's hunger. Thus, *Epode 5* marks a significant step in developing the theme of destructive inversion through Canidia and impotentia.

Epode 11 contains the first noun form of the *moll-* lexeme in the context of Horace's love life—or at least a parody of the love poet's lament—and sets up ideas that will intensify over the next few poems. In it, Horace bemoans his inability to write because he is struck by love, once of Inachia but now of Lyciscus ("little wolf"), who surpasses women in *mollitia* (11.24). *Mollitia* was a quality befitting women and boys, but not men. *Mollitia* did not have as much to do with the gender of sexual partners one took as much as it did with who was penetrating whom.[16] It could also encompass how one dressed, including factors like depilation, tunic length, and jewelry.[17] Exactly what way Lyciscus excels in mollitia is not completely clear—was he a dandy? a cinaedus?—but the lack of specificity does not detract from the poem.[18] However, Lyciscus is not the only *mollis* one

12 Canidia, a witch, is a fixture of Horace's poetic landscape. While she is briefly mentioned in *Epode 3*, the first mention of her in the collection, *Epode 5* is where she is fully introduced.

13 Ellen Oliensis, "Canidia, Canicula, and the Decorum of Horace's 'Epodes,'" *Arethusa* 24, no. 1 (1991): 121.

14 Ibid, 110.

15 Ibid, 121.

16 Olson, "Masculinity," 184; Williams, "Softness": the ninth sense of *moll-*.

17 Olson, "Masculinity," 189, 192-193, 190.

18 On the difference between the two, see Olson (2014) and Sapsford (2022).

in the poem; Horace is also trapped (tenet) by love, a weak and indecorous position (11.24). Horace, though, is not explicitly described as *mollis*; this is saved for *Epodes 12* and *14*, and finally *Epode 17*, which intensify notions of mollitia, imprisonment, and destructive inversion.

Epode 12 is the first of this intensification, or rather, the acceleration of downward momentum. Horace no longer loves a "little wolf;" in the woman's eyes, he becomes a lamb terrified by a fierce wolf: o ego non felix, quam tu fugis ut pavet acris / agna lupos capreaeque leones! (12.25-26). He is no longer implicitly soft, he is "mihi semper ad unum mollis opus" to the woman (12.15-16)—always soft after a single job. Again, Horace the poet plays with multiple senses of the word *mollis*: he is physically soft, unable to get hard after one erection, but he also becomes "womanish" because he is unable to fulfill his duty as a vir of penetration. His failures are made even more glaring when compared to the manly Amyntas of Cos (12.18). Thus, the theme of impotentia emerges loud and clear: not only is Horace the persona impotent in the face of a woman's voracious appetite, but he is also demonstrating his societal failure to be a strong man. As a result, his strength manifests as destructive and demeaning verbal abuse, saying a goat must live in her hairy armpits (12.5) and her makeup looks like crocodile shit (12.11). Thus, Porter's destructive inversion appears more like mutual destruction, with Horace taking down both the woman and himself.[19] The only person who wins is Horace the poet, who gets to display his creative insults in a metrically formidable format.

Epode 14 elevates the themes of *Epode 12* and pulls back the curtain on Horace the poet. "Mollis inertia" are the first two words of the poem, immediately drawing the audience's attention to amor, virtus, and, if they are familiar with the other Epodes, impotentia (14.1) The speaker, Horace the persona, suffers from *mollitia* because love has penetrated his inmost senses (imis sensibus (14.1-2)) and he is unable to escape. The destructive element of this poem aims inwards towards himself rather than outwards towards his lover. He exposes the damage love is inflicting upon him with violent diction—*occidis* (14.5), *arsisse* (14.9), *ureris* (14.13), *macreat* (14.16).

Yet at the same time Horace the persona is facing a new low, Horace the poet becomes increasingly visible. Porter cleverly suggests that as the collection progresses, Horace the poet transitions from side character to main character.[20] Maecenas, Horace's literary patron, reappears (14.5), and it is an open question as to whether Horace is more concerned about Phryne or not being able to finish his iambs. His allusion to Anacreon, one of the Nine Lyric Poets, contributes to the discussion of writing (14.10). Horace the persona, weak as he is, says that he is unable to write, and yet Horace the poet has written this poem. This recalls Elizabeth Sutherland's observation that "We therefore cannot trust his portrayal of himself as the beloved's victim," for though Horace the persona loses control,

19 Porter, "Downward Momentum."
20 Ibid, 124-128.

Horace the poet retains it.[21] Sutherland's article discusses *Carm.1.19*, showing that this tactic is not reserved for the Epodes. To put the inversion of persona and poet in terms of mollitia, as Horace the persona becomes mollior, Horace the poet becomes fortior.

In *Epode 16,* Horace returns to the public, political sphere, urging his audience to put away mollitia in the last occurrence of the lexeme:

> haec et quae poterunt reditus abscindere dulcis
> eamus omnis exsecrata civitas,
> aut pars indocili melior grege; mollis et exspes
> inominata perpremat cubilia!
> vos quibus est virtus, muliebrem tollite luctum,
> Etrusca prater et volate litora. (16.35-40)
>
> Let us go, after we have cursed these curses which are able to cut off
> our sweet return to our city,
> or at least those better than the unteachable herd; let the effeminate and hopeless ones thoroughly press ill-omened beds!
> You, who have courage, lift up your womanish grief,
> and fly beside Etruscan shores.[22]

As has often been the case in the collection, notions of mollitia appear in contrast with notions of virtus. This passage encapsulates the tension between courage and cowardice, femininity and masculinity, staying and going, better and worse. The relationship between each of these opposites is unequal and hierarchical, and in fact, inversion requires this power dynamic.

The tension supersedes this passage, however: the theme of thwarted hopes returns, as it is unrealistic for Romans to leave their troubles and city behind and find a new Hesperia, mirroring the practical limitations of Horace's wish in *Epode 1*. Furthermore, the return to the public sphere reminds the readers of the broader political destructive inversion that raged for almost a century before Augustus, an inversion Horace explores elsewhere in the Epodes and also in the Odes. The political happenings in Rome are transgressive, inverting the laws of nature, and indeed, *Epode 16* is full of animal imagery: boars, wolves, tigers, hinds, doves, kites, lions, cattle, goats, and sheep abound. In the midst of these trials, some will be molles, physically soft because they are lying in their beds, but also womanish and effeminate because of their cowardice and emotions. Others, however, will have enough virtus to rise to the occasion. The poet's job (vate, 16.66) is to usher in a divinely sanctioned alternative, which if not attainable, at least provides hope for the future. The reference to the poet in the last line of the epode shows the

21 Elizabeth Sutherland, "How (Not) to Look at a Woman: Bodily Encounters and the Failure of the Gaze in Horace's c. 1.19," *The American Journal of Philology* 124, no. 1 (2003): 75.

22 The translation is my own.

importance of the poet's position, only for the poet himself to be shown *mollis* in the next epode. Yet, as we shall see, that is not the end of the story.

The trends established in *11, 12, 14*, and indeed in the whole collection, reach their zenith in *Epode 17*, despite the fact that no forms of the moll- lexeme appear in this poem. The puer of *Epode 5* is replaced by Horace himself; Horace is no longer suffering emotionally but physically: *impotentia* reaches its peak. The destructive consequences of inversion have transitioned to tangible forms. Evocations of inversion in the public sphere in *Epode 16* return to the private sphere in *Epode 17*, a reminder that no place is free from Canicula's influence. The structure of the poem and of the collection allows Canidia to speak last. Her last word is exitus (17.81), completing the downward arc set in motion with ibis (1.1). Furthermore, the figure of Hercules, brought up as the pinnacle of masculinity in *Epode 1*, is now burning because of the robe given to him by a woman (17.30-33)—the "fortissimus vir" is brought to his knees by a woman, the essence of *impotentia*. However, readers would do well to remember the fate of Hercules: he was made a god, while Deianeira simply went to the Underworld. As Porter remarks, "Canidia, powerful though she be, is but an illusion called forth by the craft of her victim."[23] Canidia may have the last word in the collection, but it is Horace who has the last laugh.

Thus, throughout the *Epodes*, Horace creates a downward arc of motion filled with ever stronger manifestations of destructive inversion and *impotentia*. These notions are not restricted to the public or the private sphere, but rather occupy both—in friendships, in politics, and in sexual encounters alike. Occurrences of the *moll-* lexeme provide an interesting point of entry into these themes and momentum, as notions of *mollitia* contribute to themes of impotentia and destructive inversion. Tension arises, however, between Horace the poet and Horace the persona—as Horace the persona becomes ever weaker, finally slipping into Canidia's grasp, Horace the poet becomes ever stronger.

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23 Porter, "Downward Momentum," 128.

In Short, I Must Say: Stoicism Revisited

Sophia Decherney

I must say what kind of thing it is
Only then will I free myself
From wanting it
Or wanting it to be absent —

So I say it is the sun
And yet what kind of a thing is the sun?
A thing that comes and goes without so much as a wave —
A thing that brings life and growth
And scorches burning flaky layers of dead skin
And reduces vibrant plants to brown dust —

I say it is the rain
And I embrace it wishing for its absence no more —
For skin is infinitely more waterproof than anything we create to defend it
And why pay for water when I can have my shower for free
For rain is but a shower and cold but air conditioning the earth
And the rain is only bad if you fight it —
Why did I fight so hard against the rain?
And yet my heart will not be dampened by rain's flood.

I say that it is dark
And I explore its muted world
And I accept it, tentatively, as a place of child's dreams —
But in my dreams, there is the sun
And in my dark, I reach for light.

I say it is Sun Sickness
And I do treat it —
I take my lemon-flavored supplements, read my Epictetus, practice yoga, journal feelings, Breathe deep breaths, remind myself that it will pass —
One. Two. Three. Four. Five. Six. Seven. Eight. Nine. Ten.
And still I long for sun.

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Greeks as "Heterotopians"

Eftychia Christodoulou

I. Introduction

Flipping through itineraries, travel deals, "dream tours," or however else one may choose to label a pre-packaged "taste" of Greece, it may prove laborious to elude an increasingly unsettling feeling of absence. Quaint wooden sailboats seem to glide through clear waters without guidance; idyllic, chalk-white houses with stunning blue window sills give the impression of vacancy; ancient temples appear desolate. Greece is an uninhabited land, unsullied by the presence of living, breathing people. It slides off the edge of the world the instant tourists set foot on a departing plane. In the rare instance where a face does appear in travel advertisements, it usually belongs to a shepherd, an alluring sailor, or a genial old woman who looks as if she's about to offer you a homemade, traditional Greek dessert. In other words, travel agents everywhere seem to agree that, to optimize their chances of "selling" Greece, they must subconsciously convince potential visitors that Greek people will either not affect their trip at all, or that their ultimate purpose in life is to enrich a tourist's Greek fantasy. Whatever the case, the existence of Greek people within the Greek "Heterotopia" muddies its unblemished image, and complicates its status as a concept, a model rather than a reality. Through an examination of Michel Foucault's "Of Other Spaces," this article aims to demonstrate where and how Greek people fit into the Greek "Heterotopia." This analysis shall be conducted through each of Foucault's principles of a Heterotopia, occasionally altered to apply to a community rather than a place, and will utilize a variety of texts studied throughout this class.

II. First Principle

Foucault's first principle, which reads "there is probably not a single culture in the world that fails to constitute heterotopias,", clarifies the purpose of the Heterotopian title, and further contributes to the justification of this current inves-

tigation.[1] By specifying that any culture and place could constitute a heterotopia, Foucault might imply that the drive behind this concept was not the discovery and identification of heterotopias among non-heterotopias - this distinction would likely be false, as per Foucault's statement. Instead, Of Other Spaces could be interpreted as a means of analysis, a steel format for the construction of a multi-dimensional model of understanding. Tying this into the examination of the Greek community, rather than being reductionist, rational, and straightforward for the sake of comprehension and lucid contemplation, Foucault's model is expansive, and therefore capable of embracing the contradictions and paradoxes within people - within their identities, behaviors, and perception of their surroundings in relation to others. Having established that Greek people constitute residents and participants in a Heterotopia, let us examine the insights Foucault's model births regarding their nature and role both within and outside of Greece.

II. Second Principle

"The second principle of this description of heterotopias is that a society, as its history unfolds, can make an existing heterotopia[n] function in a very different fashion; for each heterotopia[n] has a precise and determined function within a society and the same heterotopia[n] can, according to the synchrony of the culture in which it occurs, have one function or another."[2]A recurring theme among several post-Hellenistic works is the cultural, economic, and intellectual descent of Greece following the Golden Age. George Wheler, for example, describes Greece as a "country once Mistress to the Civil World, and a most famous Nursery both of Armes and Sciences; but now a lamentable example of the instability of humane things."[3] Perhaps more rarely contemplated, however, is how this "tragic fall" modified the "function" of the Greek, as viewed through the works studied. The Greeks of antiquity seemed to possess an internal focus, an incentive to produce and promote progress within Greek society. The carrying out of this function with relative success earned some of these individuals titles such as "Plato the Divine."[4] Though this does not represent the reality of the majority of Greeks during antiquity, it assists in illustrating a fundamental shift in priorities and needs when

1 Michel Foucault and Jay Miskowiec, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité , 1984, p.4.

2 Ibid., 5.

3 George Wheler, "Dedication to the King," *A Journey Into Greece* (London: The Popes Head in the New-Exchange, the Hand and Scepter in Fleetstreet, and the Black Swan near Amen-Corner, 1682).

4 Evliya Çelebi, Robert Dankoff, and Sooyong Kim, *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from The Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi* (London: Eland, 2011), 279.

compared to the perception of the modern Greek. Namely, it implies that enough individuals in the Greece of antiquity could afford to ponder internal improvement and participate in politics. This falsely paints a large part of the ancient Greek community as "enlightened," or at least inclined to contemplate such intellectual and artistic matters with favorable results. This partially illusory conception of the ancient Greek is likely responsible for the characterization of Greek antiquity as a period of innovation and immense human flourishing.

Upon review of several modern works, it becomes evident that the post-Ottoman and crypto-colonial "Greek" is no longer viewed as a pioneer, but as a figure that serves and entertains. Greeks of this nature appear in the films *Shirley Valentine* and *Girls in the Sun*. The most prominent Greek character in *Shirley Valentine* is Costas, a restaurant owner who engages in a sexual relationship with Shirley but is later seen seducing a different female tourist. Similarly, Anna of *Girls in the Sun* has a fleeting romantic relationship with a Greek shepherd whom she leaves to return to Britain. Any other Greek characters displayed in either of the films are, in some way, associated with the service industry, or otherwise ultimately seem to prioritize keeping Greek tourism afloat. So, the function of "the Greek" becomes the provision of pleasure and joy for the tourist, whether those are gifted in the form of sexual favors or the upholding of the Greek "fantasy." "The Greek" is forced to prioritize survival and the acquisition of necessary economic resources, seemingly abandoning previous pursuits as Anna did her shepherd. Thus, similar to a Heterotopia, the permanent residents of such a concept demonstrate fluctuating functions.

III. Third Principle

The third principle of the Heterotopia indicates that it "is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible." Adapted to our subject matter, it could instead read "The heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real [person/community] several [identities], several [natures] that are in themselves incompatible."[5] This principle shall be examined in two strands - the first relating to the moral nature of "the Greek" as presented in certain works, and the second to the "Greek Woman." Multiple foreign authors, including William Miller and Henry Miller, construct an image of "the Greek" as a charming and relatively infantile caricature. William Miller describes "the Greeks" as nosy yet endearing and whimsical people who have an appetite for servitude and are not plagued by class division;[6] to Henry Miller, "the Greeks" are amusing intellectual sparring partners and entertainers who have a gift for

5 Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," 6.

6 William Miller, *Greek Life in Town & Country* (G. Newnes , 1905).

white lies and a dependence on hedonistic folly.[7] In contrast, Greek authors hold "the Greek" to be a significantly more ominous force—one willing to abandon its family to indulge in corporeal pleasures; a force that can thirst for murder and the violation of young women.[8] Thus, "the Greek" becomes a paradox: to foreigners, "the Greek" is silly, foolishly absurd, and always eager to shine shoes; but to Greeks, "The Greek" is a person, one capable of moral and pleasing actions, but perhaps equally inclined to betray and harm. "The Greek" could constitute a single coin, but its two sides are engraved with dramatically disparate images.

The third principle also demonstrates a unique application to the Greek woman. Though marginalized and demeaned historically, the Greek woman portrays a strikingly powerful role in several pieces of Greek literature. In Andreas Karkavitsas' *The Archaeologist,* women serve as symbols of antiquity and hope for the future progression of Greece. In Ilias Venezis' *Serenity*, the grim fates of several female characters drive the entirety of the plot, and serve as prisms for the projection of his fixation on the concept of Serenity and the sacrifices one is willing to make in its pursuit.[9] In the same vein, the embodiment of Greece is thought of as a woman (Hellas), while female goddesses and tragic heroines weave a significant portion of Greek mythology and drama. However, most of these roles are assumed under the creative incentive of a man. One way in which this seemingly contradictory arrangement could be interpreted is through Simone de Beauvoir's notion of the "Woman as Other": "a relational theory of femininity that asserts that the category of woman is defined by everything man is not."[10] A possible theory could be that the Greek woman's "otherness" to the Greek man facilitates her use as a symbol or a plot catalyst rather than a person, a realistic character. The average male Greek reader would also likely struggle to relate to "the Greek Woman", therefore proving her use as a "prop" effective. Hence, "the Greek Woman" is both elevated as a symbol of potent concepts and, paradoxically, degraded as a person.

IV. Fourth Principle

Foucault's fourth principle specifies that "Heterotopias are most often linked to slices in time—which is to say that they open onto what might be termed, for the sake of symmetry, heterochronies. The heterotopia begins to function at full

7 Henry Miller, *The Colossus of Maroussi* (New York: New Directions Books, 1990).

8 Alexandros Papadiamantis, *Civilization in the Village*, 1891.

9 Ēlias Venezēs, *Serenity*, trans. Joshua Barley (Athens: Aiora Books, 2019).

10 "Woman as Other," Social Theory Rewired, 2016, https://routledgesoc.com/category/profile-tags/woman-other.

capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time."[11] It follows, then, that the "Heterotopian" would also be subject to chronological "folding" and the melding of distinct periods into a single, perplexing alloy. This certainly proves to be the case in the foreign perception of "the Greek." In John Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Greece,* the author claims that "in the language and manners of every Greek sailor and peasant he will constantly recognize phrases and concepts familiar to him in the literature of Ancient Hellas," implicitly arguing that there exists an uninterrupted and powerful tie between the ancient and modern Greek--a "folding" of chronological order within the Greek identity.[12] A similar concept was employed in a Saturday Night Live sketch, which explained the recent economic crash in Greece through the incompetence of the ancient Greek Gods.[13] Naturally, such instances often stem from a lack of familiarity with modern Greece as well as a learned reverence for Greek antiquity. The writers for SNL, who are unlikely to have dedicated much time to studying Greek history, must have known something of ancient Greece due to the resonance its nature produced, as well as something of modern Greece due to their coexistence with it in time. Infusing their limited knowledge into one entity, they birthed a heterochronous Greek.

Simultaneously, rigorous academic debates have unfolded on the subject of the modern Greek's genetic connection to the ancient Greek, primarily driven by Jakob Fallmereyer, who stated "not even a drop of noble and undiluted Hellenic blood flows in the veins of the Christian population of present-day Greece."[14] This claim has been contested extensively, both due to its shaky historical footing and its capacity to deprive the Greek of the benefits contained in the association with a "mythical" past – benefits that proved essential in convincing foreign powers that the liberation of the Greeks from the Ottomans was a worthwhile cause. Therefore, it may be concluded that "the Greek", as a heterotopian, presents a challenge to outsiders regarding his chronological placement. Instead of a concrete identification, "the Greek" is modern, ancient, or something in-between, depending on the perceiver's prior knowledge and argumentative incentives.

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11 Foucault "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," 6.

12 John Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Greece*, Seventh (London, 1900), p.2.

13 "Greek Gods - SNL," YouTube, October 22, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IcaHutZQiIA.

14 Robert Elsie, "1836 | Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer: The Early Albanian Settlement of the Peloponnese," Texts and documents of Albanian history , n.d., http://www.albanianhistory.net/1836_Fallmerayer/index.html.

V. Fifth Principle

The fifth principle of heterotopias dictates that they "always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. In general, the heterotopic site is not freely accessible like a public place. Either the entry is compulsory, as in the case of entering a barracks or a prison, or else the individual has to submit to rites and purifications."[15]When adapted to the notion of "the Greek'' rather than Greece as a space, this principle addresses the initiation of a foreigner into Greek society, their transformation into a "Greek." Though true integration of this manner is uncommon in foreign works, a single figure appears to have undergone the rites and, in part, become Greek--Marina in M. Karagatsis' The Great Chimera. Other authors and fictional characters have either remained foreigners or were born Greek. Therefore, we shall evaluate this principle exclusively through Marina's fate. The cost of Marina's initiation into Greek society could be interpreted as characteristically heavy and onerous--in becoming Greek, Marina joins a host of tragic heroines in the loss of her child, her lover, and in her death at port, which also constituted the location of her initial contact with Greekness during her first meeting with her husband.[16] Thus, though not much else is revealed about the penetrability of the Greek identity within the works studied, one's participation in the form of "the Greek" without a birthright appears menacing.

VI. Sixth Principle and Conclusion

Foucault's sixth and final principle is rather vague, reading "the last trait of heterotopias is that they have a function in relation to all the space that remains."[17] This notion can therefore be utilized to bring this investigation to a close, to determine exactly how the nature of "the Greek" as a resident of a Heterotopia may be encapsulated. Variable in function, paradoxical in perceived identity, unconfined in time, yet somehow a tangible "someone," "the Greek" can be perceived as a structuralist concept: fluid and uncapturable in nature, yet perfectly lucid and concrete compared to the perceiver, whether Greek or foreign.

15 Foucault "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," 7.

16 M. Karagatsēs, *The Great Chimera*, trans. Patricia Felisa Barbeito (Athens: Aiōra, 2019), p.39.

17 Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 8.

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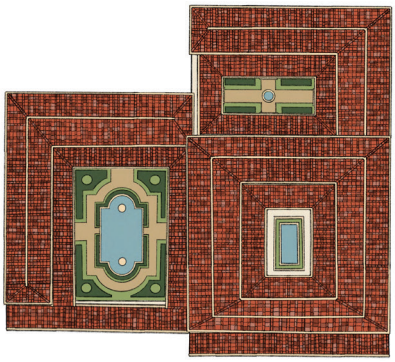
Κορίτσια Στον Ήλιο, 1968.

18 The works discussed in this article have been introduced and studied in Johanna Hanink's first-year seminar, "Travelers in Greece: From Pausanias to Shirley Valentine" (CLAS0210T.)



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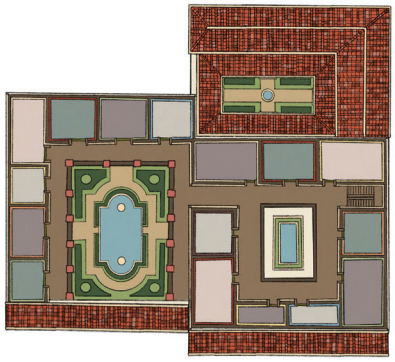

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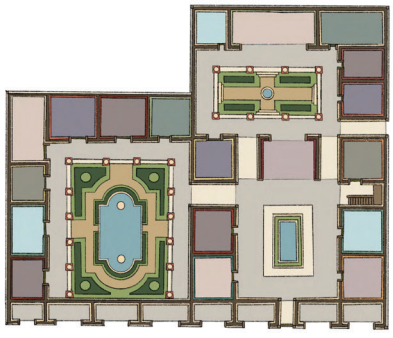

Ground Floor

Illustration of a Roman Domus

Original illustration by Colin Sutter, used with permission

Words of Apollonius on Marcus Cicero: A Translation of Arthur Rimbaud's Latin Prose

Rachel Kamphaus

Introduction

The myth of Arthur Rimbaud is perhaps even more well-known than his poetry. It goes like this: a young teenager-cum-visionary runs away from home to write poetry in 19th century Paris. He enters a tumultuous relationship with the poet Paul Verlaine and scandalizes Paris with his debaucherous lifestyle. Rimbaud is increasingly tormented by poetry; he believes he must change himself, disorder his senses in pursuit of his vision. At 21, he abandons it forever, moving to Africa as a merchant and dying alone at the age of 37. The mythological Rimbaud is both a prophetic visionary and a gay icon. He is a rock-n-roll hero, appearing in the songs of Bob Dylan, Jim Morrison, and Patti Smith. He is a counter-cultural pioneer, spitting in the face of all authority – family, church, school.

It is hard to imagine the mythological Rimbaud as a polished young student, excelling in his studies. And yet, a teacher once said of the young Rimbaud: "His fingernails were clean, his exercise books spotless, his homework amazingly correct, his marks scholastically impeccable…"[1] Rimbaud's school career was nearly astonishing, as Graham Robb notes, he won nearly every competition he entered by the age of fourteen. He was particularly strong in Latin; at only 13, he wrote a 60 line hexameter poem, which he sent to the emperor's son.[2] Although this poem does not survive, Rimbaud wrote other compositions in Latin as a teenager—five poems and one prose piece, many of which won prizes. Yet despite their quality, few of these texts have direct translations into English.

In this piece, I translate Rimbaud's longest Latin composition and the only one in prose: "Verba Apollonii de Marco Cicerone." Working from "a five-point Latin outline," Rimbaud imagines his piece as an oration from the famous rhet-

1 Georges Izambard, *Rimbaud tel que je l'ai connu,* ed. H. de Bouillane de Lacoste and Pierre Izambard (Paris: Mercure de France, 1949), 54, quoted in Graham Robb, *Rimbaud: A Biography* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2001), 26.

2 Robb, 27.

orician Apollonius Molo, a teacher of Cicero's, in praise of his most celebrated pupil's skill.[3]

In the course of the composition, Apollonius' praise of Cicero turns bittersweet as he realizes that Greece has lost its cultural domination. Thus, Cicero becomes a symbol of Roman colonization of Greek thought. In my translation of this composition, I have tried to remain the least intrusive as possible. I want Latin readers to be able to recognize Rimbaud's stylistic appropriation of Roman oratory, maintaining the long clauses that Latin students often loathe. Likewise, I maintain the three paragraph structure of Rimbaud's original composition, however tedious it might be to read. In this piece, ideas flow one after another, with very few breaks in between—something I also identify as necessary to the prose's style. Finally, I have avoided colloquialisms to the best of my abilities and maintained archaisms, in order to capture what I sense is Rimbaud's antiquated tone.

It is my hope that English readers of this text will be able to see what is in Rimbaud's Latin: curiosity, wit, and eloquence—qualities, in short, of a budding poet. I do not seek so much to challenge the existing narratives of Rimbaud, but instead offer another facet to his endlessly variable oeuvre.

I. Words of Apollonius on Marcus Cicero [4]

You heard this, students, Cicero's speech, in which he seemed as if he were entirely Greek in a Greek speech, as if profound in a trivial matter, as if a learned man in a school of little learning; now what great sense in that speech, what great wit and judgment in that story, how lively, how *παθητιχή, how moving*, a conclusion! But especially how great was his skill and abundance in joining his ideas; how great was the variety of words he spoke! How greatly did the magnificence of his opinion spill forth! It was not in vain that Nature wished to crown Cicero with every gift: Rome requests him, that man, who calls to mind the eloquence of Brutus and all the Greeks; compelling cases call him to the courtroom, cases in which he now exposes plunderers and now revives the case of innocence, and in doing so, revives literature itself. Well done, young man! You who now cast your voice in the debate, in the same manner as you will soon speak in the forum! And I am convinced that however greatly the people applaud you–and their praise will be impressive–my applause will still be greater. I certainly should be praised, because such an orator comes out of my school; this will be the greatest glory for

3 Wyatt Mason, *Rimbaud Complete,* (New York: Modern Library), 2002, 291.

4 For this work, I have consulted both Marc Ascione's French translation in Rimbaud's *Oeuvres Completes* as well as Wyatt Mason's English (which is, I should add, translated not from Latin but French, and thus imperfect). Both have helped me navigate Rimbaud's impressive, but occasionally mistaken, Latin.

me, that I had formed you, Cicero, with the discipline and study of the best arts–or rather, that I had seen the adolescence of your genius. What can be a greater reward for me, than to say I had been the teacher of Cicero? Perhaps this praise will last beyond me among those who come after. However, students, I think you are upright enough to recognize the especially outstanding virtues of Cicero; therefore, decorate that man with the same praises as I do, and especially imitate him: and one day it will be an honor for you to have studied with Cicero.

But some vague sorrow and longing steals into my joy because–although I do not hesitate to elevate Cicero's genius and eloquence with the greatest praise–I cannot forget that he is Roman. You are a Roman, Cicero, excelling over all other students! I taught and trained a Roman! Greece is now completely defeated by Rome in battle; despite its loss of liberty, Greece finds solace in her study and hopes that the world might be dominated, if not with arms, then with genius. Romans, you envy the one art in which Greece dominates–this is our ultimate consolation! You wish to knock us off our pedestal; you wish to make everything that belongs to us your own! After you Romans drained our wealth from Carthage and other Greek cities, you began to seize our tablets, to transport money and gold for your temples and public spaces: soon, you will even seize our one glory, which has survived the sacking of the city, intact among the ruins of the fatherland! While we assume that our writers cannot be imitated, while we are convinced that the age of Pericles is somehow unique, here in Rome, a new age begins to vie enviously with the old. And it will birth poets, like Sophocles and Euripides, orators, like Lysias and Isocrates, philosophers, like Plato and Xenophon, and those even greater and more learned than those in Pericles' time. There is no doubt that Rome will soon triumph over Greek literature. Now, it vies with us, certainly it sets its Plautus Rudius against our Aristophanes, and its Terence against our Menander. Without a doubt, that Terence, whom I consider as the most celebrated among us (they call him half-Menander) is elevated–and perhaps he would not be unequal to the Greek playwrights, if he had joined his comic force to a diction that was equally elegant and clear. Indeed, the Romans even create new genres, claiming satire to be entirely theirs. Lucilius was the first to teach them to criticize customs, and there is no doubt that other visionaries may soon revise this genre and illuminate it. What indeed will I say about orators? Certainly, you've heard of the genius and eloquence of the Gracchi, of the fluency of that orator Brutus? Certainly you, Marcus Tullius, rival our own orators? This is so, because we receive Roman youth who migrate to our Greece. Do we not shape them with our training and study of the best disciplines in our schools and gymnasiums? Do we not instruct them with the example of the most distinguished orators? Surely, if the gods allowed us to shape our own conquerors, Greek literature would be the means. There are only new weapons for the Romans to fight with; we, on the other hand, are inferior and people of learning. Whom do we praise and admire other than the ancients? For there will be no orators now in Greece; there will be no visionaries, no poets. Rome, however, is now teeming with new and outstanding

writers–it seems that now Greek genius is extinct. For how could it have happened otherwise? I now lament this, because I foresee that you will be victorious, and I am not able to admit that we have lost our eloquence at the same time as our liberty–when we controlled our own matters, our eloquence truly flourished, but now, with our freedom worn out and trampled underfoot, we are merely offered as tribute to the proconsul. Certainly, in his age, Pericles honored men who fell for our country–shouldn't we likewise honor those men who fell and were taken under the Roman Empire? Long ago, Demosthenes challenged Phillip with the most passionate speeches, uncovering traitors to the city. Would we not fight our enemy in the same way, having given away our fatherland to them? Our eloquence flourished, I say, when laws were published in the forum, when orators, one after the other, in their speeches, addressed the paternal gods, the people, and the statues of men. Now laws are placed upon us by the Roman proconsul–nor is it something we resist! Eloquence died under the blows of the lictor, as did freedom. Now we are able to do nothing except page over the writings of the ancients, and read what was once spoken in the forum. We do not argue about our own affairs, but instead discuss trivial matters, in order to not incite our captors. One day, they will miss Cicero in Rome as well, that day when a tyrant expels eloquence from the forum and pushes it into the schools: such eloquence is the voice of freedom, so how could it endure the tyrant's unsuitable yoke?

However, may none of this deter you from your studies, students, and may those whom I always considered to be passionate continue to be seen as such. Indeed, this is no consolation for our lost glory, for us who will have lost even the images of our men. Certainly, if we recall the memory of that prosperous time, we would see citizens and colonies pouring out into the world as abundantly as water from fountains. We ourselves once subdued all of Asia and nearly all of Italy–but when we when we remember our glory and prosperity, what else emerges but regret, when we see our present slavery, what else but anger and sorrow steals in, when we see what fate remains for our Gaul, what can there be but grief and mourning? When Greece, mother and nurse of all men, was thus sentenced by the inevitable law of our superiors to lie defeated, we cast such glory completely from our memory. Our consolation of literature and of doctrine will survive, as a sliver of happiness in our sorrow or some shadow of freedom in slavery. We turn our eyes away from our present humiliation toward that dignity of old writers; we imagine a sweet conversation between, say, Homer and Plato, retired among their books, not about public matters (this pertains to others now), but about song, and immortal gods, and certainly all things which those men discussed marvelously in writing! And you as well, Tullius, whom I acknowledge to be gifted with such an outstanding genius: do not fail my expectation for you, by the gods, when you return home and attempt oratory in the forum. Among the din of the crowd, do not cast me from your mind–I, Apollonius, who formed you with the study and training of the best arts. And, Cicero, may you always know that you will never feel as much happiness and pride from this applause as I will.

II. Latin Text

Audistis hanc, discipuli, Ciceronis orationem, in qua fecit, ut omnino graecus in graeca oratione, ut in vana re verus, ut in schola minime scholasticus videretur: Quanta jam in argumento prudentia, quantum in narratione acumen et judicium, quam vivida, quam παθητιχή peroratio! At quanta praesertim in dicendo concinnitas et abundantia; quantus verborum numerus! Quanta magnificentia sententiae devolvuntur non Ciceronem omnibus suis natura donis nequidquam ornatum voluit: poscit illum Roma, qui Gracchorum, qui Bruti eloquentiam revocet: poscunt verae ad tribunal causae, quibus nunc praedatores arguat, nunc innocentiae, forsan et litterarum causam resuscitet. Macte igitur, adolescens: qui nunc vocem intra scholam hanc emittis, modo in foro concionari poteris, et persuasum habeo, te non majores a plebe, quam nanc a me, plausus percepturum. Me nempe gloriari licet, quod talis orator e schola mea evadat; hoc maximum mihi decu erit, te optimarum artium disciplina et studio formavisse, vel itsius ingenii adolescentiam observavisse: quod majus dulcius ve mibi pretium esse potest, quam quod Ciceronis magister fuisse dicar? haec forsan mibi et apud posteros laus supererit. Vos autem, discipuli, satis justos esse reor, qui Ciceronis praestantiam egregiasque virtutes agnoscatis. Illum igitur eisdem, quibus ego, laudibus ornate, praesertimque imitemini: nempe vobis olim cum Cicerone studuisse gloriosum erit.

Sed in tanta laetitia nescio quis maeror subit et desiderium; nec, etsi ingenium eloquentiamque maximis laudibus ea tollere non dubito, Marcum Tullium Romanum esse possum oblivisci. Romanus es, qui ceteris istis praestat discipulis! Romanum ego informavi et exercui! Graecia Romanorum armis jam tota victa est; quae libertatis jacturam studio solari poterat, et se terrarum orbi si non armis, ingenio saltem dominari rebatur; ultimo illi solatio, illi dominationi, Romani, invidetis; et nos a litterarum fastigio deturbare, et quod unum vobis hactenus alienum erat, vestrum facere vultis! Romani quondam opes, Corintho ceterisque Graeciae urbibus expugnatis; eripuere, tabulas, aurum atque argentum Romae transtulere, quibus nunc templa nunc publicae aedes exornantur: mox et gloriam eripient, quae urbium expugnationi supererat, inter patriae ruinam integra! dum scriptores nostros vel non imitandos remur, dum Periclis aetatem unicam fore persuasum habemus, en altera aetas Romae incipit aemulari, quae vates, quamvis Sophoclem Euripidemque Periclis una aetas tulerit, quae oratores, quamvis illa Lysiam et lsocratem, quae philosophos, quamvis Platonem et Xenophonta, majores pariat et doctrina magis imbutos pariat! Nec dubium est, quin de graecis litteris jam Roma triumphet: jampridem nobis aemulatur, quippe quae Plautium Rudium Aristophani illi nostro, Terentiumque suum Menandro illi composuerit: nempe Terentius ille, quem apud nos jam celeberrimum video, quum dimidiatus Menander vocetur, in summis poneretur, Graecisque forsan non impar esset, si tam concinni quam puro sermoni vim comicam adjecisset: Quin etiam nova genera institunnt; satyram totam suam esse contendunt: primus nempe Lucilius

mores hoc modo castigare docuit, nec dubium est, quin alii vates illud genus mox retractent illustrentque. Quod vero de oratoribus loquar? Nonne jam Gracchorum ingenium et eloquentiam, nonne Bruti illius oratoris facundiam audivistis? Nonne tu quoque, Marce Tulli oratoribus nostris aemularis? Hoc est igitur, quod nos quidem Romanos adolescentes e Roma in nostram hanc Graeciam transmigrantes intra scholas gymnasiaque accipimus, et optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina formamus, et praeclarorum oratorum exemplo erudimus? Nempe, si dii ita jusserunt, ut nobis ipsi victores instituamus, jam de Graecis litteris actum erit: Romanis enim ad pugnam nova omnia; nos autem degeneres ac scholastici sumus; quid aliud quam veteres laudamus miramurque? Nulli jam in Graecia futuri sunt oratores, nulli vates futuri sunt; Roma autem navis nunc et egregiis scriptoribus gravis: ita ut omnino jam extinctum Graecum ingenium esse videatur. Quomodo enim aliter accedere potuisset? Quid ego nunc queror, quod vos victores fore praevideo, ac non eloquentiam cum libertate nostra simul amissam potins fateor: floruit vere eloquentia, quum liberi rem nostram gerebamus; nunc, contrita et pedibus calcata libertate, impositi proconsulis vectigales sumus: Scilicet Pericles ille noster coesos pro patria cives laudabat: nos pro Romano imperio abductos et caesus in extremis terrarum orbis partibus cives laudaremus? Scilicet Demosthenes Philippum vehementissimis impugnabat sermonibus, urbisque proditores infames faciebat; nos hostem nunc impugnaremus, qui patriam hosti tradidimus? Floruit eloquentia, quum loges in foro promulgarentur quum singuli oratores concionabundi, Deos patrios, plebem virorum simulacra alloquerentur: nanc leges nobis a Romano proconsule imponuntur, nec est, quod obsistamus! perit inter lictorum virgas, ut libertas, eloquentia: nîl jam nisi veterum scripta versare, et quoe in foro declamabantur, legere possumus: non jam de rebus nostris disserimus; at nescio quoe vana et arcessita tractamus, qune victoribus nostris haud nefas videantur! Olim Romae quoque Tullli desiderium erit, quum, a tyrannis e foro in scholam expelletur eloquentia: libertatis enim eloquentia vox est; quomodo igitur eloquentia tyrannorum jugum importunum pati posset?

Hoc ne vos tamen a studiis deterreat, discipuli, et quos semper studiosos compertus sum, eosdem semper comperiar; nobis quidem nullum amissae gloriae solatium est, quippe qui virorum nostrorum simulacra etiam amiserimus; nonne, si memoriam revocaremus illorum temporum, quibus omni rerum copia florebamus, quam velut ex uberrimis fontibus in universum etiam orbem profundebant tot illoe civitates et coloniae nostrae; quibus totam Asiam, imo fere totam Italiam subegimus, quid aliud quam desiderium subiret, quum glorine et prosperitatis memores essemus, quam ira et dolor, quum praesentem servitutem resquam luctus maerorque, quum quae fata Galliam nostram maneant, conspiceremus. Gloriam itaque, quando ab ineluctabili superorum lege ita decretum est, ut Graccia illa virorum parens et nutrix, nunc domita et despecta jaceat, gloriam a memoria omnino abjiciamus! Supererit litterarum nobis solatium doctrinaeque, studium, quod vel in dolore laetitia, vel in servitute nescio quae libertatis umbra redditur; oculos ab hac nostra humilitate in illam veterum scriptorum dignitatem deferemus: et in-

ter illorum libros semoti, nunc Homeri, nunc Platonis, non jam de rebus publicis, quod ad alios nunc pertinet, at de carmine, de diis immortalibus, de omnibus scilicet, quibus illi mire disseruere, dulci colloquio fruemur! Tu quoque, Tulli, quem tam egregio ingenio praeditum compertus sum, meam hanc tui exspectationem, si diis libet, quum in patriam redux forum experiere, non falles; at inter populares plausus, noli hujus Apollonii Graeci, qui te optimarum artium studio disciplinaque formavit, memoriam abjicere, et hoc semper persuasum habeto, nanquam te majorem quam ego, ex illis plausibus laetitiam superbiamque percepturum!

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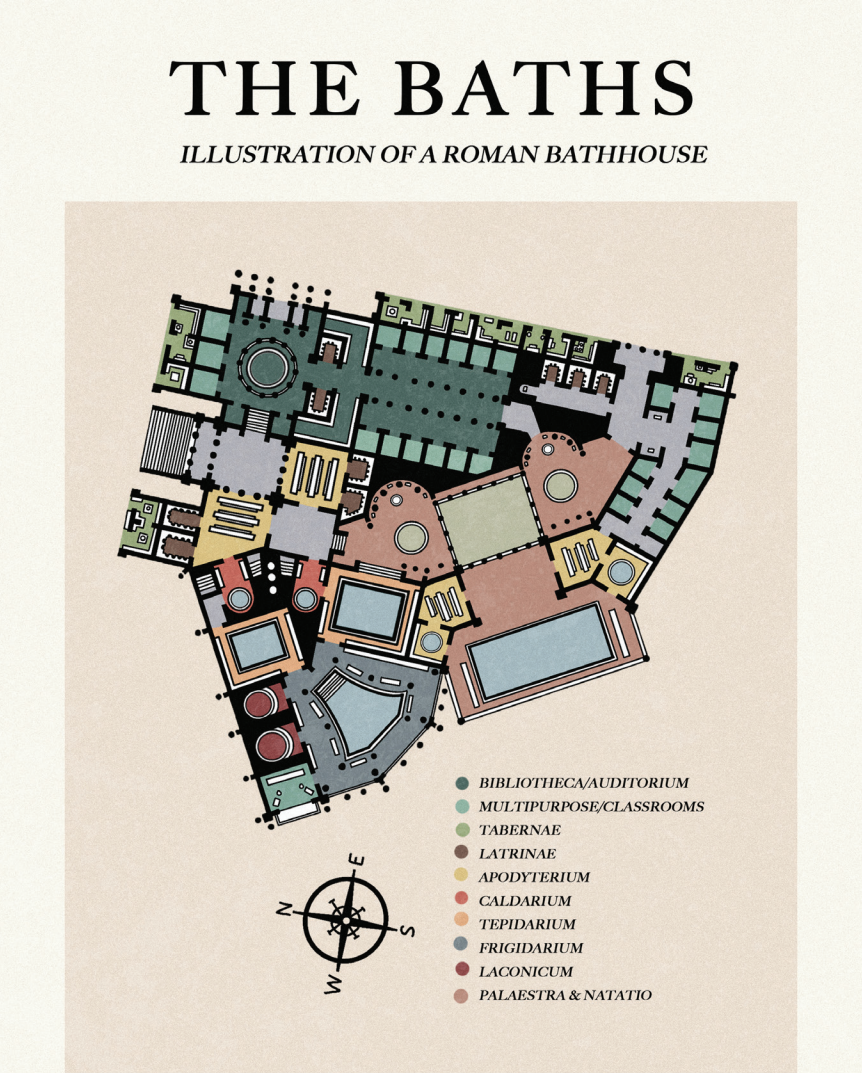

Illustration of a Roman Bathhouse

Original illustration by Colin Sutter, used with permission

Flex like an Egyptian: a Taxonomic Analysis of Self-Extolment Motifs in Specific Biographies from the Old and Middle Kingdoms

Gabriel Ritter

Introduction

As one of scholars' primary sources of evidence about ancient Egyptian values and ideology, biographies allowed (usually elite) Egyptians to positively depict their lives and legacies by showing themselves to have behaved in accordance with societal values regarding success and ethical behavior. Biographies generally featured generic declarations of individuals' greatness and accomplishments apparently disconnected from their unique positions or deeds (which scholars have termed 'ideal' elements), but also frequently included valorizations of their subjects' actual accomplishments and behaviors (dubbed 'specific' elements). While both ideal and specific biographies have received significant scholarly attention, there is a dearth of comprehensive taxonomic analysis of how ancient Egyptians 'flexed' (that is, portrayed themselves as having fulfilled societal ideals) when glorifying their specific accomplishments and conduct and of how these projections evolved and remained consistent over different time periods and regions.

Seeking to help fill this lacuna, this paper assembles a corpus of nearly 50 such documents from the 5th and 6th Dynasties in the Old Kingdom and the late 11th and 12th Dynasties in the Middle Kingdom and identifies three major patterns within these documents. First, across temporal and geographic boundaries, the act of planning, constructing, and renovating buildings and infrastructure remained quite prevalent, and was the most common specific accomplishment attested in the corpus. In discussing this trend, the paper notes the vast diversity of different constructions Egyptians lauded themselves as having (helped) build as well as the increasing prevalence of attestations of constructing and renovating religious monuments and buildings in the Middle Kingdom. Second, far more commonly in the provinces than in capital cities, biographies frequently emphasized their subjects' ventures into non-Egyptian territories.[1] While the majority

1 The paper will sometimes, for the sake of brevity and clarity, refer to these en-

of these biographies emphasize the portrayed official's role in conquering and attacking these lands, many others laud their subjects for cultivating commercial relationships with these regions and their inhabitants. Third, individuals often depicted themselves as having been rewarded and honored by the King, both by receiving physical gifts from him and by having the privilege of interacting with him and being the subject of his attention. Here, the paper seeks to underscore the vast array of techniques through which biographies portrayed their subjects as connected to the King, many of which related more to social or spiritual proximity to the royal presence than the receipt of material reward.

I. Brief Literature Review, Description of Methods, and Data Table

Before analyzing these three themes, it is important to briefly discuss how scholars have previously used Ancient Egyptian biographies, detail the methods employed to assemble the research on which this paper is based, and provide a statistical table of the corpus' breakdown that will be applied throughout the paper. Beginning with the first task, biographies have received significant scholarly consideration and have been employed to answer a variety of Egyptological questions, including how Ancient Egyptians conceived of selfhood and agency, understood interactions between the afterlife and the world of the living and viewed the process and importance of social ascent.[2] As noted above, though, most of this research concentrates on specific themes or time periods, leading to a comparative dearth of Egyptological work identifying how biographies changed over time and space—a key task for understanding the evolution of societal values. By concen-

gagements as 'foreign interactions.' The term is not intended to gesture to any strict separation between Egyptian and non-Egyptian lands or peoples—indeed, scholarly work has concluded that any such boundaries that existed between these categories were extremely porous and fluid. Rather, the term, as used here, refers merely to interactions with lands the biography's subject describes as distinct from Egypt, e.g. 'Nubia' or 'Byblos.'

2 See, e.g. the essays in the recently published *Ancient Egyptian Biographies: Contexts, Forms, Functions* (edited by Julie Stauder-Porchet, Elizabeth Frood, and Andréas Stauder), including Pascal Vernus' "Autobiography versus Biography in the Second Person and Biography in the Third Person" (163-205), Andréas Stauder, "Expressions of Royal Agency: Forms of the Verb in the Old Kingdom Event Autobiography" (225-251), and Katalin Kóthay's "Images of Social Ascent in Biographical Self-Presentations from the Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom" (269-292). For an older, if extremely comprehensive, study, see Ann Macy Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom: The Evolution of a System of Social Organization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991).

trating on the geographic and temporal evolution of specific biographical 'flexes' between the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the paper hopes to help call attention to, and address, this gap in scholarship.

Turning to the research parameters and method used to assemble the paper's corpus, this paper is based on quantitative and qualitative analyses of specific 'flexes' in a sample of 49 biographies from the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties in the Old Kingdom and the late Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties in the Middle Kingdom. These periods were selected because they both witnessed the expansion and prospering of large and robust Egyptian state bureaucracies, thus providing fertile ground for analyses of the evolution of the techniques through which Egyptian elites projected ideological power.[3] In order to better analyze biographical power projection specifically about the actions officials claimed to have literally taken throughout their lives, the paper considers exclusively 'specific flexes,' defining a 'specific flex' as a relatively unique (or at least non-ubiquitous) assertion of having engaged in or achieved a particular act or accomplishment, usually related to one's position within the Egyptian royal bureaucracy. This definition also excludes from consideration biographies' listing of individuals' titles, since they do not describe an action the subject took. The paper drew its source base primarily from scholarly compilations of Ancient Egyptian writings and supplemented this base with sources cited in secondary Egyptological scholarship. Because most of the compilations utilized were not word-searchable, it was necessary to read through each compilation in its entirety, note the specific 'flexes' attested in each biography listed, and then compile the 'flexes' most commonly attested across time and region into themes to be analyzed and interrogated.

These themes, it is important to note, should not be interpreted as hermetically sealed categories without overlap or intersection. Many accomplishments that the paper sorts into one thematic group could easily fit into another were the themes to have been worded slightly differently. For the purposes of quantitative analysis and analytic precision, however, the paper defines a 'construction' flex as a claim to have been personally involved in building or rebuilding an edifice, monument, or other structure, a 'foreign interaction' flex as a claim to have been directly engaged with what the author considered non-Egyptian territories, and a 'royal rewards or honors' flex as a claim to have received any gift or privilege at the King's behest. As a closing note, it should be mentioned that, because most biographies in the corpus only have one available translation, the paper had to rely on the versions of biographies available in English and could not analyze similarities and differences between multiple translations of each text.

Finally, the paper includes a table of the data collected from its corpus.

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3 Barry Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period in Egypt," in *The Cambridge History of Africa,* ed. J. Desmond Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

	Total Number of Biographies*	Attestations of Construction**	Attestations of Interaction with Non-Egyptian Land	Attestations of Receiving Royal Gifts or Honors
Total Number of Biographies	49	24	18	19
Number of Bios from OK	25	10	8	13
Number of Bios from OK from Memphis	14	5	1	11
Number of Bios from OK from Provinces	11	5	7	2
Number of Bios from MK***	24	14	10	6

* The sum of attestations of the three themes exceeds the total number of biographies because many biographies contain multiple of the listed themes.

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** For the purposes of the table, each biography is only allowed one 'attestation' of each theme, even though many biographies contain multiple of each type (e.g. an official might describe three separate expeditions to Nubia). This limit is imposed both because it would be extremely difficult to define non-arbitrary boundaries between sub-attestations within biographies and because drawing such boundaries would skew data in favor of the few officials who attested numerous types of the same theme.

*** The geographic breakdown of Middle Kingdom biographies is not listed because all of them are from the provinces, the vast majority being from Abydos, with six (all of which refer exclusively to the 'interactions with non-Egyptian land' theme) being from the Sinai, two being from Beni Hasan, and one being from Elephantine.

II. Depictions of Construction

Laudatory depictions of individuals' roles in designing, constructing, and renovating edifices were an extremely common motif in specific biographies in the Old and Middle Kingdoms: 24 of the 49 biographies considered in the paper

(10 of which are from the Old Kingdom and 14 of which are from the Middle Kingdom), discuss this motif, making it the most commonly attested theme in the corpus (interaction with non-Egyptian territories was attested in 18 biographies and receiving royal gifts or honors was attested in 19). This statistical difference is particularly remarkable because both of the other themes considered in the paper encompass a vast range of different actions, while the construction motif encapsulates only one type of feat, indicating that this theme, not typically the focus of Egyptological scholarship on biographies, should receive further consideration[4]

Turning to the theme's substance, a prime example of the construction motif occurs in the biography of Mery, an Assistant Seal-Bearer under Senwosret I: "[M]y lord sent me on the mission to construct for him a seat of eternity of greater renown…[than] all the other seats," Mery declared on a limestone stela found at Abydos, "Its walls graze the sky; the dug-out lake reaches the river; the portals dazzle the firmament with white stone of Tura; and Osiris Khentamenthes rejoices in my lord's monument, while I myself am in joy, my heart elated by my construction."[5]

While the level of detail in Mery's depiction of the beauty and grandeur of his creation is somewhat rare among biographical depictions of construction, more general affirmations of the size, composition, and quality of one's constructions are not. Numerous Old and Middle Kingdom depictions from a variety of different regions contain such references, spanning, notably, from the building of small private structures to the construction of massive works of public infrastructure. For example, Qereri, a likely Sixth Dynasty inspector of priests, declared, "I have dug a pool of 100 cubits on each side with ten sycamores thereon. With regard to any son (of mine) who shall neglect these, he shall have no claim on my property."[6] The latter sentence is a clear indicator that Qereri took great pride in his construction and depicted it, at least for the purposes of his biography, as a significant accomplishment.[7] Other biographies also texture their depictions of construction with powerful, detailed laudations rarely seen in most other contexts in specific biographies: Kaiemtjennet, a Fifth Dynasty official, for example, emphasized the carefulness with which he constructed a beautiful temple "finished off with in-

4 The 'non-Egyptian territories' theme, for example, includes descriptions of mining expeditions, conquest, and trade.

5 Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom*, (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), 85.

6 Nigel Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age,* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 361.

7 For a Middle Kingdom biography listing numerous types of accomplishments, before naming the "making for myself [of] this rock-cut tomb chapel" as the subject's "primary distinction," demonstrating the importance of construction motifs, see Khnumhotep II in William Simpson, *The Literature Of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 423.

scriptions" without "damag[ing]" existing "flooring" and Weni, a major official from the early Sixth Dynasty, provided extensive detail on the materials and size of the boats he constructed and the canals he excavated.[8]

A key feature of many of the most detailed biographical descriptions of construction is an affirmation of their subjects' unique capacity for spatial reasoning and planning, which the documents frame as a rare and impressive trait for a Pharaonic official. In an additional reference to his building exploits, Kaiemtjennet details an instance in which the royal master builder in charge of setting a sphinx in a boat's "perfect place for eternity" did not know "the number of [cubits needed for moving this sphinx]," and he stepped in and declared the answer, chasing away the builders' confusion and ignorance just as "shadows run away at daybreak."[9]After this feat, Kaiemtjennet recounts, he was allowed to t[ake] over the work" and used bricks to complete his construction.[10]Similarly, Senedjemib Inti, another high-ranking Old Kingdom official, described receiving a royal letter commending him for having created a "ground plan" for a palace exactly "1,000 cubits long and 440 cubits wide"—a feat, his biography suggests, that required immense skill and distinguished him in the King's favor.[11]These biographies' em-

8 Kaiemtjennet: Strudwick 283-4 and Weni: Strudwick, 356, e.g. "I made for it (this) barge from acacia wood 60 cubits long and 30 cubits wide, assembled in seventeen days in the third month of the Shemu season." For similar construction biographies, see 1) Nekhebu, a Sixth Dynasty official whose Memphis biography recounts constructing several soul chapels "of timber felled in lower Egypt," (Strudwick, 265-6), 2) an anonymous Sixth Dynasty stela at Memphis extolling the subject's "ma[king] [of] a gateway" while building a soul chapel (Strudwick, 321) 3) Sabni, a Sixth Dynasty Official who declared that "my lord sent me to construct two great barges in Wawat so as to ship two great obelisks north to Heliopolis" (Strudwick, 339). 4) Izi,a Sixth Dynasty nomarch from Edfu who wrote that ""[I was attentive] with respect to all royal works which are reckoned [in this nome so that] his majesty favored me when I had carried out a commission for the Residence (Strudwick, 341). 5) Ptahhotep, an early Sixth Dynasty official whose heavily damaged Memphis biography references " ... the pyramid of [Teti]... carrying out work therein" (Strudwick, 317), 6) Khentykawpepy, a Sixth Dynasty official in Balat, whose biography included a statement that "I made this tomb of mine in the West [... in the space of] three months, and I erected its enclosure wall in (1 + x) months" and noted that "I have seen to it that these two obelisks of mine are inscribed with details of what I have done for the Residence" (Strudwick, 375).

9 Strudwick, 284.

10 Ibid.

11 Strudwick, 313. Senedjimib Inti describes extensively his role in construction projects, including in his biography a message from the King referring to "everything which you have done in relation to the setting out and the inscriptions/decoration of the meret temple of Izezi in the precinct of the Great House," (Strudwick, 312), a declaration that he is one who " is mentioned as soon as a work project is looked at in the court council," (Strudwick, 313) and a reference to a soul chapel he

phases on their subjects' ability not only to construct monuments but to plan them, demonstrate that intellectual labor was a key component of Old and Middle Kingdom biographical projections of their subjects' construction prowess.

A key evolution in the trajectory of specific biographical depictions of construction was the rise in portrayals of the construction and, more commonly, the restoration of religious sites and objects during the Middle Kingdom. Middle Kingdom depictions of construction frequently contain references to "maintain[ing]" and "ma[king] anew" shrines and religious monuments, some of which, as in the biography of the Twelfth Dynasty Chamberlain Semti the Younger, provide detailed descriptions of the process of restoration.[12] "When I first came to his majesty," Semti wrote, "he made me inspect (the statues of) his fathers, the gods, that I might remove damage and restore their workmanship to be a thing of eternity. I was ordered to gild their metal vessels, the fine gold being under my seal."[13] Here, Semti emphasizes that "remov[ing] damage and restor[ing]... workmanship" is the key to making the statutes "thing[s] of eternity," indicating that reconstructing these monuments allowed Semti to further serve the gods, thus making him worthy of extolment and commemoration.[14] While it is important to

made (Strudwick 314).

12 "Maintain[ing]" quotation from the later Middle Kingdom stella from the Overseer of Works Ibia found at Abydos, stating that he is one who "maintains the monuments of the gods in the Temples of Tawer" (Lichtheim, 127), "making anew" quotation from Ikhernofret, a Twelfth Dynasty Treasurer, who also detailed the construction of a palanquin made "of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, bronze, ssn<}m-wood, and mrw-wood" (Lichtheim, 99). For a similar religious-construction-focused Middle Kingdom biography, see the inscription of Siaset, an official of Senwosret III's, who "came to Abydos with the expedition leader, Ikhernofret, in order to make (a statue of) Osiris, foremost of the westerners." John Baines, "Ancient Egyptian Biographies: From Living a Life to Creating a Fit Memorial," in *Ancient Egyptian Biographies: Contexts, Forms, Functions,* ed. Julie Stauder-Porchet, Elizabeth Frood, and Andréas Stauder, (Nottingham: Lockwood Press, 2020), 55. For another religious-building-related Middle Kingdom reconstruction attestation, see the Elephantine biography of nomarch Sarenput I detailing his rebuilding of a shrine to Heqaib (referred to in Lichtheim, 141).

13 Semti the Younger, a 12th Dynasty chamberlain, Lichtheim 96. Other biographies lauded their subjects' construction of new religious monuments, frequently cenotaphs, chapels, or tombs e.g. Amenemhat (Lichtheim 115), the Master Sculptor Shen Setji (Lichtheim 91), Intef son of Sent (Lichtheim, 106), Nakhty (Lichtheim, 67), Intef-Iqer (Lichtheim, 73), and Wepwawet-aa (Lichtheim, 76).

14 For an even more detailed biography from slightly later in the Middle Kingdom, see that of Amenysonb, who described being commanded to "cleanse" an Abydos temple, "fill[ing] in [the temple] with colored shapes of plaster, renewing what had been made by King Kheperkare, justified….I carried out the renovation of every chapel of every god in this temple. Their altars were made anew together with the great altar of juniper wood that is before (the god)" (Lichtheim, 81).

emphasize that this trend was not absolute—several Old Kingdom biographies referenced modifying existing religious architecture and biographical depictions of constructing nonreligious buildings and infrastructure continued into the Middle Kingdom—the available evidence suggests that there was an iconographic shift in specific biographies toward centering the renovation of existing religious monuments as evidence of having lived a successful and good life.[15]

III. Depictions of Interactions with Non-Egyptian Lands

A second major category of motif in Old and Middle Kingdom biographies was interaction with territory distinguished by the biography's subject from Egyptian land: a theme attested in 18 of the 49 biographies considered in the paper. Interestingly, while attestations of the theme are almost evenly split between the Old and Middle Kingdoms (8 in the Old Kingdom, 10 in the Middle), all but one are attested in biographies found in the provinces—an indication that provincial officials exercised significant power over 'foreign relations' during the period considered.

A majority of these depictions related to martial themes, lauding their subjects for conquering non-Egyptian territories and brutalizing the peoples who lived there. The biography of the Sixth Dynasty commander Weni, for example, detailed his leading of a massive army and repeatedly "repell[ing]" Aamu rebellions by "hack[ing] up / ravag[ing]" their "land," "pull[ing] down…fortresses," "cut[ting] down its figs and vines," "set[ting] fire to all its houses," and capturing or slaughtering vast numbers of the population.[16] Notably, Weni pairs each of these descriptions of gut-wrenching violence with an almost-hymnal affirmation that "the expedition returned in peace," seemingly justifying his actions by framing them as having restored order and stability to a territory in chaos.[17] A remarkably large number of Old and Middle Kingdom biographies (at least by Egyptological standards) contain similar affirmations, describing the razing of Nubian and Aamu land, the seizure of their goods (such as grain, oxen, and goats) and people, and the returning of the bodies of Egyptians who had died abroad,

15 For renovations attested in specific Old Kingdom biographies, see e.g. Kaiet-jemmet, Strudwick, 283-4, and Senedjemib Inti, Strudwick, 313. For Middle Kingdom attestations of non-religious construction in Middle Kingdom biographies, see the stela of Ankhib, an Amenemhat II official, found in the Sinai (A 87).

16 Strudwick 354-5. Weni also notes that he massively "expanded…the number of…troops" in the royal army, but this feat is not commonly attested in other biographies.

17 Ibid.

indicating that descriptions of violent conquest maintained their primacy as a key motif for projecting ideological power (particularly in the provinces) after the fall of the Old Kingdom.[18]

Many other biographies praising their subjects' interactions with non-Egyptian lands and peoples, however, did not reference violence: numerous documents described officials' successful commercial ventures and others extolled their significant role in interacting with non-Egyptian territories without specifying how they did so. Many of those who reported slaughtering tens of thousands of Nubians and Aamu, also reported being "sent" to trade with these peoples for goods such as "merhet oil," "incense," stone, and "elephant tusks" and emphasized how well they had "satisfied" non-Egyptian leaders with their goods. [19]As evidenced by the biography of Harkhuf, a Sixth Dynasty official, commercial and martial themes were also not mutually exclusive: by coming to the "ruler of Iam" as "a powerful commander of troops" of great "strength" and "number," Harkhuf appears to have persuaded the ruler to "accompan[y]" his contingent and send him back with a vast array of gifts, including cattle, goats, and a dancing "pygmy."[20]

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18 For similar Old Kingdom references, see e.g. 1) Kaiemtjennet (at Memphis), Strudwick, 283, 2) Heqaib (at Qubbet el-Hawa), Strudwick 334-5, 3) Sabni (at Qubbet el-Hawa), Strudwick, 337, 4) another Sabni (also at Qubbet el-Hawa), Strudwick, 339. For similar Middle Kingdom references, see e.g. 1) Ded-Iqu (at Abydos), Lichtheim, 93. 2) Ibia (at Abydos), describing him as one "whom the king sent to open up Kush because he deemed him efficient, who set the power of the Lord of the Two Lands in the midst of rebellious foreign lands, who followed the monuments of the sovereign into 'remote' foreign lands," Lichtheim, 127. 3) an inscription found in the Sinai from an official named Sianūp from the reign of Amenhotep the III that details "the going out…[presumably to territory]... which is under his heel: [my forces arrived] complete in their entirety, there never occurred any loss among them. I caused…" Alan Gardiner and Thomas Peet, The Inscriptions of Sinai Vol. 2, edited and completed by Jaroslav Černý, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 95. 4) An anonymous Middle Kingdom graffitto from Kumma, stating "I travelled downstream with the frontier patrol….I judged and killed those rebels." Eduardo Ferreira, "The Lower Nubian Egyptian Fortresses in the Middle Kingdom: A Strategic Point of View," *Athens Journal of History* 5, no. 1 (2019), 39.

19 E.g. Sabni, Weni (cited in immediately above footnote).

20 Strudwick, 328-9. For another, Middle Kingdom, autobiography that mixes commercial and military interactions with Nubians, see Sahathor "I went on a mining expedition in my youth; I suppressed the local chiefs so that gold should be washed; I brought back turquoise; I reached the land of Nubia, and the Nubians came bowing down, for fear of the Lord of the Two Lands. I went west, and I travelled through its lands, and I brought back lily-plants." Richard Parkinson, *Voices From Ancient Egypt: An Anthology Of Middle Kingdom Writings* (London: British Museum, 1991), 137-8. Another, remarkably extensive Middle Kingdom biography with similar themes is that of the nomarch Amenemhat, whose Beni Hasan biography discusses extensively three expeditions involving both violence and the

Other officials depicting their interactions with non-Egyptian lands focused more on their involvement and travel to these lands than on the specific interactions they had with the lands' inhabitants: Ptahwer, an official of Amenemhat III, for example, proclaimed that he was one who "explor[ed] the mysterious valleys, reaching the limits of the unknown."[21] Biographical depictions of foreign interactions were thus quite multifaceted, emphasizing the complexity and diversity of the ideological projections of success in the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

IV. Depictions of Royal Rewards and Honors

A third way Old and Middle Kingdom officials commonly depicted themselves as having lived lives worthy of praise in their specific biographies was emphasizing the extent to which they received royal rewards and honors. This theme is attested in 19 of the 49 biographies considered in the paper, the majority of which (13/19) are from the Old Kingdom. These rewards fell primarily into two categories: physical gifts and royal attention and presence.[22] Beginning with the former, Egyptian officials portrayed themselves as receiving a wide variety of presents from the Pharoah, including food like bread, beer, and date-wine, jewelry like nub-ankh amulets and malachite necklaces, fine cloth and incense, and portions of tax revenue and/or divine offerings.[23] These inscriptions reveal the

bringing back of gold (Lichtheim, 138).

21 Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of the Sinai,* 80. For other less-interaction-focused biographies, see that of 1) Meryrenefer Qar at Edfu from the Sixth Dynasty (Strudwick, 344), 2) Wepwawet-aa at Abydos (Lichtheim, 76), 3) Khnumhotep in the Sixth Dynasty, (although the term "done" may opaquely refer to a martial act), (Strudwick, 340). For extraction-focused Middle Kingdom biographies, see the statement (accompanying another official's biography) that Middle Kingdom expeditionary official Khentekhayhotep-Khomsu was "sent in order to fetch turquoise and copper. Number of his force, 734" (Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of the Sinai,* 66) as well as the Middle Kingdom mining official Sebkherhab's statement that "I opened up the gallery [quarry] for my lord," (Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of the Sinai,* 79).

22 It is important to emphasize that there is no evidence (in the corpus analyzed by this paper or elsewhere that the author has found) to suggest that Egyptians themselves saw these two categories of reward as distinct. Rather, the purpose of presenting these categories as separate in this paper is to emphasize the fact that modern concepts of 'gifting' as a purely physical phenomenon may map poorly onto ancient Egyptian articulations of being honored by the King because they would exclude the many other types of 'gifts' officials received.

23 See e.g. 1) Nekhebu, (Strudwick 265-6), 2) Senedjemib Inti (Strudwick, 314), 3) Amenysonb (Lichtheim 80), 4) Washptah, (Strudwick, 319), 5) an anonymous stela at Saqqara in the Sixth Dynasty stating, "His majesty used to give gold to

enormity of different gifts that allowed an official to demonstrate that he was in the King's good graces. The gifts most extensively described by specific biographies in the paper's corpus, though, were (parts of) tombs. Numerous biographies from the Old and Middle Kingdom, but especially the former, depict the King rewarding officials for their service by ordering the construction or upgrading of their burial site, often focusing on the amount of labor that was required to construct the tomb, the diversity and quality of the materials used for it, or the King's personal role in overseeing its erection.[24] The biography of Nyankhsekhmet, a Fifth Dynasty physician, contains all three of these motifs: after requesting that the King commission a false door for his tomb, Nyankhsekhmet reports that:

> His majesty had two false doors of Tura stone brought for him, and they were placed inside the audience hall called 'Sahure appears wearing the White Crown.' The Great Controller of Craftsmen and a workshop of craftsmen were then set to work on them in the presence of the king himself. This work was carried out daily, and the results were apparent every day in the court council. His majesty arranged for pigment to be placed on them, and they were decorated in blue.[25]

This detailed depiction of not only the impressiveness of the false doors that were added to Nyankhsekhmet's tomb (e.g. their exquisite blue color), but also the process by which they were made (e.g. the stone's origin in Tura, the need to work on the tomb every day, and the facts that this work was carried out in the King's presence and that the King ordered the adding of color to them), underscores that, at least according to biographical sources, a major component of having shown that one lived a life worthy of praise and commemoration in the Old and Middle Kingdoms was demonstrating that royal effort had been exerted on one's behalf.

Indeed, receiving the King's attention and being in his presence appear to have been honors that were in and of themselves worthy of being listed in an official's self-extolling biography. Many biographies from both the Old and Middle Kingdoms emphasize instances in which their subjects were able to stand guard for the King, kneel before him, or even simply enter the royal Residence.[26] Wepwawet-aa, a priest of Senwosret I's, for example, recounts that "lt was king Kheperkare who placed me among his companions, for his majesty deemed me worthy. As into my father's house did I enter my house when I took my seat in the temple."[27] Here, Wepwawet-aa's connection of being able to be comfortable and

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me due to the greatness of his favor for me," (Strudwick, 320), 6) Wepwawet-aa (Lichtheim, 76),

24 See e.g. 1) Debehen (Strudwick 271), 2) Senedjemib Inti (Strudwick, 314), 3) Djau (Strudwick, 365).

25 Strudwick, 303.

26 See e.g. 1) Weni (Strudwick 353), 2) Intef, son of Sent (Lichtheim 106), 3) an anonymous stella from the early Sixth Dynasty stating that "... [His majesty had] me enter the Residence and I did guard duty for the sovereign (Strudwick 321)

27 Lichtheim, 76.

have a sense of belonging when "entering" the royal residence to being "worthy" demonstrates the sacrality of the King's presence and residence in Old and Middle Kingdom elite ideology. Earlier depictions portray interactions with the King similarly: Ptahshepses, a Fifth Dynasty courtier, noted that, "he entered upon the ways of the southern Palace in every festival [of appearance]" and that "When his majesty favored him because of the things (which he had done), his majesty allowed him to kiss his foot— he did not allow him to kiss the ground" and Sabu Ibebi, a high priest in the early Sixth Dynasty, noted that the King "had me enter the Residence and…placed attendant youths in every place where I went." [28]

Two interesting variants on this theme of royal attention—the medical assistance narrative and the royal commendation letter—emphasize the extent to which biographies portrayed even indirect royal attention as evidence of their subjects' greatness. The former theme, attested exclusively in Old Kingdom Memphite biographies (at least within the corpus analyzed by this paper), depicted the King having sent doctors to an official after learning that they were sick. The biography of Washptah, a Fifth Dynasty official, for example, stated that, after he fell, the King sent "people" to "support him" and administer "an emergency treatment," oversaw his medical treatment, and "prayed to Re on the she structure" after his death.[29] Royal commendation letters were another motif used to accomplish a similar goal: high-ranking Old Kingdom officials such as Weni and Harkhuf, as well as Middle Kingdom officials such as Ikhernofret, depicted themselves receiving royal communications congratulating them on their successes in carrying out the King's will and often promising them rewards.[30] These

28 Ptahshepses, Strudwick 304-5. Sabu Ibebi, Strudwick, 308. For a similar statement by the King that an official should kiss his foot, see Washptah (Strudwick, 318). For a similar Middle Kingdom emphasis on the value of royal attention, see Mentuwoser, " account has been taken by me in the king's house, and I have been acclaimed and thanked," (Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art, "Stela of the Steward Mentuwoser," https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544320. For a variation on this theme, see Nebipusenwosret's lauding of his stela being brought into the King's presence during a festival (Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt,* 141).

29 See also the biography of Seshemnefer, which provides a similar narrative with a different ending: "when I was ill in my office [(perhaps) the news was taken to the king, who caused doctors to come ...] and I was soon cured and was back in the Residence …" (Strudwick 317) as well as anonymous and undated Giza stela stating that "Now with regard to the period when he was ill, his majesty had brought for him a carrying chair from the Residence so that he might supervise from it the work for which he was responsible. His majesty also had set up for him an escort. of (men of) the Residence who would accompany him when he entered the Residence" (Strudwick 322-3).

30 See e.g. Weni, Strudwick 354-5, Strudwick, 328-9, Sabni, Strudwick 337, and Ikhernofret, Lichtheim, 98.

officials' relaying of the royal voice in these letters not only allows them to legitimize their self-commendations by depicting the King as having echoed them but also frames the officials as proximate to royal power and authority. Regardless of whether these reproductions reflect genuine historical royal communications, the portrayals, like those of being bestowed medical attention, having the privilege of entering the royal presence, and accepting gifts and praise from the King, emphasize both the centrality of describing oneself as having received royal rewards and honors in Old and Middle Kingdom biographical projections of power and prestige, as well as the remarkably multifaceted techniques through which these inscriptions sought to achieve that goal.

This paper has collected and analyzed a corpus of biographies from the 5th and 6th Dynasties in the Old Kingdom and the 11th and 12th Dynasties in the Middle Kingdom and has identified three major trends through which officials framed themselves as having lived lives worthy of exaltation: participating in acts of construction and/or renovation, interacting with non-Egyptian lands and peoples, and receiving rewards and honors from the King. While obtaining a density of supporting evidence is essential for any historical argument, the general dearth of knowledge about life in Ancient Egypt and the failures of scholars' attempts to map modern understandings of culture, society, and politics onto the little extant evidence to which they do have access make identifying and considering every available source a uniquely important act when writing Ancient Egyptian history. The paper thus seeks to promote and energize a broader scholarly inquiry into identifying and compiling Old and Middle Kingdom biographies from archives across the world. Such an inquiry would allow this paper, along with all other scholarship on Old and Middle Kingdom biographies, broader source bases on which to rest their arguments and further insight into new patterns and nuances of biographical ideology during these periods.

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"Good Poetry": Heracleodorus on Poetic Excellence

Meleah Neely

Until his works were found in the charred papyrus scrolls recovered at the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum, Heracleodorus was unknown in the modern study of Ancient euphony, despite his unique contribution. Compared to other literary critics, who thought the particularity of poetry and the judgment of poetic excellence relies on content, word choice, and the poet's intelligence, he holds euphonious sound as the only determinant of a "good" poem. Though Heracleodorus offers compelling accounts of the role of aesthetics in poetry, his beliefs on the irrelevance of content, genre, and word choice threaten the validity of his definition of poetic excellence. This paper will examine Heracleodorus' views on poetic excellence to argue that though Heracleodorus makes a compelling case for the accessibility of poetry, the agency of the poet is foundational to the meaning of poetry, and thus its excellence.

I. Heracleodorus' Background

Aside from a few sources, little is known about Heracleodorus' life outside of his fragments. Though the time frame of Philodemus (from whom Heracleodorus' fragments come) suggests Heracleodorus lived in the 1st century, scholar Richard Janko argues we can date him as early as 3rd century BCE.[1] Evidence for this can be found in his fragments, in which Heracleodorus mentions Heraclides of Pontus, who lived between 390 and 310 BCE.[2] Despite our limitations, we can assume he was a moderately well-known literary critic since he gained the most

1 AD Morrison, *The Narrator in Archaic Greek and Hellenistic Poetry* (N.p.: Oxford University Press, 2007), 25-26.

2 See Philodemus, 2.99, 15-19, 21-8: "Wondering what the cause of this is, (Heracleodorus) gives the explanation which is thought to have been posited by Heraclides: 'musical sonority, (a quality) of which Homer was aware and has in every case observed, is majestic opulence, or provides a representation of majestic opulence." Also see McOsker 2021, 74.

attention from Philodemus of any other critics in his second book of *On Poems*. [3]

Heracleodorus falls within a radical sphere of literature compared to other literary critics at the time. He inherits what Michael McOsker in *The Good Poem According to Philodemus* describes as the "Classical and Aristotelian apparatus for discussing poetry and its various aspects," partially accepting some of their views.[4] Beyond this, however, Heracleodorus believes poetry is the art of arranging words so they produce pleasant sounds, and this determines the quality of an individual poem. In this sense, we can also classify Heracleodorus as an anti-genre critic, who believes genre is useless to the art of poetry and, by those same guidelines, believes prose-writers ought to be considered poets.[5] For Heracleodorus, the poet's thoughts alone do not hold the power to charm the audience, but the sound used to express the poet's thoughts charms them.

II. Good Poetry According to Heracleodorus

Heracleodorus holds that euphonious composition grants a poem significant meaning and, in some cases, improves the poem. Poetic composition is a "kind of nebulous and non-material art," a thing that is praised for itself.[6] Though it is not entirely clear what he means by this, McOkser suggests "it may refer to the Stoic idea that sound is struck air, and so poetry has no underlying material substance (except the air). Or perhaps it could be a slighting description ('insubstantial and immaterial')."[7] Despite these varying interpretations, euphony arising from poetic composition defines the particularity of poetry:

> ... the (verse) 'he drew (the bow), grasping notch (and string) alike' has been composed very well by the poet from diction that enchants us. Those (critics) are mistaken who say 'it is possible for all poets that their verses become better or worse as a result of (diction), as in the case of (words) that are shortened endurably'. For if, on the one hand, for those (plural noun lost) which concern the ***[8]

> We ruin the verses if we transpose the composition, though their contents and words remain (unaltered), e.g. as follows: 'Tell, Muses, me, who now Olympus haunt,/ how first the Grecian ships assailed the fire./ Hector of Ajax on the ashen spear'***[9]

3 Michael McOsker, *The Good Poem According to Philodemus* (N.p: Oxford University Press, 2021), 74.

4 Ibid.

5 See Philodemus, Fragments 11-16.

6 Philodemus, 2.8, 2-4. All translations come from Richard Janko.

7 McOsker, The Good Poem According to Philodemus, 74.

8 Philodemus, 1.37, 16-27.

9 Philodemus, 1.38, 27-39, 8.

Through metathesis, Heracleodorus considers the effect of word order in poetry.[10] While most critics believe word choice determines an individual poem's quality, Heracleodorus seems to believe that verses are ruined "if we transpose the composition, though their contents and words remain (unaltered)," affecting a poem's quality.[11] As a result, the particularity of poetry—that is, its euphonious composition—determines poetic excellence.

In addition, Heracleodorus believes content is irrelevant in determining poetic excellence.[12] On his account, poetic excellence "(does) not (lie) in the construction of beautiful or clever ideas, which are shared"; the contents of poetry—that is, the plot, characters, thoughts, and language—are not the particularity of poetry, and thus they cannot determine poetic excellence. Further, poetry with bad content does not make a poem "bad," for poetry with bad content can be made "good" through formal elaboration, as in the case with Euripides.[13] In this same manner, useful or wise content can still make for "bad" poetry, as he explains through Chareremon.[14] Good or useful content *might not* charm the audience and make a "good" poem, though it *might.*[15] In either case, he believes it is irrelevant in determining the "good" poem. It is also through these views that we see his anti-genre rhetoric emerge, for if all content is shared content, and only euphonious composition grants the particularity of poetry, genre becomes irrelevant: "In both tragedy and comedy more beautiful compositions cannot arise on account of differences in their verse-forms, as their genres do not differ. For verse-forms from lampoons are mingled in tragedies, and (*two words lost)* suggest (*word lost*) imitate.***"[16] Content and genre, though can be useful, cannot determine poetic excellence.

Interestingly, Heracleodorus seems to believe that the poet's skills hold a stake in poetic excellence. Though Heracleodorus believes that all content is shared content, he does not reject that the poet's skills ultimately make poetry its unique final product. He adopts traditional Socratic comparisons to cooks, silversmiths, painters, jewelers, and sculptors throughout his fragments to imply that there is a level of craftsmanship involved in producing poetry—rooted in pro-

10 See McOsker 2021, 76: "[Metathesis is] a critical procedure in which the words of a line are rearranged or swapped with synonyms to show either the original line was the best possible or that it could be approved."

11 Philodemus, 1.38, 27-39, 8.

12 Philodemus, 1.195, 1-8.

13 Philodemus 2.9, 21-5.

14 See Philodemus, 2.7, 10-14: "Chareremon's unelaborated compositions are written about excellent contents, (yet are still bad)."

15 See Philodemus, 2.4, 7-9: "Heracleodorus thinks that 'no thought can move (us), not only unelaborated (thought)"; Also see Janko 2020, 2.99, 2-5: "The content moves us in accord with the composition***even by means of unelaborated talk.***"

16 Philodemus, 1.203R, 14-24, *olim* 205.

ducing euphonious composition.[17] Sound, then, is not merely the thing that gives poetry its significant value, but this value lies in sound's power to mold poetry into what it is in accordance with the poet's skills. Heracleodorus emphasizes this when he compares the poet to the painter: "(Just as) (subject lost) the (1-2 words lost) in a painter (create) a varied art among those (arts) that contribute reasoned (thought), so too when (poets) make verses in the case of compositions that render the thought particular to poets.***"[18] Just as the painter takes their material and molds it in accordance with their skill, a skilled poet takes shared content and elaborates it in accordance with their skill to produce euphonious sound, marking its particularity.

As we have seen through poetic composition, euphony grounds Heracleodorus' account of poetic excellence since the beauty of poetic composition lies in its ability to produce pleasant sounds. Though he only explicitly names beauty a few times and fails to define it, Heracleodorus clearly holds it in high regard: "(Poets) who speak beautifully are admired because they adorn their unelaborated (content) beautifully."[19] Poets are admirable if their composition produces pleasant sounds, regardless of its content. Heracleodorus' argument here aligns with the rest of his account—since the content of poetry is shared, the skilled poet who can elaborate their verses beautifully makes it seem like a unique final product and becomes an excellent poem.[20] Overall, Heracleodorus believes that only "good" composition makes a poem "good"—that is, word arrangement that produces the most pleasing sound. This account of poetic excellence established Heracleodorus as a radical euphonist in that the goodness of a poem flows from the goodness of its form.

III. The Aesthetically Pleasing Poem and its Problems

Heracleodorus offers one of the first purely aesthetic literary criticisms of his time. The aesthetic literary tradition believes the perceived sound of poetry is what matters in poetic excellence, rather than what is rationally analyzable. According to Heracleodorus, poetic excellence lies in its aesthetic impression on the audience, not what can be analyzed through content. His views on vividness

17 McOsker, *The Good Poem According to Philodemus,* 75.

18 Philodemus, 2.32, 26-33, 6.

19 Philodemus, 1.206R, 19-21, *olim* 208.

20 See Philodemus, 1.208R, 10-12, *olim* 210: "The contents belong to the (poet) who creates beauty." Here, I emphasize that the poem *seems* unique because, by Heracleodorus' understanding, there is no such thing as personal content, and therefore no poem is truly unique in that it is a personal final product of the poet.

emphasize that "(Vividness is good because) what can be observed is beautiful," folding into his wider stance on beauty.[21] In particular, the vividness of new words contributes to this beauty: "A vivid impression is convincing, if the composition (2-3 words lost) makes charming what is appropriate because of new words that have been made up by them, and conversely the old (word) that has been uttered is displeasing."[22] New words transform poetry into something that provides pleasure, granting its composition poetic excellence in a way older words cannot.[23]

Within this frame, Heracleodorus makes a compelling case for the role of aesthetics in determining poetic excellence. The vividness of expression, done through euphonious composition, can make a poem appealing. However, this relies on the aesthetic impression of the text by the audience to truly determine its excellence. Consider Heracleodorus' argument that the task of the successful prose writer, which parallels that of the poet, is to please the audience rather than attempt to write the truth:

> If it is not the task of even a prose-writer to write what accords with truth, (the poet) must aim to write (words that are) agreeable to the many. For I affirm that it is not in this way that someone who hears a poet is tickled, by wanting to hear (words) that can no longer be agreeable— for this is worse— but in this way, by hearing those (words) which (will endure) from the present to a later (time).[24]

Vividness seems to hold a factor of persuasion for Heracleodorus so that even if one writes false or unintelligible content, the poem can become appealing through its diction. If a poem sounds "good," the audience is "tickled" by the euphonious word arrangement, which holds a timeless feature that has a continually charming effect on the soul.[25] In this way, the contents of a poem, truthful or not, becomes irrelevant in a "good" poem.

Heracleodorus presents us with an account that makes a compelling argument for the accessibility of literature. [26]This, as he rightly points out, holds a powerful emotionalism that resonates with the audience in ways that can make a poem "good," regardless of its content. Indeed, one may find his argument on vividness reminiscent of values believed to emerge from the ancient powers of persuasion, which held that beautiful sounds were somehow better at conveying virtue to audiences, even if the contents were false. Further, if one were sitting in an audi-

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21 Philodemus, 2.94, 1

22 Phliodemus, 2.92, 25, 92, 27-93, 11.

23 It is tricky to know what "vividness"—a word that in the modern day connects to visual imagery—means in the realm of this text. I believe it captures both the mental images sound calls to and the ability of sound to signify and personify the contents of a poem.

24 Philodemus, 1.49, 1-12.

25 Ibid

ence, listening to a speaker, they are likely to judge what they hear as "good" if they hear something pleasant. This is because what it expressed is more accessible to those who are not working within the same social field as the presenter. Heracleodorus, then, provides a compelling account that argues for the aesthetically pleasing poem through its accessibility to its audience, which holds a factor in determining poetic excellence. Despite this compelling account of the accessibility of poetry, Heracleodorus undermines the role of the poet in ways that require we remain skeptical of accepting his argument. In drawing out my critique, it is best to reconsider the comparison he draws between the craftsmanship of the cook and the poet: "For (in the case of cookery), apart from these (considerations), we not <only> abuse the cook, when the choice is up to him, if he prepares rotten (ingredients), but also hang him up and flog him, but we praise him if they are juicy." Traditionally, if the content of poetry is bad, people will likely judge the poet as "bad," even if their poetry sounds pleasant. Per Heracleodorus' thought, this is just as if the cook were to make a proper meal (that is, a final product in accordance with his skill), but if the ingredients were rotten, the audience would deem the cook "bad," as if fresh ingredients were a precondition to "good" cooking.[27]

In this analogy, the ingredients the cook uses are instrumental to the art of cooking, as if the selection of poetic content is instrumental to the poet in producing the euphonious composition that would make a "good" poem. Heracleodorus ignores here that the art of cookery relies on the act itself towards the final product, not merely on the quality of the ingredients. The act of poetry, on the other hand, requires the agency of the poet in both their skills and their poetic interpretation of content. The particularity of poetry makes it a unique final product that relies on poetic interpretation to *communicate* a poem's meaning. Turning to Philodemus' critique of Heracleodorus, he rightly highlights that "*ending up with* intelligible content is part of the *telos* of the art of poetry."[28] Indeed, if the contents of poems are instruments in their final product, then we limit ourselves from seeing the *communicative capacities* that lie in the poet's agency vis-à-vis their interpretation of the poem's contents.

It is helpful in my dissent of his account to consider retellings of ancient stories, including *Medea*, early Greek mythological accounts, and others as an example. These stories, which have been retold throughout history, rely on unique interpretation of their contents that draw out qualities that differs from prior in-

27 I want to note here that McOsker rightly notices this exact inconsistency in his account—for this seems almost the same as Heracleodorus' previous analogy on the material of sculpture, but its relationship to the materials are now different. See McOsker 2021 83: "Heracleodorus explicitly includes the proviso that the selection was up to the cook. If it was not, the cook is not to be held blameless and the fault belongs to whoever provided the bad ingredients."

28 Ibid.

terpretations, and this quality need not rely on euphonious sound.[29] Further, the formidable contents of poetry allows the poet a means of asserting agency over the story told as an extension of themselves. Thinking back to the image of one sitting in an audience, listening to a speaker, if a speaker were to use their presentation as a way to evoke their positionality in ways that foster shared connection, one might also judge their presentation as "good." This is not merely because of the way the poem sounds, but because of what the artists' interpretations of the poem's content can do for people. In some cases, poetic interpretation makes the poem unique as a communicative device of personal expression and can define its excellence. At the same time, agency acts as an important instrument in allowing the poet to interpret and reinvent content in ways that surpass the limitations that Heracleodorus attempts to place on the "good" poem. While Heracleodorus presents a compelling argument regarding the *accessibility* of poetry, we cannot undermine the role poetic interpretation holds in the 'good' poem.

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29 Though it *could,* which is why we can accept Heracleodorus' stance on the aesthetics of poetry, we should resist accepting that it is the only thing that determines the judgment of a poem.

Midas' Folly

Original photograph by Samir Saeed, used with permission

Sacred Alignments within the Pre-Columbian Inka Landscape

Colin Sutter

The architectural landscape of the Inka was tightly interwoven with the natural environment of the land on which it was built. This natural environment, replete with mountains, lakes, rivers, and valleys, created a rich foundation upon which the Inka built their religion, joining the natural with the divine and creating a sacred landscape. The built environment became an extension of this sacred landscape, creating spaces where the divine could be channeled at both a small and large scale. This paper proposes Machu Picchu as one model of the Inka architectural gesture, highlighting how the site's construction and strategic alignment with the natural landscape articulates the intentional manipulation of space, celestial connections, and a reverence for the sacred environment.

Before assessing the site of Machu Picchu, it is essential to define the nature of architecture in the Inka Empire, especially in relation to the manipulation of space and place. Architectural historian Stella Nair offers the concept of "architecture as theater," in which she claims sites were designed, constructed, and laid out to proclaim imperial authority.[1]Architectural theory dictates that every space creates and articulates movement irrespective of its intended function, and I argue that Nair's analogy between architecture and theater pushes this theory a step further: the Inka sought to control movement, creating a carefully choreographed experience. As a result, the manipulation of vision, sound, and movement was not incidental but intentional, sculpting a multisensory narrative wherein each architectural space played a vital role in informing and influencing the individual's journey through the built environment.

Anthropologist Jerry D. Moore expands on this idea, underscoring the pivotal role of public buildings as tangible evidence of imperial manipulation. He claims that these structures stand as physical testaments to the utilization of power within Inka society. He writes that the Inka imbued their built environment with social meanings, creating a language of building that articulates both profound and mundane messages. This symbolic language becomes a catalyst for eliciting behaviors from the individuals interacting with the space.

1 Stella Nair, *At Home with the Sapa Inca: Architecture, Space, and Legacy at Chinchero*, (University of Texas Press, 2015), 201.

Together, Nair's and Moore's perspectives invite us to explore the architectural remnants of the Inka Empire through a nuanced lens. Each building, plaza, and ceremonial site becomes a chapter in a compelling narrative, not solely constructed for functional purposes but intentionally crafted to evoke emotions, dictate behaviors, and imprint imperial authority in Inka society.

The religion of the Inka was deeply intertwined with their cosmological beliefs. At the core was the worship of the sun god (Inti) and alignments with the sun's path were crucial in religious observances and architecture.[2] The winter and summer solstices held particular significance to the Inka, marking key moments in the agricultural calendar which were celebrated through elaborate festivals. The winter solstice, known as *Inti Raymi*, occurred on the shortest day of the year and celebrated the return of the sun, symbolizing renewal and the promise of warmer days ahead. The summer solstice festival, *Capac Raymi*, honored the sun at its highest point and celebrated the start of the harvest season.[3] Furthermore, the geographical layout and terrain of the Inka Empire played a foundational role in shaping Inka religious beliefs and practices. The empire's expansive geography, characterized by diverse landscapes including mountains, valleys, rivers, and forests, significantly influenced Inka religious worldview. Inka architecture existed as an extension of this already sacred landscape. This landscape contained countless examples of the Quechua *wa'kas*—material manifestations of the sacred—which are described, as they relate specifically to the Inkan religion, in *The Archaeology of Wa'kas*, edited by archaeologist Tamara L. Bray. In her introduction, Bray defines *wa'kas* as sacred non-human (inanimate) "persons" intrinsically linked with the communities to which their material forms were spatially fixed.[4] Essentially, the Inka considered *wa'kas* to be more than just containers for supernatural divinities; rather, they were material manifestations of power that existed as individual members of their community. Often, *wa'kas* were environmental features, such asa seventeenth-century Spanish missionary names large trees, roots, springs, rivers, lakes, hills, boulders, and large rocks to name some notable objects of Inka worship.[5] However, Bray elaborates that not all features of the natural landscape were *wa'kas,* and not all *wa'kas* were part of the natural landscape.[6] The Inka

2 Steven R. Gullberg, "Orientations in and Surrounding Machu Picchu," in *Astronomy of the Inca Empire: Use and Significance of the Sun and the Night Sky* (Switzerland: Springer Chan, 2020), 42.

3 Steven R. Gullberg, "Orientations in and Surrounding Machu Picchu," 62.

4 Tamara L. Bray, "Andean Wak'as and Alternative Configurations of Persons, Power, and Things," in *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes* (University Press of Colorado, 2015), 10.

5 Jerry D. Moore, "The Social Basis of Sacred Spaces in the Prehispanic Andes: Ritual Landscapes of the Dead in Chimú and Inka Societies," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 11, no. 1 (2004): 83–124.

6 Tamara L. Bray, "Andean Wak'as and Alternative Configurations of Persons, Power, and Things," 13.

also considered some features of the built environment, including certain temples, windows, and corners of houses, as *wa'kas*.

In the context of this paper, the most relevant wa'kas are those of the mountains and the built environment. Mountain *wa'kas*, specifically known as *apus* (meaning "lords" in Quechua), were considered protective beings: each mountain revered as a living entity with its own personality and significance.[7] These *apus* were venerated through rituals and offerings, as they were believed to exert influence over the well-being of the land and its inhabitants.[8] Among the *apus*, mountains with glaciated peaks (referred to as "great watchers") held special significance and were often linked to the astrological phenomena visible above them during a certain equinox. Furthermore, the Inka attributed the importance of a certain *apu* to its range of vision:"if you can see a mountain (and it can see you), you stand in its realm."[9] This relationship between geography and religion is evident through the strategic placement of religious sites like temples, shrines, and ceremonial platforms at the convergence of geographical elements, signifying a profound connection between the earthly and spiritual realms. Machu Picchu is one such site, lying in the saddled valley between the "divine pair" peaks of Huayna and Machu Picchu.[10]

Machu Picchu shows a strong consideration of the natural landscape in its construction. The site itself is nestled in between the distant ranges of Salcantay to the south, Pumasillo to the west, and Waqay Willka to the east (Figure 1). Its alignment with these mountain ranges not only enhanced a visual connection between the built and sacred environment, but also aided in astronomical observations. Salcantay dominates the region of Machu Picchu, and its snow-capped peaks are visible from great distances. Due to its imposing size, it was considered one of the principal mountain deities in the Qusqu region of the Inka empire.[11] Pumasillo, to the west, lies on the June solstice line, intrinsically linking it with the cosmological culture of the Inka. During *Capac Raymi*, the sun sets at the highest peak of the Pumasillo range, as viewed from Machu Picchu (Figure 2). Finally, Waqay Willka mountain range rises to the east of Machu Picchu, its highest peak also visible from the upper ledge of the site. During *Inti Raymi*—the most signif-

7 Steven Gullberg and J. Malville, "Caves, Liminality, and the Sun in the Inca World," *Culture and Cosmos* 21, no. 0102 (2017): 195-196.

8 Carolyn Dean, "The Inka Married the Earth: Integrated Outcrops and the Making of Place," The Art Bulletin 89, no. 3, (2007): 502–18

9 Carolyn Dean, "Men Who Would Be Rocks: The Inka Wank'a," in *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes* (University Press of Colorado, 2015), 213.

10 Richard Burger and Lucy Salazar, "Machu Picchu: Unveiling the mystery of the Incas" (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 1.

11 Johan Reinhard, "Machu Picchu : Exploring an Ancient Sacred Center," 4th rev. ed, (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2007), 22.

icant Inka festival—the sun rises from the peak of Waqay Willka, associating the apu with Inti and amplifying the sacred nature of the mountain.[12] Together, these geographic alignments carefully consider Machu Picchu's placement, articulating the site's sanctity and harmony with its natural surroundings. This consideration goes beyond mere visual aesthetics; it encompasses a spiritual conjunction within Inka culture, where both site and nature became integral parts of the sacred landscape.

Within the site of Machu Picchu, numerous architectural alignments depict an intent to reinforce the sacred relationship between the built and natural environments. To aid in the visualization of these alignments, I created a 3-dimensional digital model of Machu Picchu and its surrounding topography using extant archaeological evidence and topographic data from Google Earth. I then rendered three views from the model that demonstrate different geographic and cosmological alignments with architectural features built on the site (Figures 2, 3, 4).

First, the city gate, located on the southernmost end of the site, is aligned with Huayna Picchu, one of the three *apus* in immediate proximity to the site (the others being Machu Picchu and Putucusi) (Figure 2). As the entrance to Machu Picchu, the gate offers visitors the first vantage point of the site and because it outlines Huayna Picchu, it reveals an intent by the Inka builders to emphasize the apu's significance. Furthermore, the Temple of Three Windows, located on the upper terrace of the site, offers a direct sight line to the *apu* Putucusi. The render of the Temple, captured at sunrise during the winter solstice (June 21), shows the peak of the *apu* framed by the middle window (Figure 3). As a result, this framing directs a viewer's sight line to Putucusi, providing evidence of an attempt to amplify the *apu*'s image and choreograph an individual's experience inside the temple. This alignment, yet again, shows a deliberate effort by the Inka builders to integrate the sacred landscape into the architectural makeup of the site.

Moreover, the Temple of the Sun, also located on the upper terrace of the site, exhibits further alignments that reinforce the relationship between celestial bodies and the mountains surrounding the site. Its three windows—south, east, and north—align with Salcantay, Waqay Willka, and Huayna Picchu, respectively. As seen in the rendering of the temple (Figure 4), the eastern window has the most cosmological significance; its rotation directly aligns with the winter solstice line. Therefore, during the sunrise of *Inti Raymi,* the sun illuminates the stone at the center of the temple, aligning with a carved groove along its surface. While the functional use of the stone is unknown, the window's alignment with both the *Inti Raymi* sunrise and the Waqay Willka apu suggests the recognition of a connection between celestial entities and terrestrial landmarks[13]. This, in turn, further accentuates the intentionality of specific architectural gestures in correlation with the

12 Bernabe Cobo, *Inca Religion & Customs*, trans. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 44-45.

13 Burger and Salazar, "Machu Picchu," 41.

surrounding natural topography throughout the site.

The deliberate alignments of Machu Picchu's structures with the surrounding sacred landscape reflect the intentionality the Inka exhibited with their architectural gestures. This careful planning created functional buildings that articulated movement between the celestial, natural, and built realms. The careful positioning of windows and doors within each space was part of this choreography, offering individuals distinct encounters with the sacred peaks and celestial bodies that passed through them.

This careful consideration of the natural landscape also existed at a much smaller scale, mainly through the working of stone. The masonry found at Machu Picchu is largely irregular, eschewing mortar for dry, carved seams between each stone. The stones vary in size and seem to follow no particular order (Figure 6). The deliberate use of natural stones in their original shapes reflects the spiritual significance of each stone, or at least reveals a respect for their natural form as it exists as part of the sacred landscape.[14] By integrating these stones without extensive alteration, the Inka may have sought to maintain harmony between their architectural gestures and the natural landscape, demonstrating a deep respect for the inherent sanctity of the stones within their setting.

Furthermore, rock outcrops were considered hierophanies, or manifestations of the sacred. These stones marked the breaching of the mundane world—the joint between the sacred and "normal" worlds.[15] By carving and working with these stones, the Inka may have sought to harness the supernatural world, enhancing the natural and enacting imperial control. The Inka's incorporation of rock outcrops into their masonry structures served as a significant link between nature and human construction, blurring the distinction between natural and built settings (Figure 7). In constructing buildings atop these stone outcrops, the Inka displayed an approach akin to grafting, where the walls seemed to organically emerge from the earth rather than being merely placed on top, showcasing an architectural strategy that aimed to bring order to the natural surroundings. [16]

While these two uses of stonework primarily reference the sacred environment in the abstract, carved "echo stones" strategically placed around the site mimetically recreate the surrounding landscape, albeit at a much smaller scale (Figure 8). Rock outcroppings like this one, which faces the Veronica Range, channel the force of the peak directly into the site, articulating the movement of a viewer's eye from the stone to the mountain and then back to the stone. While this outcropping has an obvious visual connection with the distant range, it too acts as a hierophany—an embodiment of the same deity of the mountain. Pre-Hispanic Andean art historian Carolyn Dean refers to this inherent symbolic relation

14 Carolyn Dean, "A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock" (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 2010), 1.

15 Gullberg and Malville, "Caves, Liminality, and the Sun in the Inca World," 197.

16 Dean, "The Inka Married the Earth," 82

as "metonymy," in which the outcropping serves as a substitution for the distant peak while it remains imbued with the same symbolic character.[17] In the context of Machu Picchu as an imperial estate, echo stones like this established both a respect for a sacred space and asserted imperial authority: Inka carvers harnessed found rock to channel the power of a distant mountain deity. Together, these three uses of stonework at Machu Picchu demonstrate a profound reverence for the sacred landscape while also symbolizing an intentional merging of architectural gestures with the inherent sanctity of the surrounding natural environment.

Machu Picchu serves as a unique model of the intentional consideration of the natural environment in Inka construction. The site contains references to the surrounding sacred environment, illustrating an intentional manipulation of space in order to influence an individual's journey through the site. The sacred landscape of the Inka framed the site of Machu Picchu, creating a rich space that the builders referenced in their architectural landscape. In the distance, to the east, south, and west stand the mountain ranges of Waqay Willka, Salcantay, and Pumasillo, respectively. The revered *apus* of Huayna Picchu, Machu Picchu, and Putucusi were in its immediate vicinity. Both the construction of the site at the junction of these natural features and the alignment of certain architectural features to them reveal an intentional consideration of site placement in relation to the sacred landscape. Furthermore, at the smallest scale, the use of stone in construction further reinforces the idea of reverence for the natural, while also revealing an intention to enhance and assert imperial power. The architectural gestures employed at Machu Picchu demonstrate an intentional link between the site's natural and built environment. Each gesture, from masonry to geographic positioning, highlights a deliberate manipulation of space and place to choreograph experience throughout the sacred site.

17 Carolyn Dean, "Metonymy in Inca art," in *Presence: The inherence of the prototype within images and other objects, ed. Robert Maniura and Rupert Shepherd* (Aldergate, England: Ashgate, 2006), 105-120.

Figures

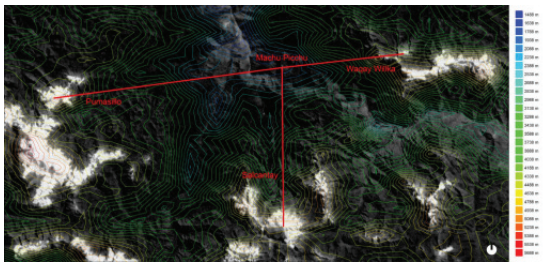

Figure 1: Overview of regional topography with labeled mountain ranges.
Topographic data from Google Earth

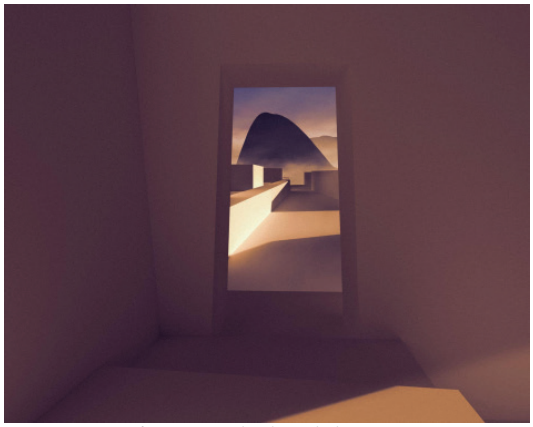

Figure 2: View of Huayna Picchu through the city gate.
Computer Render; Rhino3D, Photoshop; Topographic data from Google Earth

Figure 3: View of Putucusi (center) from the Temple of Three Windows.
Computer Render; Rhino3D, Photoshop; Topographic data from Google Earth

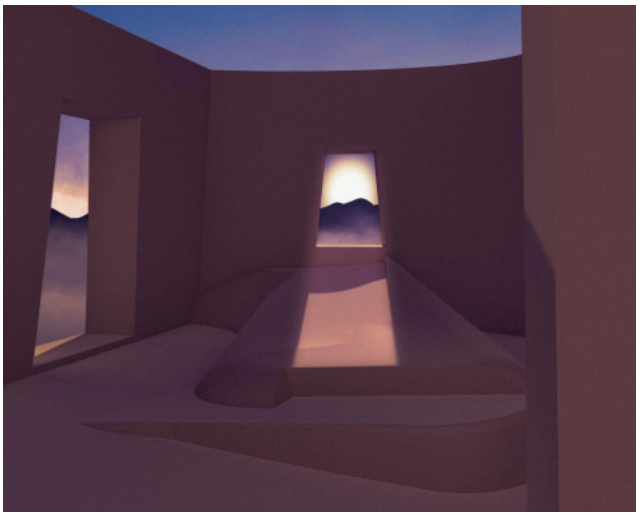

Figure 4: View of the June (winter) solstice sunrise from the Temple of the Sun.
Computer Render; Rhino3D, Photoshop; Topographic data from Google Earth

Figure 6: Irregular stone masonry at Machu Picchu.
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Figure 7: Building built on top of rock outcropping, Machu Picchu.
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Figure 8: Rock outcropping that mimics the distant landscape..
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To New Jerusalem

Ginu Yang

Introduction

St. Augustine of Hippo was seventy-two when he published The City of God. He died four years later. In the last thirty years of his life, Augustine was constantly fighting ecclesiastical wars to extend his brand of Christianity. The City of God is the culmination of his efforts to consolidate a formal Christian theology. It was, by and large, a political and polemical work that sought to defend Christianity against its naysayers. But in the last two books of The City of God, Augustine seems to leave his political rhetoric behind and, instead, focus on the question of the afterlife. He imagines the same imperial city seen by John in the Book of Revelation. It is a city of splendor with walls made of jewels, a city of plenty with boundless food and water, and, most importantly, a city of safety with golden gates that only welcomed Christians. For Augustine who had been dealing with a chaotic religious world following the fall of the Roman Empire, the image of the walled city of New Jerusalem would have been a sanctuary to escape the turmoil of his reality.

The poem "To New Jerusalem" attempts to capture this sense of safety Augustine must have longed for when describing his City of God. Written in the form of a country house poem, a seventeenth-century style of English poetry that compliments a noble family and their estate, "To New Jerusalem" praises the city of Heaven and its creator, the Christian God.

To New Jerusalem

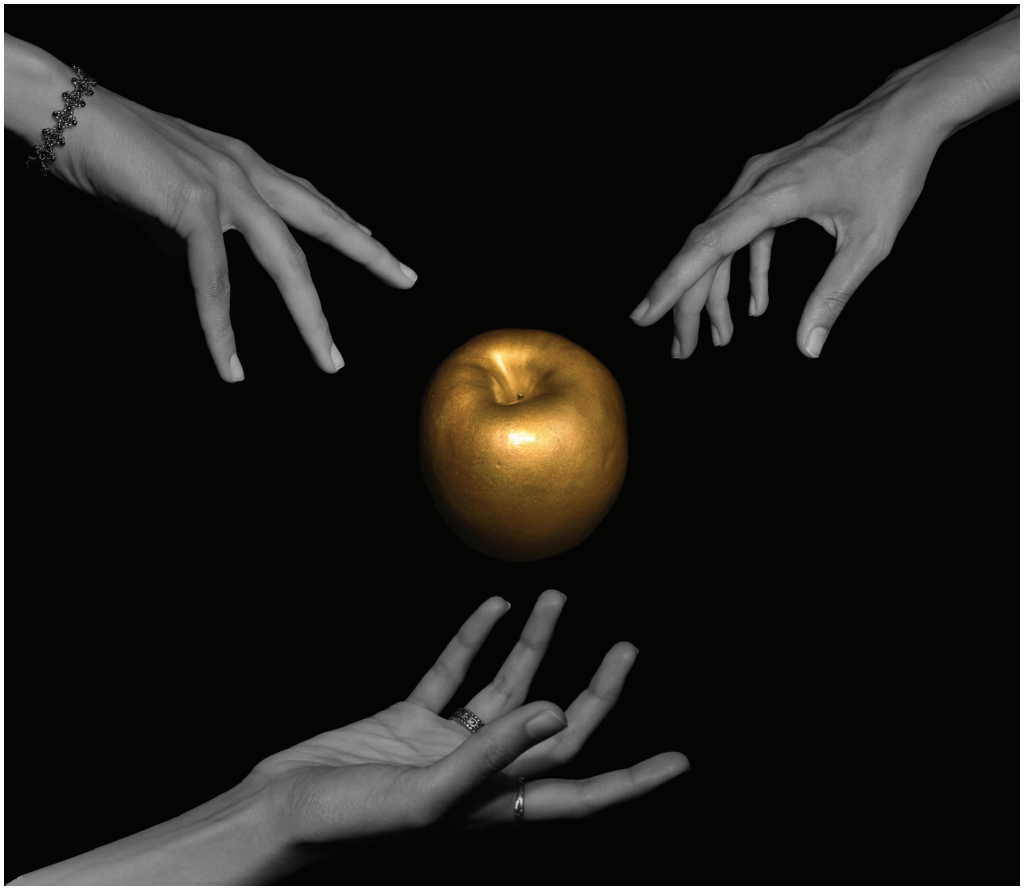
Above this sodden loam we owe
You boundless honor, Borough.
Forever gone are toil and trouble,
And onto Him hope redouble;
Who with His great design remind,
Of ten thousand demons behind,
Of wicked liars or earthquakes:

Constrain our souls, we heal all aches.
Conquered once, we inherit twice,
No more pain, death, or any vice.
For His residence those that share,
Of fairer air and water bare;
Where in perfect shape we return,
To the jasper city of yearn.
Among saints set by rank to ranks,
Earning no envy, only thanks;
Of twelve angels that guard twelve gates,
There cut names in jewels of twelve states,
Foundations made from cream pearl sewn
On walls with every precious stone.
Adorn! Sapphires, bright and blue,
Emeralds with brilliant hue
Like green beryl and chrysoprase,
The power of God for all lays;
Casting light on the whole commune,
A shine beyond the sun or moon.
With streets that shine golden anew,
That lamp of Lamb great wealth bestrew.
Within the walls come paradise,
The river of life with waters like ice,
Fresh as flourishing trees that bear
Each month a fruit, no need to share.
Happy! shall we forever more,
That sweet harvest rightly adore,
And all will dine without sweat,
To Him we will never forget.
When various souls live again,
See that the old their youth retain,
And to their best state each appears,
The natural peak of our years.
Henceforth unblemished; all scars fade,
Lesions across bodies abrade,
And fill their frame with harmony,
Until they can shine wordlessly,
Like light from the unyielding sun
Or brightness of the only Son,
To men and women, return beauty!
Be rewarded for your duty.
To see martyrs through eyes renewed,
We witness wounds on bodies nude,

With marks of dignity that beam,
Our new bodies forever gleam.
But like the first Heaven, first Earth,
Vanish do lust and shame from birth;
As hymns those vain organs become,
To only His wisdom they strum.
In Heaven the spirit ascends,
Of flesh still, but to the soul lends
A Body of greatness unknown;
What words can describe them alone?
But eyes eternal and divine,
Who glimpses Him, his golden shrine;
Spying like snakes with sharper sights,
Vision awakes to newer heights.
From lofty lands once impalpable,
Heaven's eyes make truths rational.
In utmost clarity we see,
His whole universe, a new sea.
And earth its invisible hoard,
Have you, O mirrors, well obscured;
When up above our bodies meet
Faced with faith we finally greet;
Angels like fellow citizens,
A striking kindred fair image.
With inner faces that reflects
His manifestation projects;
Our frame to fit a guise of His,
For we shall see Him as he is:
Architect of peace and passion,
He transcends all comprehension.
What then is life eternal like,
If we can know nothing alike?
No mere earthly intelligence,
Or tale can forge His excellence.
For we descend at heart with sin,
On the earth condemned we begin;
A race fallen from start, we sprawl,
From lost Gardens extinct, we brawl
Amongst ourselves adoring strife,
Through Discord's sycophantic life.
Those thieves and murderers relish,
In sins of vain to embellish;
Blasphemy and heresy thrives,

Such is the will of human lives;
Where early guidance if bereft,
Children take on the trade of theft.
See the evil of Adam flow,
Idolaters in their death throes;
Murderers and sorcerers burned,
Outside His gates all sinners spurned.
But streams of blessings He grants still,
To us, creatures, by His free will;
Procreation allows us growth,
A work done only through God's oath,
Whose actions unfurl the human seed,
No spouse can claim this wondrous deed.
For we were born in His likeness,
Their reason comes from His brightness.
Every and each devised subject,
From His blessings of intellect;
Bodies of total symmetry
Play a Creator's symphony.
Its statue built in praise of Him,
Eyes towards Heaven; prompting hymn:
"God designs all satisfactions,
Forget health; live without action,
Much more than great wealth and fine food,
Or honor, peace, and every good,
The Giver of virtue provides,
The Promised reward, He presides."
Remade and perfected we rest,
In eternal stillness lie blessed;
Rivers of waters crystal-clear,
And fruits aplenty; have no fear
For we have reached the seventh day,
Where finally all toils we lay,
And join in Sabbath peace at last,
To relish a gift from the past,
Which through worship we can repay,
And forever in Heaven stay.
For we stay vigil wherein dark
Deceptions within half-truths lark;
The ills of human life spare none,
And tempt our judgments only to shun
Our faith by threats of unknown fear.
So now we must remind, warn clear

Of specious pagan arguments,
Misleading Christian innocents;
Direct your eyes and ears away,
From sinful thoughts on conscious weigh.
Then come the time for each confirmed,
The City like a bride adorned,
From Heaven it descends as thus,
Because of Him who has loved us.



Pulcherrimae

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A Door's Opinion on Elegy

Norah Mezey-McMahon

In the sixteenth elegy of his *Monobiblos*, Propertius subverts the *paraclausithyron* ("the lament of the shut-out lover")[1] form through a dialogue between a man and a door. The basic structure of such a poem relies on the *exclusus amator* ("excluded lover") trope and involves a lover pleading for entrance at the threshold of his mistress. However, Propertius's door becomes a character, in and of itself. With this device, he combines the traditional paraclausithyron with a dialogue between the door and the poet-lover. This subversion allows the door to become an outside observer, delivering a critique of love elegy. Additionally, the personification of the door conflates it with the *domina*, which illustrates the elegiac strategies the poet tries to use on her. Thus, the surface-level dispute between the poet-lover and the door in 1.16 encompasses two deeper elegiac conflicts—not only between the poet-lover and the *domina* behind the door, but also between elegiac rhetoric and conventional Roman morality—which are meant to prove the literary merits of elegy.

Propertius begins establishing the door as representative of the conventional Roman perspective through the exaltation of a military triumph:

> Quae fueram magnis olim patefacta triumphis
> ianua Tarpeiae nota pudicitiae:
> cuius inaurati celebrarunt limina currus
> captorum lacrimis umida supplicibus.[2]
>
> And I who, having stood open for great triumphs, once had been a door known for the modesty of Tarpeia; whose thresholds, damp with the suppliant tears of captives, gilded chariots glorified…

Propertius creates an image of a door directly on the typical route taken through Rome during a military triumph, a "heavier" topic more suitable for an epic than an elegy. The comparison of elegiac and epic genres appears in prior poems in the *corpus*—most notably 1.7 and 1.9—so it is easy to view these lines

1 Frank Olin Copley, "On the Origin of Certain Features of the Paraclausithyron," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 73 (1942): 96–107, https://doi.org/10.2307/283540.

2 Propertius, *Elegies*, ed. L. Richardson Jr (Norman OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006): 1.16.1-4

as an extension of that theme. Indeed, in his *recusatio* to Maecenas in 2.1, Propertius lists a series of famous victories of Augustus, such as Philippi and Actium; his claim that he would write of them if he was able to do so suggests that the Romans viewed military topics as more important literature than love poetry. However, beyond a complaint about the elegiac genre, readers could also view this glorification of military service as a criticism of the poet-lover himself from a conventional Roman perspective. Propertius writes poem 1.6 as a *recusatio* to his patron Tullus, in which he juxtaposes himself with a more prototypical man of his age.

non ego sum laudi, non natus idoneus armis:
hanc me militiam fata subire volunt…
ibis et accepti pars eris imperii.[3]

I was not born for praise, not suitable for arms: the fates want me to go into this military service (love). But you, whether where mild Ionia stretches or where the liquid of Pactolus dyes Lydian fields, whether you will go to seize lands by foot or the sea by oars, you will go and you will be part of a welcome power.

From the perspective of the poet-lover, military service and love are equivalent, as shown by the *militia amoris* theme in line 30. However, "*accepti [. . .] imperii*" (of a welcome power) suggests that Tullus's form of military service is the more acceptable path for a Roman man. The door's narration in I.16.1-4 confirms this through the tone of pride when discussing military accomplishments, expressing admiration for true military service over elegiac *militia*. There is a shift towards a much more negative tone in the following lines, as the door moves into discussing elegiac topics. This shift of tone is reflected in the meter: where lines 1-4 have an even mix of dactyls and spondees, lines 5-8 are more heavily spondaic, emphasizing the door's grief at now having to exist in the elegiac sphere. In this section, the personified *ianua* introduces further reasons why "she", representative of the conventional Roman sense of morality, takes issue with elegy.

nunc ego, nocturnis potorum saucia rixis,
pulsata indignis saepe queror manibus, et
mihi non desunt turpes pendere corollae
semper et exclusi signa iacere faces.
nec possum infames dominae defendere noctes,
nobilis obscenis tradita carminibus;
nec tamen illa suae revocatur parcere famae,
turpior et saecli vivere luxuria.[4]

Now I, having been wounded by the nighttime quarrels of heavy drinkers and having been beaten by unworthy hands, often complain, and shameful garlands do not neglect to hang upon me always and torches do not neglect to lie before me, signs of an excluded [lover]. I am neither able to ward off the disreputable nights of my mistress, noble she

3 Prop. *Elegies*.1.6.29-30, 34
4 Prop. *Elegies*.1.16.5-12.

having been handed over to perverted songs; nor however, is she called back to spare her reputation and from living more shameful than the luxury of the age.

The harsh adjectival choices in "*turpes*" (shameful), "*infames*" (disreputable), and "*obscenis*" (perverted) illustrate the door's central complaint: the indecency of elegiac topics. Although the language of elegy often relies more on puns and double entendres than explicitness, many Romans viewed the very concept of an affair between two unmarried lovers (who were often married to other people) as indecent and scandalous. The door's comment in line 12 calling the *domina* "more shameful than the luxury of the age" implies a belief in the decline of Roman morality (a theme that appears heavily in the later years of Augustus's reign) in this period occurring parallel to this type of literature. Furthermore, the door's views on the behavior of the *domina* and the *exclusus amator* could suggest a conviction amongst traditional Romans that writings on love were not only indecent, in and of themselves, but also encouraged indecency in others, most worryingly in those who were "*nobilis*."[5]

Beginning this poem with the door's narration seems counterintuitive to the pride in elegy Propertius has shown in prior poems, most notably the poetic pair of 1.7 and 1.9, where he argues with the epic poet Ponticus in favor of his chosen genre. Thus, the question arises: when elegy is conventionally from the perspective of the poet-lover, why include a poem from a point of view against the typical elegiac narrator? Through the lens of the scornful door, the poet-lover's words appear whiny and pathetic, rather than the smooth speech which readers are accustomed to in the rest of Propertius's work. However, it is critical to remember that two different frames exist within this poem. The door's narration in lines 1-16 and lines 45-48 frames the lover's speech, but Propertius, as the author, determines how the door presents its argument. In this way, he can disprove critiques of elegy and does so in the final lines of the poem:

sic ego nunc dominae vitiis et semper amantis
fletibus aeterna differor invidia.[6]

Thus I now am attacked with eternal bitterness because of the faults of my mistress and always because of the tears of a lover.

By placing the *domina* and the lover together, before the idea that the door is "attacked", Propertius illustrates that both the *domina* and the poet-lover disagree with this concept that there is something wrong with their actions, indicating that the very person this conventional sense of morality wants to protect does not desire that protection. This idea could be seen as subverting moral arguments about elegy.

5 Ibid, 1.16.11
6 Prop. *Elegies*.1.16.47-48.

However, a second potential critique of elegy remains in its efficacy, which Propertius tries to undermine in the poet-lover's speech. Throughout the monologue, he uses feminine adjectives to describe the door, furthering its personification and creating confusion about whether he refers to it or the domina, most apparently in line 17. To a certain extent, he is already doomed to be unable to prove that elegiac rhetoric is effective because he speaks to an inanimate object rather than his lover. Even so, the monologue does serve as an exhibition of elegiac language that allows Propertius to display how he thinks elegy ought to be used.

The first half of this monologue (lines 17-34, see Appendix A) exhibits typical elegiac tropes, including the *exclusus amator* and love as a form of pain, and revisits language choices Propertius has made in previous elegies, particularly in his discussion of Cynthia (e.g. "*ocellos*"[7] cf. "*ocellis*"[8]; "*nixa*"[9] cf. "*nixa*"[10]). The section emphasizes the power of elegy in expressing complicated emotions, such as frustration, grief, and of course, love, best exemplified in line 32 ("*surget et invitis spiritus in lacrimis*"). The emphatic placement of "*surget*" at the beginning of the line and the way the "*invitis lacrimis*" surround the "*spiritus*" create a word picture that depicts poetry strong enough to force the door/*domina* to feel the same way as the lover and allow him to gain entrance. Thus, he tries to display the worthiness of elegiac rhetoric to his *domina*.

The monologue moves away from this idea of the effect of elegy in its second half (lines 35-44, see Appendix B) to Propertius's intent in its composition and frustration at the views that it is ineffective. This section focuses on a theme of language and speech, which Propertius creates through references to the "petulance of [his] tongue"[11] and "[composing] songs with a new verse",[12] additionally describing himself as "hoarse",[13] implying that the poet-lover has been composing a fair amount of poetry for a long while and subtly illustrating his expertise in the subject. He intends his words to have an impact ("cut")—as he emphasizes by the way "*laesit*" breaks the synchysis of "*ulla meae…petulantia linguae*"—but the door remains "*victa meis numquam…muneribus*" (never conquered by [his] tributes). The tone of frustration directed simultaneously to the *domina* and the door illustrates how he is embittered by all whom elegiac rhetoric cannot convince, whether they scorn it explicitly like the conventional Roman (the door) or implicitly by not letting him in (the *domina*). The idea of repeated action only strengthens this tone. In line 42, Propertius underscores the image he creates of a lover having kissed the stairs so many times it has left marks through a synchystic

7 Prop. *Elegies*. 1.16.31
8 Prop. *Elegies*. 1.1.1
9 Prop. *Elegies*. 1.16.33
10 Prop. *Elegies*.1.3.8
11 Prop. *Elegies*. 1.16.37
12 Prop. *Elegies*. 1.16.41
13 Prop. *Elegies*. 1.16.39

word order, where the "*oscula nixa*" surround the "*impressis*," expressing how hard he tries to make his mark through love poetry.

Additionally, the use of "*quotiens*" in line 43 implies how these attempts to promote love poetry seem to happen many times over, to no success. The monologue ends on the inevitable defeat of elegiac rhetoric by the inanimate door, but given the ending narration of the door that grants the poet-lover a victory in his own right, it feels as though elegy has not truly lost.

Elegy 1.16 goes beyond the basic conventions of a paraclausithyron by giving the door the ability to speak, allowing it to serve as a stand-in for both conventional Roman views on morality and the poet-lover's *domina*. By making the door a narrator in this way, Propertius structures frame arguments where the door's convictions influence the outcome of the lover's speech but the poet has the final say over how the door presents its argument. Hidden underneath the near-comical standoff between man and door is a well-structured and passionately argued defense of elegiac rhetoric.

Appendix A: The Lover's Speech Lines 17-34

anua vel domina penitus crudelior ipsa,
quid mihi tam duris clausa taces foribus?
cur numquam reserata meos admittis amores,
nescia furtivas reddere mota preces?
nullane finis erit nostro concessa dolori,
turpis et in tepido limine somnus erit?
me mediae noctes, me sidera prona iacentem,
frigidaque Eoo me dolet aura gelu.
tu sola humanos numquam miserata dolores
respondes tacitis mutua cardinibus.
o utinam traiecta cava mea vocula rima
percussas dominae vertat in auriculas!
sit licet et saxo patientior illa Sicano,
sit licet et ferro durior et chalybe,
non tamen illa suos poterit compescere ocellos,
surget et invitis spiritus in lacrimis.
nunc iacet alterius felici nixa lacerto,
at mea nocturno verba cadunt Zephyro…

Door even more deeply cruel than the owner herself, why, having been closed to me, are you quiet with thresholds so hard? Why, never having been opened up, do you never admit my loves, ignorant one, never having been moved to return my secret prayers? Will no end to my sadness be allowed and will my shameful

sleep be on a warm threshold? Midnights pity me, stars leaning forward
pity me lying down, and the breeze, cold with of the chill of Eos, pities me. You alone, having never pitied human sorrows, in return respond with silent hinges. Oh if only my little voice having been cast through a hollow crack may turn into the stricken ears of my mistress! And although that one is more enduring than Sicanian rock [lava], although she is harder than both iron and steel, neverth less she will not be able to restrain her little eyes and her breath will rise in reluctant tears! Now, having leaned upon the lucky shoulder of another, she lies down, but my words fall on the nighttime west wind.

Appendix B: The Lover's Speech Lines 35-44

sed tu sola mei, tu maxima causa doloris,
victa meis numquam, ianua, muneribus,
te non ulla meae laesit petulantia linguae;
quae solet irato dicere probra sono,
ut me tam longa raucum patiare querela
sollicitas trivio pervigilare moras?
at tibi saepe novo deduxi carmina versu,
osculaque impressis nixa dedi gradibus.
ante tuos quotiens verti me, perfida, postes,
debitaque occultis vota tuli manibus!

But you alone, you are the greatest reason of my sadness, never having been conquered, door, by my tributes. Not any petulance of my tongue, which is accustomed to say insults in an angry sound, struck you so that you would allow me, hoarse from so long a complaint, to keep watch in the crossroad for concerned delays. But I often drew out songs with a new verse for you and gave strained little kisses to your imprinted steps. How often I turned myself be fore your posts, faithless one, and I brought the owed pledges with hidden hands!

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Translation and Transformation: An Egyptian Adaptation of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 11.3

Livia Hoffman

Introduction

This paper presents an exercise in translation, converting a Latin literature passage into Middle Egyptian, with the prospect of gaining a greater appreciation and understanding of both languages. This translation project thereby hopes to assess how (and how closely) Latin grammatical constructions and their meanings can be preserved when translated into Egyptian. Its additional aspirations include: to examine which of the Latin vocabulary has readily available Egyptian equivalents; to consider which Egyptian vocabulary best substitutes for the Latin; and to investigate why certain Latin words have no Egyptian parallel.

The Latin passage of interest is drawn from Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.[1] The only ancient Roman novel to survive in its entirety, *Metamorphoses* is a long fictional narrative that relates the story of Lucius, a young and curious Greek noble who, in his pursuit of magic, is transformed into an ass.[2] Following a series of transformation-related hijinks, Lucius regains his human state through the intervention of the Egyptian goddess Isis, who grants him true and corrective knowledge and wisdom. This paper translates a portion of Chapter 11 (11.3), wherein Lucius first meets Isis. After pleading for divine aid, Lucius encounters the goddess, who "rises up" (*atollens*) from the sea to answer his prayer for liberation from his asinine form. Chapter 11.3 is pivotal to the plot of *Metamorphoses*, and thus the impetus for this translational exercise. For this passage presents both the theme of transformation, a theme inherent in the act of translation, and the interconnectedness of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian culture. It is here that the Latin author Apuleius writes of the Greek character Lucius, who is met by the Egyptian

1 Apuleius was born c.125 CE in the town of Madauros (within the Roman province of Africa). The date of his birth, along with other aspects of his life, is inferred from his Apology. See Apuleius, *Metamorphoses (The Golden Ass), Volume I: Books 1-6* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), ix-x.

2 Stavros Frangoulidis, *Witches, Isis, and Narrative: Approaches to Magic in Apuleius' Metamorphoses* (Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2008), 1.

goddess Isis.

English Translation

"To this extent, with prayers/pleas having been poured out and with miserable lamentations having been added on, again sleep having been poured out around (me) oppressed the same weakening spirit for me in that bed. And I had not yet closed (my eyes) enough, (when) look! From the midst of the sea, a divine countenance, an appearance that ought to be venerated/worshiped by the gods, rising up emerged: and henceforth it gradually seemed that, with the sea having been shaken off from its whole body, a transparent figure/being stood before me. I will attempt/try to bring back this marvelous sight to you all, if only the poverty of (my) human speech will have imparted/granted to me the capability/ability that ought to be addressed/discussed, or if the divine will of it will have supplied (me) a rich abundance of rhetorical skill. Now first her tresses, most abundant and extensive, having twisted down gradually and having spread loosely over her divine neck, was flowing down. She had encircled her lofty forehead with a garland with various, manifold flowers, at the middle of which, above her brow, a flat round disk in the manner of a mirror, indeed a symbol of the moon, was gleaming clear light, at the right and left, (her forehead) was bound with coils of rearing snakes, and above with outstretched ears of Ceres. Her tunic, having been woven with light/fine linen, was multicolored, now shining with white brilliance, now yellow with saffron bloom, now flaming with rosy redness, And, what was confusing my view most especially, was the darkest cloak, gleaming with a black brilliance/shine, which having been wrapped, remaining under her right side and running up to her left shoulder, with part of its border having been cast down with respect to a turn of the knot, and hanging down in complicated pleating, it was flowing down beautifully with knots to the farthest shores of the fringes."

Original Latin

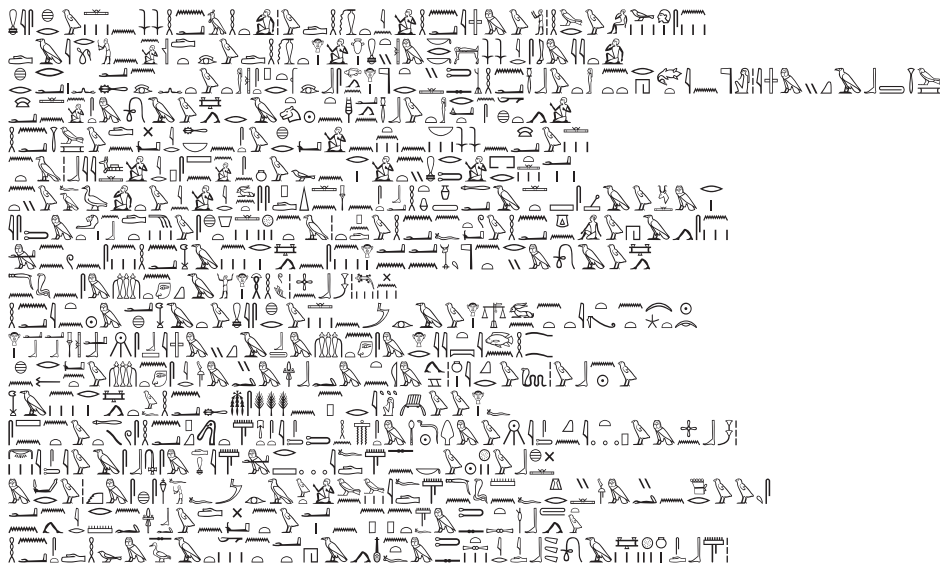
"Ad istum modum fusis precibus et adstructis miseris lamentationibus, rursus mihi marcentem animum in eodem illo cubili sopor circumfusus oppressit. Necdum satis conniveram, et ecce pelago medio venerandos diis etiam vultus attollens emergit divina facies: ae dehinc paulatim toto corpore pellucidum simulacrum excusso pelago ante me constitisse visum est. Eius mirandam speciem ad vos etiam referre conitar, si tamen mihi disserendi tribuerit facultatem paupertas oris humani, vel ipsum numen eius dapsilem copiam elocutilis facundiae subministraverit. Iam primum crines uberrimi prolixique et sensim intorti per divina colla passive dispersi molliter defluebant. Corona multiformis variis floribus sublimem destrinxerat verticem, cuius media quidem super fron-

tem plana rotunditas in modum speculi vel immo argumentum lunae candidum lumen emicabat, dextra laevaque sulcis insurgentium viperarum cohibita, spicis etiam Cerialibus desuper porrectis. Vestis multicolor bysso tenui pertexta, nunc albo candore lucida, nunc croceo flore lutea, nunc roseo rubore flammida, et, quae longe longeque etiam meum confutabat obtutum, palla nigerrima splendescens atro nitore, quae circumcirca remeans et sub dexterum latus ad umerum laevum recurrens umbonis vicem deiecta parte laciniae multiplici contabulatione dependula ad ultimas oras nodulis fimbriarum decoriter confluctuabat."

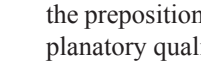
Middle Egyptian Transliteration and Translation

1 mj-sḫrw-n nn ḥn' nḥwt3 wdḥt jn.j ḥn' jmw3 ḥwrw3 w3ḥw dp.sn
2 d3r.n n.j qdt wdḥt ḥr.j jb mjty 3hd m krk pn jr.s wḥmyt
3 ḫr-r'-' nj 'ḫn.j (nj twt st) ptr bzj.n ḥr nṯr.j ṯzj ḥn' 3bwt ntt r h3jt jn nṯrw3 jm.j-q3b-n w3ḏ-wr
4 ḫ'j.n n.j st m-w3w r 3t tn 'ḥ'.n 3bwt rḏjt n.s ḫntj.j
5 ḥn' w3ḏ-wr wdn jr ḫt nb n st wḫr.j n.tn nbw nn n ḫ'w3
6 ntjw bj3j.j jr pšš.n n.j snw n r.j ntj mj rmṯ prt-'wj
7 ntj wf3.tw jn.j jr wnt sspd.n sḫm n st b'ḥt '3t šs3w m r
8 jsṯ m-ḥ3t nbdwt3 wsḫwt3 zp-sn, ntjwt pndw ḥn' nftw ḥn' gnnw h3j.sn
9 m'nn.n.sn ḥn' ḫnr.n.sn ḥr 'n'n nṯr.j m-w3w |
10 mḥn.n.s mḫnt q3 ḥr w3ḥw wnbw3 'š3w3 šbnw3
11 ḥn' jtn mḫ3.tw mj-sḫr.w-n m3w-ḥr (wnn.t tjt nt 3bd)
12 ḥr 'b'b 'b3 sbš jm.j-q3b-n mḫnt.s m-ḥry.t jnḥwj
13 ḫnr.n.tw mḫnt.s jr wnm.j m j3b.j m tnmw3 nw jqrww3 wbnw
14 ḫnr.n.tw.f ḥn' ḫmsw3 nw Npr 3wjw ḥr.f
15 sšn.n.tw '3t.s ḥn' p3qt s3bt st jsṯ ṯḥn st m ḥḏ j3mw jsṯ qnjt pw m wnbw3
16 nbw jsṯ jw 3sb.s m dmj mrš jfdj snkw zp.sn wbḫ
17 m ḏsrw3 km sḫsf.f m33wt.j wr n wrw3 jfdj mḥn mn.f ḫrj wnm.j n ḏrww.s
18 'nn.f jr rmn j3b wdn.n.tw ' n npnpt.f m ṯ3zt wḏbt.tw
19 ḥn' st dḥ m z3t nt't h3j (nfr ntf) m ṯ3zwt3 jr jdbw3 w3w3 zp-sn nw sdbw3.[3]

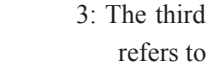
3 Please see next page for the hieroglyphs text

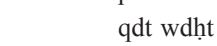


Commentary

1: The idiomatic phrase *ad istum modum* (“to this extent”) is here translated as the prepositional phrase mj-sḫrw-n nn () to preserve the explanatory quality expressed in the original Latin. The indirect genitive n with the demonstrative pronoun nn () is attached to mj-sḫrw to preserve the demonstrative pronoun *istum*. Thus, mj-sḫrw-n nn translates to the effect of “in this way” (lit. “like the plan of this”).

2: Following *ad istum modum* are two ablative absolutes: *fusis precibus* and *adstructis miseris lamentationibus*. They are translated into Egyptian with the prepositional phrases ḥn’ nḥwt3 wdḥt jn.j ḥn’ jmw3 ḥwrw3 w3ḥw dp.sn
() . Egyptian grammar possesses no immediate equivalent to the ablative absolute construction (a noun or pronoun in the ablative case with a participle in agreement), since it is not a case-based language. However, Egyptian grammar does have participles, a key component in ablative absolutes. Moreover, the ablative case is used in and translated as prepositional phrases. Thus, the ablative absolutes *fusis precibus* and *adstructis miseris* can be rendered into Egyptian as prepositional phrases containing nouns modified by passive participles.

3: The third person suffix pronoun .sn () attached to the preposition dp () refers to the nḥwt3 wdḥt ().

4: The noun *sopor* is modified by the perfect passive participle *circumfusus*. This construction of a noun and a participle agreeing in gender and number is also present in Egyptian grammar. Thus, *sopor circumfusus* can be translated as qdt wdḥt (). As qdt is a feminine singular noun (indicated by its -t ending), the participle wdḥt likewise possesses a feminine -t ending.

5; Similarly, *marcentem animum eodem* maintains its essential grammatical structure, and can be translated as jb mjty 3hd (). However, while Latin employs the pronoun *eodem* to express the sentiment of similarity, such a pronoun is nonexistent in Egyptian, so instead the nisbe adjective mity () is employed.

6: *Animum* has been translated into Egyptian with the word jb. In Latin, *animus* refers to the rational or animating components of a person's psyche, and thus can be translated into English as "spirit" or "mind." The Ancient Egyptian conception of the soul is complex, as the soul was thought to consist of nine separate parts integrated into the one individual. One such component was the jb, or "heart" of a person. In addition to being regarded as the seat of emotion, the jb was also regarded as the source of one's thoughts, will, and intentions. Because of the jb's rational component, it is a fitting translation of *animum*.

7: The adverb *rursus* has no automatic equivalent in Egyptian. To preserve the word's connotations of repetition, the adverb may be translated with the phrase jr.s wḥm.yt:  ("it does repetition"). The third feminine singular suffix pronoun .s (written in hieroglyphs as the alternative .z for formatting purposes) is added onto the verb jrj ("to do") as it refers back to the feminine noun qdt ("sleep").

8: The Latin word order of 11.3 cannot be maintained in the translation into Egyptian. Unlike Latin sequencing, which is relatively flexible and fluid, Egyptian word order is regimented, with the standard arrangement of verb, pronominal subject/dative/object, subject, object, adverb (V-sdo-S-O-A). Thus, while the main verb of the first sentence (*oppressit*) is placed last, the equivalent verb d3r.n must be placed at the beginning. The pronominal dative n with the first singular suffix pronoun .j, corresponds to the dative *mihi*, and in accordance with Egyptian rules, it follows the verb and is placed before the subject.

9: *Oppressit* is in the perfect tense. The system of verb tenses cannot be mapped onto Egyptian, whose verbs are not categorized into tenses. Rather, Middle Egyptian has no verb forms that always express a specific tense. In translating Egyptian verbs, the tense comes not from the form of the verb but rather from the context in which the form is used. However, Egyptian verb forms can be marked for the aspect of completion. Since the perfect tense in Latin indicates present completed action, *oppressit* may be translated as an active sḏm.n.f:

the verbal form which is marked to indicate completed action. The sḏm.n.f, in addition to being an equivalent for the Latin perfect tense, can also be used to translate Latin verbs of the pluperfect or future perfect tenses, as these all refer to completed action.

10: The prepositional phrase *in illo cubili* is translated as ḥr krk pn (). The preposition m is the most common of all Egyptian prepositions. It has a basic meaning of "in," but contains much nuance and thus can be translated in multiple ways. Regarding the demonstrative pronoun *illo*, the equivalent demonstrative pn can be utilized. In comparison to Egyptian, Latin has a wider array of demonstrative pronouns.

11: The equivalent for *dum* ("while") is the prepositional phrase ḫr-r'-' ().

12: There is no adverbial equivalent in Egyptian for *satis* ("enough"). Egyptian, however, does have the verb twt "to be sufficient, enough" in its vocabulary repertoire. So, in expressing the negated expression *necdum satis*, the verbal construction nj twt st () can be employed.

13: The Latin interjection *ecce* is translated with the equivalent Egyptian interjection ptr:  . Both can be rendered into English as "look!" or "behold!".

14: *Conniveram* is a pluperfect tense verb, and thus denotes past completed action. One might thus conclude that *conniveram* ought to be translated as an active sḏm.n.f verb. However, *conniveram* is accompanied by *necdum*, and is thus negated. According to Gunn's rule, a negated past completed action is rendered in Egyptian by nj sḏm.f. Thus, *conniveram* must be translated into Egyptian as the active sḏm.f form of the verb ʿḥn.j ().

15: The perfect tense emergit, like *oppressit*, is translated as an active sḏm.n.f verb (bzj.n: ).

16: *Venerandos* is a gerundive (verbal adjective) and is here used as a passive periphrastic. This construction, which denotes necessity and obligation, has no exact equivalent in Egyptian. However, the pseudo-verbal construction of the preposition r with an infinitive expresses a similar sentiment, albeit with a greater emphasis on purpose or intent. Thus, the pseudo-verbal r h3jt () is a suitable alternative in Egyptian for the gerundive venerandos.

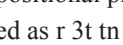
17: Egyptian lacks an adjectival equivalent to the Latin medio, but does express a similar sentiment with the prepositional phrase jm.j-q3b-n ().

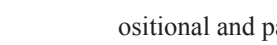
18: The Latin *pelago* refers to the open sea, and in the context of the story, is most likely referring to the Mediterranean Sea. In Egyptian, the Mediterranean was referred to as the w3ḏ-wr (), literally "the Great Green."

19: Though the ablative plural *diis* lacks an accompanying preposition, it has the effect of a prepositional phrase ("by the gods"). Thus, diis may be translated into Egyptian as the prepositional phrase jn nṯrw3 ().

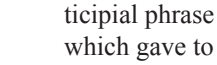
20: The present active participle construction *attollens* modifying *vultus* can be preserved when translated into Egyptian, with the participle tzj () modifying ḥr (here the masculine singular noun and ideogram for face, and not the preposition).

21: The perfect tense *visum est* derives from the verb *video* ("to see"). In the passive voice, however, *video* has the meaning of "to seem" or "to appear." While one could translate *visum est* with a passive sḏm.n.f of the verb m33 ("to see"), the meaning would not align with the original Latin. Thus, it is better to render visum est with the sḏm.n.f form of the verb "to appear," ḫ'j.n ().

22: There are no Egyptian adverbial equivalents for *dehinc* ("from there") and *paulatim* ("gradually"). However, the two adverbs may be translated into prepositional phrases which best preserve their meaning. *Dehinc* may be rendered as r 3t tn () and *paulatim* as m-w3w ().

23: Like the translation of f*usis precibus* and *adstructis miseris lamentationibus*, the ablative absolute *excusso pelago* can be expressed in Egyptian with prepositional and participial phrase ḥn' w3ḏ-wr wdn ().

24: In Latin, the verb of an indirect statement takes the form of an infinitive, as seen by *constitisse*. However, no such grammatical structure exists in Egyptian. For this reason, *constitisse*—a perfect tense infinitive—can be translated as an active sḏm.n.f ('ḥ'.n: ).

25: Egyptian vocabulary lacks an adjectival equivalent to the Latin *pellucidum.* In translating this adjective, which expresses a state of transparentness, the participial phrase 3bwt rḏjt dp.s (), literally meaning "the figure which gave to itself" may serve as an approximation.

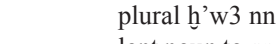
26: The prepositional phrase *toto corpore* can be preserved with the phrase jr ḫt nb ().

27: The future tense of *conitar* can be expressed by an active sḏm.f (wḫr.j:). *Conitar* is a deponent verb (passive in form, active in meaning), and thus ought to be translated as an active verb in Egyptian, which lacks deponent verbs.

28: The first person suffix pronoun .j attached to wḫr () indicates the subject is contained in the verb, as it is in the original Latin.

29: The translation treats *ad vos* as a pronominal dative, and thus represents it in Egyptian as n.tn nbw (). The adjective nb is added to express the collective connotation which the second plural pronoun *vos* contains.

30: The complementary infinitive *referre* can be rendered in Egyptian with the infinitive nw:.

31: While *eius mirandam speciem* is singular, in the Egyptian it is translated as the plural ḫ'w3 nn ntjw bj3j.j (), since the equivalent noun to *speciem* (ḫ'w3) only has a masculine plural form. For this reason,

the plural demonstrative pronoun nn is used in the translation of the singular pronoun *eius*.

32: As noted with *venerandos*, Egyptian grammar lacks an immediate equivalent to the Latin passive periphrastic construction. To preserve *venerandos*' expression of a quality worthy of admiration, a relative clause with the gnomic sḏm.f bj3j can be employed, as the gnomic tense expresses general truths without reference to time. To this effect, ḫ'w3 nn ntjw bj3j can be translated as "this sight which is marvelous."

33: The conditional introduced by *si tamen* ("if nevertheless") can be preserved with the conditional structure of jr pss̆.n ().

34: As before, the dative singular of the first-person pronoun, *mihi*, is reflected in the Egyptian as the pronominal dative with the first-person suffix pronoun (n.j).

35: There is no equivalent adjective to *humani* in Egyptian, so the phrase r.j ntj mj rmṯ: () is a suitable approximation.

36: For translating the gerundive *disserendi*, a relative clause with a passive sḏm.f and prepositional phrase (prt-'wj ntj wf3.tw jn.j: ) may be utilized to preserve the passive voice of *disserendi* and its performance by the speaker (which is why the preposition jn has the first person singular suffix pronoun .j).

37: The conditional structure of jr wnt sspd.n () maintains the conditional effect of *vel*.

38: While *sumbinistraverit* is in the future perfect tense, its corresponding verb has an active sḏm.n.f form (sspd.n: ), as it is in a conditional structure.

39: The indirect genitive n st () may serve as a translation for the genitive pronoun *eius*.

40: The direct genitive '3t šs3w () and prepositional phrase m r () approximates *dapsilem copiam elocutilis facundiae*. In Egyptian, the translation comes to mean "a rich abundance of skill in speech," whereas the original Latin translates to "a rich abundance of rhetorical skill."

41: Because *defluebant* is imperfect, its corresponding word, h3j.sn () is placed after the subject (nbdwt3 wshwt3 zp-sn: ). This is because in Egyptian, the imperfect tense can be expressed with an alteration of the normal word order, wherein the subject precedes the the sḏm.f verb.

42: The word *crines* is modified by two adjectives: the superlative *uberrimi* ('most abundant") and *prolixi* ("extensive"). Because there is no Egyptian adjective that expresses the quality of abundance, the Egyptian adjectival equivalent to *prolixi* (wshwt3) has been rendered as a superlative, to preserve some aspect of the original Latin grammar. In Egyptian, adjectives lack visible distinc-

tions between their positive, comparative, or superlative forms. However, the comparative and superlative can be expressed through different constructions. One such way to indicate an adjective is superlative is by adding zp-sn (), as seen here.

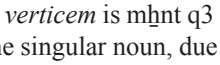
43: No adjectival equivalent exists in Egyptian for *uberrimi*. However, the idea of abundance is expressed in Egyptian with the verb pnd. Similarly, there are no Egyptian adverbial equivalents to *passive* ("loosely") or *molliter* ("softly"). Like *uberrimi*, the two may be replicated with synonymous participles: nftw ("to loosen") and gnnw ("to be soft, weak"). These participles can be connected to the subject of the sentence, nbdwt3 wshwt3, with a relative clause.

44: The adverbial quality of *sensim* can be preserved with the prepositional phrase m-w3w ().

45: In order to avoid confusion, the participles *inorti* and *disperse* are translated as active sḏm.n.f verbs (m'nn.n.sn:  and ḫnr.n.sn:  respectively). This decision was made with the consideration that the sentence already contained a relative clause, so adding additional participial clauses to the subject could cause confusion. The third person plural suffix pronouns .sn attached to the two sḏm.n.f verbs refer back to the plural subject nbdwt3 wshwt3.

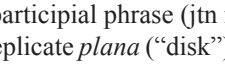
46: The prepositional construction of *per divina colla* is maintained in the Egyptian with the phrase ḥr 'n'n nṯr.j ().

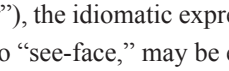
47: *Destrinxerat* is pluperfect, and thus should be translated into Egyptian with the active sḏm.n.f form mḥn.n.s ().

48: The Egyptian translation of *sublimen verticem* is mḫnt q3 (). Although mḫnt appears in form to be a feminine singular noun, due to its -t ending, it is masculine singular.

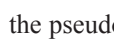
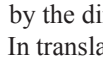
49: The ablatives *corona* and *multiformis variis floribus* may be translated as the phrase ḥr w3ḥw wnbw3 'š3w3 šbnw3 ().

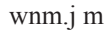
50: *Cuius media quidem super frontem* is translated with the prepositional phrases jm.j-q3b-n mḫnt.s () and m-ḫryt jnḥwj ().

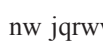
51: Egyptian vocabulary lacks an adjective synonymous with *rotunditas*, so *plana rotunditas* is instead translated as a participial phrase (jtn mḫ3: ). The noun jtn has been selected to replicate *plana* ("disk"), since jtn can refer to the actual disk of the sun/moon.

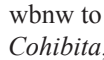
52: For the translation of *speculi* ("mirror"), the idiomatic expression of m3w-ḥr (), literally translating to "see-face," may be employed.

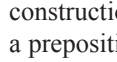
53: *Vel immo argumentum lunae* may be translated with the non-verbal construction of wnn.t tjt nt 3bd (). The indirect genitive (nt 3bd) is incorporated to preserve the genitive form of *lunae*.

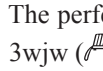
54: Since *emicabat* is imperfect, the tense may be conveyed into Egyptian with the pseudo-verbal construction ḥr ‘b‘b (), which is then followed by the direct object ‘b3 sbš ().

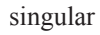
55: In translating the ablatives *dextra levaeque*, the prepositional phrase phrase jr wnm.j m j3b.j () is employed.

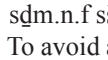
56: *Sulcis insurgentium* is rendered as with the prepositional phrase m tnmw3 nw jqrww3 wbnw (), since *sulcis* is ablative. The indirect genitive (nw jqrww3 wbnw) is included to reflect the genitive case of *insurgentium viperarum*, and the use of the active participle wbnw to match in translation with the present active participle *insurgentium*.

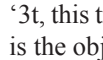
57: *Cohibita*, a perfect passive participle, can be rendered into Egyptian with the passive sḏm.n.f verb ḫnr.n.tw.f (). The third masculine singular suffix pronoun .f is added to indicate the subject of the verb is jfdj (the equivalent for *palla*).

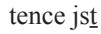
58: There is no way to preserve the adjective *cerialibus* (“of Ceres”), as the adjective contains the name of a Roman god. While Ceres could be phonetically rendered into hieroglyphs, this translation instead utilizes indirect genitive construction of nw Npr () to modify ḥn’ ḫmsw3 (), a prepositional phrase meant to echo the ablative form of *spicis*. As Neper is the Egyptian god of grain and harvest, he is a fitting counterpart to Ceres, the goddess of crops and agriculture.

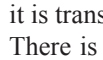
59: The perfect passive participle *porrectis* is translated as the passive participle 3wjw () which agrees with ḫmsw3 in a prepositional construction.

60: The phrase *bysso tenui* (“fine linen”) can be expressed in Egyptian with a singular word: p3qt ().

61: The perfect passive participle *pertexta* can be expressed with the passive sḏm.n.f sšn.n.tw (), so as to maintain the voice of the verb.

62: To avoid a cluttered translation, instead of adding the adjective s3b directly to ‘3t, this translation instead employs the adjectival phrase s3b st (). Since ‘3t is the object, st, the third singular impersonal dependent pronoun, is utilized.

63: *Nunc lucida albo candore* is translated into Egyptian with the adjectival sentence jsṯ ṯḥn st m ḥḏ j3mw ().

64: The phrase *nunc croceo flore lutea* is rendered as jsṯ qnjt pw m wnbw3 nbw. It is translated as an A pw nominal sentence, rather than an adjectival construction (as done for *nunc lucida albo candore*), as yellow is only treated as a noun in Egyptian. Since there is no word for *croceo* (“saffron”) in Egyptian, it is translated with nbw (), or “gold.”

65: There is no adjective for “flaming” (*flammida*) in Egyptian, so the verb 3sb (“to burn”) is used. Resultingly, the prhase *nunc roseo rubore flammida* can be translated into Egyptian with a verbal sentence construction (jsṯ jw 3sb.s

m dmj mrš:). The gnomic tense for 3hd, indicating a continual state, serves to approximate the adjectival format of the original Latin.

66: As there is no word for rose in Egyptian, an alternative for *roseo* is necessary for translation. To continue the burning metaphor presented by 3sb, *roseo* is replaced in the Egyptian translation with the noun for bright red: mrš ().

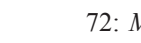
67: The adverbial phrase *longe longeque* ("most especially") is expressed with the superlative construction wr n wrw3 (). Besides zp.sn, one can express the superlative through an indirect genitive, wherein the first component is an adjective, and the second is the plural form of the same adjective. So wr n wrw3 can be translated as ("the greatest of the great").

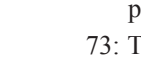
68: To maintain the superlative structure of *nigerrima*, zp.sn is added onto the equivalent Egyptian adjective snkw ().

69: The *palla* was a traditional outer garment/mantle worn by women. A rectangular piece of cloth (usually wool), it could be worn in a variety of ways. Typically, it was draped over the shoulders, but it could also be wrapped around the head. *Palla* is here translated with the noun jfdj (), which denotes a linen sheet or garment.

70: As *confutabat* is imperfect, the word order of the Egyptian translation must be altered accordingly, with the subject (jfdj snkw zp.sn) placed before the active sḏm.f verb sḫsf (). The verb is composed of the verb ḫsf ("to oppose") and the causative s prefix, thereby giving sḫsf the meaning of "to cause to oppose," or more figuratively, "to check, restrain."

71: The present active participle *splendescens* is rendered as the active participle wbḫ () modifying jfdj snkw.

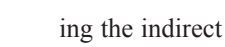
72: *Meum obtutum* is translated as m33wt.j (). The possessive pronoun *meum* is represented in the Egyptian by the first person suffix pronoun .j, since it indicates possession when attached to a noun (when a suffix pronoun is attached to a verb, it acts as the subject).

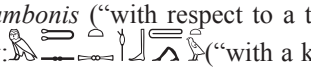
73: The ablative phrase *atro nitore* is translated as m ḏsrw km (). Here, the original word order (adjective, noun) must be altered, since in Egyptian the adjective always follows the noun (apart from nfr ḥr constructions).

74: The perfect passive participle *circumcirca* is translated into Egyptian with the passive participle mḥn to preserve the voice of the verb.

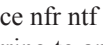
75: The ablative absolute *deicta parte* is translated into Egyptian as a verbal sentence using the passive sḏm.n.f wdn.n.tw (), since *diecta* is a perfect passive participle. This decision was made to preserve the passive voice.

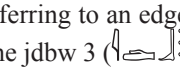
76: This translation has attempted to preserve the genitive case of *laciniae* by us-

ing the indirect genitive npnpt.f (). The third masculine singular suffix pronoun .f is added to indicate that the hem (npnpt) belongs to jfdj (a masculine singular noun).

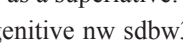
77: *Vicem umbonis*, an accusative of respect with the genitive *umbonis*, is treated as a prepositional phrase with a participle since no equivalent structure exists in Egyptian grammar. Thus, *vicem umbonis* ("with respect to a turn of the knot") is translated as m t3zt wḏb.tw:  ("with a knot which had been turned").

78: No adjective or verb capturing the meaning of organization, which the adjective *multiplici* conveys, is present in Egyptian vocabulary. Thus, the verb nt' () "to organize" functions as an approximation. Regarding contabulatione,it is rendered into Egyptian as z3t ("flooring"). While *contabulatione* can translate to mean "pleating," especially in the context of clothing, the word literally refers to flooring composed of wooden planks. Thus, *multiplici contabulatione* is conveyed in Egyptian with the prepositional phrase m z3t nt't ().

79: There is no Egyptian adverb that matches the Latin adverb *decoriter*, so the adjectival sentence nfr ntf () is used.

80: *Oras*, while referring to an edge, also can denote a shore or coast. It is translated here as the jdbw 3 (), a noun which is used to describe the riverbanks/shores of the Nile.

81: zp.sn accompanies w3w3 since *ultimas* means "farthest, most extreme," and thus functions as a superlative.

83: The indirect genitive nw sdbw3 () serves to preserve the genitive case of *fimbriarum*.

Conclusions

In transforming *Metamorphoses* 11.3 from the original Latin into Egyptian, a deeper understanding of each language may be achieved, as such a translation necessitates a familiarization with the semantics, structure, and syntax of each linguistic system. As the commentary indicates, many Latin words lack an Egyptian equivalent (r*oseo, croceo, palla, Cerialibus,* etc.). The translation of such words must therefore be permitted liberty and situational creativity, provided the original Latin's meaning is sustained. Other Latin words do have parallel terms in Egyptian but are expressed in different grammatical forms. For example, many of the adjectives found in 11.3 (*humanus, planus, luteus, flammidus*, etc.) have no Egyptian adjectival equivalents, so to preserve these word's meaning, they necessitate renderings into Egyptian as nouns, verbs, or prepositional phrases.

This translational exercise also underscores the differing sentence structures inherent to Latin and Egyptian. Due to Egyptian's strict word order, certain Latin clauses and phrases required structural modification to preserve their underlying meanings. These alterations illuminate the two languages' syntactical differences. In 11.3, numerous Latin grammatical structures (passive periphrastic, gerundive, accusative of respect, etc.) possess no Egyptian equivalent. In each of these cases, approximations were inevitable, and so Egyptian grammatical forms syntactically closest to the Latin were utilized.

A similar translational challenge emerged in the two languages' differing conception and treatment of verbs. In Latin, verb tense is always marked, with tense differentiated by varying endings. Egyptian verb forms, which are marked only to indicate aspect, lack such clarity of tense. An Egyptian verb expressing the imperfect tense appears identical to one conveying the present or future tense, with the only indication of time emerging from word order, context, or occasionally through use of enclitic participles. Thus, in this translation, Latin verbs of different tenses were translated with the same Egyptian form. One may conclude that whereas Latin word order is more liberal compared to that of Egyptian, syntactically, Latin has the opposite quality

This exercise translating a portion of Apuleius' classic text appears to demonstrate that Latin and Egyptian are alike enough—in vocabulary, syntax, and structure—to enable the rendering of the one text into the other. The process itself, through translation and transformation, establishes a comparative framework that displays the grammatical features of each language. Just as Lucius' metamorphosis reveals wisdom, so too does its linguistic adaptation from Latin into Egyptian.

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Minerva

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Vesta as Hearth of the Home and Heartbeat of Rome

Kristen Quesada

Any given description of the Roman goddess Vesta typically describes her as "goddess of the hearth," perhaps even specifying a domestic nature to her function.[1] However, this descriptor vastly oversimplifies the true role of the goddess and ignores the tenuous nature of the evidence tying her to domestic cult. While Vesta is widely identified as the Roman goddess of the hearth, modern scholars have been hesitant to synchronize her general domain over the public Roman "hearth" with the domestic idea of "hearth." This stems from a scholarly concern of conflating Vesta with her Greek counterpart, Hestia, whose clear domestic cult and worship lacks an obvious parallel in Vesta, who more broadly serves as the protector of Rome. Whether looking at the goddess herself or her priesthood of the Vestal Virgins, the "focus is very firmly Rome and the Roman State: the Vestals investigated are Roman; Vesta's function is to keep the city of Rome safe."[2] The accepted modern model of Vesta notably omits individualizing both her role and her following, making both realms of the public sphere.

Since "private cults of an early date could in the nature of things leave behind but little monumental and scarcely any literary evidence,"[3] along with the fact that "family cults were so exclusive that even the Romans themselves had little understanding of familial cults outside of their own individual family,"[4] it is difficult to piece together how individual families practiced domestic religion, let alone uncover any Vestal components to it. Due to this scarcity of evidence, Angelo Brelich rejects in his study of Vesta the possibility that her state cult was derived from private worship of the household hearth, instead asserting that the goddess was from the beginning a community concern.[5] However, lack of evidence is

1 Mike Dixon-Kennedy, *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology* (Santa Barbara, Calif: ABC-CLIO, 1998), 318.

2 Elisabeth Buchet, "The Cult of Vesta in Latium," in *Gods and Goddesses in Ancient Italy* (Routledge, 2019), 64.

3 Angelo Brelich, *Vesta*, Albae vigiliae, n. F., Heft, 7. (Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1949), 9, 14-19; H. J. Rose, "Review: A New Theory of Vesta," *The Classical Review* 1, no. 2 (1951): 107–8.

4 Joshua M. Roberts, "Rome's Vestal Virgins: Public Spectacle and Society" (Western Washington University, 2012), 70, https://cedar.wwu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1187&context=wwuet.

5 Rose, "A New Theory of Vesta," 108; Brelich, *Vesta*, 14-19.

not evidence in itself. Since all tangible evidence points to an almost exclusively public cult worship of Vesta, as Brelich states, why do both Roman authors and modern scholars nonetheless allude to a domestic nature of the Vestal hearth? By interpreting Vesta's role in the public sphere and using what we do know about the public cult and its rituals, I aim to build a fuller understanding of Vesta in the private sphere.

In order to understand Vesta's complicated relationship with the hearth, we must first understand the origins and public perception of the goddess in Rome. Retracing the origins of the Roman gods is complicated by the fact that "not even the most important and most vital gods have any mythology."[6] While there is a lack of extant Roman mythology, we can nonetheless reconstruct what it may have looked like based on the Roman frequent habit of borrowing the origins of their deities from other cultures, and in the case of Vesta, particularly that of the Vedic Indians and the Greek tradition of Hestia.[7] Though the cult in Rome seems to have started as a public entity, even this public hearth came from a domestic origin in Vedic religion, originally called "the fire of the master of the house."[8] Interestingly, just as Vesta lacks any significant iconography—a trait unique to Vesta in Roman religion—the study of Hestia, the confirmed Greek goddess of the hearth, struggles with the same ambiguous iconographic issues.[9]

Mika Kajava explains that Hestia's early connection to a physical object, the hearth, was similarly unique within the Greek Pantheon and forestalled her common worship, with Hestia instead remaining "an abstract and barely conceptualized figure whose representations in art are not particularly frequent."[10] Hestia's abstract nature, however, contrarily bolstered her public significance, which was later paralleled by the Roman tradition of allowing the fire to not only be the effigy of Vesta herself, but also a representation of the Roman community. Sarolta Takacs concisely describes this argument: "If we agree that fire in a fireplace was the cornerstone of the cult of Vesta, that the goddess was linked to fire, and that the main purpose of the goddess' attendants was to keep this fire alive, then the absence of a cult statue could be explained: the goddess was originally not represented anthropomorphically."[11]

Ovid admires Vesta's conservative visibility in her own sanctuary as a priv-

6 Georges Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 48.

7 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 50; See Dumézil, "The Fires of Public Worship" in Archaic Roman Religion, 311-326.

8 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 312

9 Mika Kajava, "Hestia: Hearth, Goddess, and Cult," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 102 (2004): 2, https://doi.org/10.2307/4150030.

10 Kajava, "Hestia," 2.

11 Sarolta A. Takacs, *Vestal Virgins, Sibyls, and Matrons: Women in Roman Religion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 85

ilege,[12] since the fire alone served to wholly represent her. However, over time, depictions of the goddess emerged through coins and medallions as well as ancient notices,[13] with later cult statues of Vesta depicting her draped in a long robe, wearing a veil on her head, and carrying in one hand a lamp (representative of the hearth) and a javelin in the other, which was in some replicas replaced by the Palladium. The development of newly ubiquitous cult imagery of Vesta epitomizes the evolutionary nature of Roman religion, highlighting that Vesta's origins alone are less important than how she functionally evolved in Roman practice.

The public cultic relation of Vesta to the hearth emerged alongside Rome itself, with claims that the fire and Vestal priesthood were established by Numa, the second king of Rome.[14] Other sources go further, attributing the Vestal cult to Rome's founder, Romulus, whose mother was an Alban Vestal, claiming that "Rome could never have survived even the start without the sacred hearth." [15]As of the first century BCE, there was an established custom of having Vesta terminate every act of worship addressed to more than one divinity, which Cicero attributes to the fact that "her power extends over altars and hearths, and therefore all prayers and all sacrifices end with this goddess, because she is the guardian of the innermost things."[16] By the time of St. Augustine of Hippo in the fourth century CE, Vesta had developed strong associations with a domestic purpose. While describing the Christian God's monotheistic reign over all things, Augustine commands "let him [God] be" the respective domain of each Roman god, with the domain of Vesta being "domestic hearths."[17]

Yet, if there is an alleged domestic element to Vesta's domain over the hearth, why is she conspicuously missing from most evidence of Roman household religion? To look for the goddess of the hearth in the home, we must investigate the hearth itself: not in the iconographically symbolic sense, but in examining its full context inside the home. Of the many references to Vesta in Latin literature, a few directly refer to her connection with the domestic cult. Throughout Virgil's *Aeneid*, he includes Vesta in references to household gods, placing the goddess on the same level as the other domestic deities.[18] In actuality, Vesta had the strongest connection to the *Penates* compared to the other *dii familiares*. The phrase

12 Ovid, *Fasti*, trans. Anne Wiseman and Peter Wiseman, Reprint edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 6.299.

13 Florence M. Bennett, "A Theory Concerning the Origin and the Affiliations of the Cult of Vesta," *The Classical Weekly* 7, no. 5 (1913): 35.

14 Plutarch, "The Life of Numa," in *The Parallel Lives,* vol. 1 (Loeb Classical Library, 1914), 307–83.

15 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 312.

16 M. Tullius Cicero, *De natura deorum*, 2.27.

17 Augustine of Hippo, "The City of God: Book IV," in *The City of God*, 206

18 Virgil, *The Aeneid of Virgil,* trans. Allen Mandelbaum (Bantam Classics, 1981), 5.744 (Vesta and Lares), 9.258-259 (Penates, Vesta, and Lares).

Di Penates primarily referred to the *Penates*, who functioned as one of the main focuses of worship in the home, inhabiting heirlooms representing a family's deified deceased ancestors; however, it could also refer to all household *numina*, including Vesta.[19]

Unlike the gods of the ever-expanding Roman Pantheon, the other set of the main gods of the family cult, the *lares*, were originally Roman gods who were "not gods of myth but gods of place,"[20] with "place" being the home. Whereas *lares* in the plural typically referred to the household gods at the compita (crossroad boundaries) of a property, the cult of the household *Lar* existed in the singular and was closely associated with the hearth,[21] with Virgil occasionally using "*Lar*" metonymically for "house" or "home."[22] Coincidentally, *lares* could be worshiped without a cult image, in the fire of the hearth where the food was cooked and sacrifice was offered to them—just like Vesta.[23] In *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden*, Harriet Flower describes this element of an aniconic cult as actually suggesting "the ubiquity of *lares* in the atrium house or at the crossroads of a much smaller, older Rome,"[24] which is the opposite of Brelich's critique of the lack of Vestal imagery in homes signifying Vestal worship as being non-existent in the private sphere.

Although *lares* could be represented in an aniconic fashion, they were more often represented in shrines called *lararia* through statuettes or painted images and were primarily located in kitchens, which is where the hearth had shifted to throughout the evolution of the domestic structure. Additionally, a single home could contain multiple *lararia*, "suggesting a multiplicity of *foci* of worship. Placing an object in a *lararium*, in other words, was itself an act of domestic worship."[25] The Romans exercised great discretion in what they placed in a *lararium*, since "not every object or deity was considered equally appropriate."[26] As such, the recurring presence of Vesta in the Pompeiian *lararia*, in which she is frequently depicted alongside the *lares* above the hearth or in the kitchen, demonstrates a

19 Georg Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (München: Beck, 1971), 145.

20 arriet I. Flower, *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden: Religion at the Roman Street Corner* (Princeton: University, 2017), 21.

21 M. Porcius Cato, *De Agricultura*; Flower, *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden*, 28.

22 Virgil, *Georgics*, trans. Peter Fallon (Oxford University Press, 2009), 3.344.

23 Flower, *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden*, 26.

24 Ibid.

25 John P. Bodel, "Cicero's Minerva, Penates, and the Mother of the Lares: An Outline of Roman Domestic Religion," in *Household and Family Religion in Antiquity, ed. Saul M. Olyan, Ancient World--Comparative Histories.* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub. Ltd, 2008), 265.

26 Bodel, "Cicero's Minerva, Penates, and the Mother of the Lares: An Outline of Roman Domestic Religion," 263.

clear and consistent domestic worship of the goddess.[27]

While all of the above points to the worship of Vesta in the home, inversely exploring worship of the domestic *Penates* in the public sphere as mediated by Vesta is equally important in discerning the true categorization of Vesta's domain. Celia Schultz, Professor of Classical Studies at the University of Michigan, suggests that the simultaneous public worship of each of the domestic deities simply means they had a public counterpart.[28] Instead, I view that the public and private representations of these *dii familiares*, focusing primarily on Vesta, are one and the same and do not change their functions when interacting with either sphere.

Vesta and the *patrii Penates* are intrinsically connected from their mythological origins in Troy, when Aeneas rescued the Trojan Penates and had them subsequently placed in the innermost sanctuary, the *penus*, of the *aedes Vestae*.[29] To this, Cicero agrees that "nor are the Penates far from this power of the goddess Vesta," furthering their symbiotic public relationship.[30] The part I would like to draw attention to, however, is the *penus* in which they are housed and where the conception of "the *Penates* of the Roman people" was developed.[31] Affirming the concept of the *aedes Vestae* serving as a public *domus* to reflect private religion, John Bodel writes in his "Outline of Roman Domestic Religion" that "the Roman tradition placing the aniconical sacra together with the Palladium in the shrine of Vesta corresponds sufficiently well to the mixed assemblages of small utensils and statuettes found in Roman household shrines to suggest that the latter constituted, collectively, the domestic *Penates*."[32] While this collective view of "*Penates* of the Roman people" would seem to corroborate a "public counterpart," they still very clearly were functioning in the same way as they would in the household, just on a larger scale.

To contextualize the *aedes Vestae* in which the *Penates* lie, the Temple of Vesta is anomalous in not actually being termed a "temple" while serving as the city's main place of worship for one of the Pantheonic deities, instead being referred to as the *aedes Vestae*, with *aedes* simply meaning the "building in which a deity resided"—an idea not carrying the same religious weight as *templum*. Since the public cult of Vesta strongly parallels the rituals regarding the main sacrificial fire in Indo-European Vedic religion,[33] it is appropriate to comparative

The primary sacrificial fire in Vedic religion was called "this earth," giv-

27 See David G. Orr, "Roman Domestic Religion: A Study of the Roman Lararia" (Graduate School of the University of Maryland, 1969).

28 Celia E. Schultz, *Women's Religious Activity in the Roman Republic* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 123.

29 Virgil, *Aeneid*, 2.296.

30 Cicero, *De natura deorum*, 2.68.

31 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 354.

32 Bodel, "An Outline of Roman Domestic Religion," 258.

33 Ibid, 315.

ing this "fire of the master of the house" a round shape and likely inspiring the uniquely circular temple of Vesta in Rome.[34] Already, this convolutes the boundaries between the proper worship within a *templum vel domum*, since the *aedes Vestae* is technically neither.[35] The innermost sanctuary of the *aedes Vestae* was uniquely referred to as the *penus*, which is relevant since in household religion, "*Penates* were gods of the *penus*, the inner 'pantry' of the house, where household provisions and food were stored."[36] As mentioned earlier, the kitchen was the most popular spot for *lararia* portraying Vesta, outside of paintings around the hearth. While the simpler Roman houses of earlier times emphasized a central atrium, where cooking and eating were localized around the home's single hearth, the moving of food preparation to a designated cooking area resulted in the reconfiguration of the hearth to a new domestic context.[37] Although Vesta was, in simple terms, the "goddess of fire" and thus "generally considered present in all ceremonies involving fire,"[38] "her special charge was the milder kind of fire which lightens the works of men, not the violent kind that belongs to Vulcan,"[39] explaining her common associations with kitchens and evolution into the patron goddess of bakers.

Further alluding to the domestic context of the *aedes Vestae,* the Vestals symbolically stored and prepared in the *aedes* the sacred brine used in creating the *mola salsa* of the annual festival of the Vestalia.[40] The Vestalia itself strongly supports a domestic nature of the public Vesta, as the festival "was clearly a primitive ritual in which the goddess was viewed as the patroness of the home, not of its reverend hearth, but of its welcome and sustaining loaf."[41] As such, it is worth investigating why the Vestalia's evident domestic origins curiously did not dissipate as the cult expanded to represent all of Rome.

Marked in the calendar as "*Quando Stercum Delatum Fas*," which translates to "when the dung has been carried away [the day is] lawful," the Vestalia was celebrated from the ninth to the ides of June. Dumézil attaches this tradition to the same rite of Indo-European antiquity, when pastoralists would ritually sweep out a temporary space designated for the "fire of the master of the house" of the dung of flocks and herds before the flame was established. The Roman counter-

34 Ibid, 314-5.

35 Stanley K. Stowers, "Theorizing the Religion of Ancient Households and Families," in *Household and Family Religion in Antiquity*, ed. John P. Bodel and Saul M. Olyan, Ancient World--Comparative Histories. (Malden, MA; Blackwell Pub. Ltd, 2008), 5–19.

36 Bodel, "An Outline of Roman Domestic Religion," 258.

37 Flower, *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden*, 4.

38 Servius, *Ad Aen*., 1.292.

39 Augustine, "Book IV," 364.

40 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 323.

41 Bennett, "A Theory Concerning the Origin and the Affiliations of the Cult of Vesta," 35.

part to this Indo-European fire was, of course, the sacred flame burning in Vesta's aedes, which represented "the hearth of the great Roman family, whose habitat it simultaneously symbolized and guaranteed." As such, the aedes was solemnly swept out every year on the last day of the Vestalia, the ides of June, symbolically cleaning the sacred space in connection to this ritual, since there was certainly no actual stercus to sweep from Rome's most sacred space. The importance of the Vestalia to Rome's identity as a larger domestic entity was further demonstrated by its inclusion in the Feriale Duranum, the third century CE religious calendar, as the only ritual not associated with the imperial cult.

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Nonetheless, how representative could this festival truly have been of Rome since participation was exclusively limited to women?[47] This question can be more deeply explored through the case study of the Matralia, the feast of Mater Matuta, the goddess of dawn, occurring on June 11, deliberately in the middle of Vestalia. While it was alike to the Vestalia in the sense that this feast was restricted to ladies, *bonae matres*, it had a further qualification that they also had to

42 Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 6.32.

43 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 318-319.

44 Ibid.

45 Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.713-714; Augustine, "Book IV," 182.

46 Robert O. Fink, Allan Spencer Hoey, and Walter Fifield Snyder, *The Feriale Duranum*, Yale Classical Studies (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1940), Col II.15.

47 Almost every other Roman religious event was limited to men yet was still representative of Rome. However, since this case was unique in only having women contribute to the protection and sanctity of Rome through participation in this ritual, it nonetheless begs the question of whether this was as representative as a standard patriarchal Roman ritual.

have been married only once, *univirae*.[48] In this ritual, while Matuta's temple was typically forbidden to the servile class, the *bonae matres* would first bring a slave woman into the temple, whom they would then "drive out with slaps and blows."[49] Following this, the women would "commend to the goddess not their own children, but those of their sisters."[50] Dumézil discovered that this ritual was based on the Vedic Indian goddess, Usas, as "what the Roman ladies do once a year, at the Matralia, is done every morning by Usas, or by the Dawns, Usasah," when Dawn "chases the black shapelessness" and "drives back the hostility, the shadows" of darkness as the new day commences. However, while night technically is the bringer of darkness, the "hostility" of darkness is not directly attributed to the goddess of Night, who sweetly pairs as a "sisterly couple" with Dawn in Vedic religion to be "conjointly called 'the mothers' of the Sun, or of Fire (in liturgical speculations, the Fire of the offerings)."[51]

The Matralia elevates the role of mothers and sisterly relationships and praises their fertility based on the child of the sisters, Fire: the Indo-European Vesta. Therefore, celebrating this festival during the Vestalia means recognizing the role of the hearth as the shared womb of the family, the place from which everyone is born. And so, Vesta – as the paradoxical virgin mother goddess and celestial fire of the gods – becomes the ancestor connecting every citizen. It was a group of virgin priestesses that took care of Vesta's temple and looked after the well-being of the holy fire that guarded the city, and it was a group of once-married matrons that took care of the citizens born of other women. These intertwining celebrations demonstrate a shared effort to protect both one's blood family and one's family of greater Rome – linked not by name, but by fire.

Continuing with this emphasis on womanhood, fertility and fidelitous marriage, the *bonae matres* are more broadly part of the *matroni*, the matron class of women who were freeborn and either married or widowed. To understand the relationship of the *matroni* with Vesta, both the private association of women with the domestic hearth and the public practice of the Vestal Virgins must be considered. According to Valerius, the *Numen Pudicitiae*, the divine force of Chastity, resides upon the hearth of Vesta.[52] As such, chastity was inextricably linked to Vesta's priestesses, hence the title "Vestal Virgins." Yet, if chastity is the crucial requirement for her public cult, how does Vesta correspond to the *matroni* – non-virgins by the very nature of their title – who tend to the hearth of the home? Analyzing Cato's example of a Roman agrarian domestic structure in Rome provides the best jumping off point for understanding Vesta's relationship to normal women.

48 Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.475.

49 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 51.

50 Ibid.

51 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 52.

52 Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub., 2004), 6.1.init, 6.1.ext.3.

While the *paterfamilias* led most household worship, the *Vilica*, the female farm manager married to the male farm manager, was in charge of the cult at the hearth.[53] The home's hearth required rigorous upkeep, with the *Vilica* having to ritually purify the hearth each night before going to bed. On top of this, hearth-specific cult activity, which took place on the *kalends, nones, ides*, and festival days of each month, was integral to appeasing the *Lar*, chief resident of a home's hearth, since it protected both house and household members.[54] On religious holidays, she would be the one to make requests and present offerings to the *Lar*, according to her own means.[55] Evidently, women in Rome were always in charge of the hearth, even on a private scale. This tradition of a woman tending to the hearth again traces back to the ancient Indo-European world, when during the ceremony of lighting the main sacrificial fire, the wife of the sacrificer would stand close to the fire to "express the earthly authenticity of the man who addresses the gods."[56] Though both woman and hearth belonged to a man, hearth-tending was a woman's sacred duty within that scope.

While this model worked for the hearth of a home, it could not function for the hearth of a state. Mary Beard critiqued her past work on "The Sexual Status of the Vestal Virgins"[57] for attempting to identify the Vestals within the existing Roman gender structure. Beard suggested that the Vestals simultaneously fulfilled the roles of daughter, wife, and even husband, "[removing] the possibility that they could play any conventional role within the family structure."[58] Beard later recanted this hypothesis, instead arguing that it was simply incorrect to ascribe them any of these options when they existed in a category fundamentally outside of societal norms.[59] Beard's revised argument comes off as a catch-all answer and leaves her original legitimate question unsatisfied: if Vesta does, in fact, represent Rome in the domestic sense on an imperial scale, then it is not possible to separate the role served by the Vestal Virgins from the pre-existing family structure.

The Vestals could belong to no man, which meant she had to be severed from her familial relationship in which she belonged to her father and, most crucially, had to be a virgin, "untaken" by a man. As part of the intensive initiation process, the *captio* (ironically meaning "the taking") of the Vestal Virgin by the *Pontifex*

53 Flower, *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden*, 40.
54 Ibid, 29.
55 Cato, *De Agricultura*, 143.
56 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 314.
57 Mary Beard, "The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 70 (November 1980): 12–27.
58 Beard, "The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins," 21. Mary Beard, "Re-Reading (Vestal) Virginity," in Women in Antiquity: New Assessments (Routledge, 1995), 186–97.
59 Mary Beard, "Re-Reading (Vestal) Virginity," in *Women in Antiquity: New Assessments* (Routledge, 1995), 186–97.

Maximus meant she would be emancipated from her family to join the Vestal priesthood.[60] It is important to recognize that this plays into the hierocratic structure of Rome in which each priesthood is intrinsically part of the city itself if we are to understand this paradoxical ritual.

Through the *Pontifex Maximus*, representative of the greater *paterfamilias* of Rome, the Vestal merges into this greater Roman family. Even though the Romans blurred the lines of private and public religion, "the idea of a temple became the idea of a place that belonged only to the god, and thus not to any particular family or household." By detaching a Vestal from her blood family to the blood of Rome, the Vestals could represent "a more generalized communal and moral order" for all of Rome.[61]

Yet, whereas the *paterfamilias* of a Roman family sat at the top of the familial hierarchy, the *Pontifex Maximus* himself was superseded in the Vestal domain, forbidden to enter the *penus*, "the holy of holies" where the *sacra* sat – a privilege explicitly reserved for the Vestal Virgins.[62] The *sacra* contained within this innermost chamber were the representative life sources of Rome: Vesta's eternal fires; the Palladium, which was the image preserved as a pledge of empire in her temple; and the *patrii Penates*, among other relics.[63] In the extreme case of the fire of 241 BC, the Pontifex Maximus at the time, Metellus, was said to have run into the burning temple of Vesta to save these *sacra* of great antiquity, during which he viewed the Palladium – at night, no less. Though Metellus was revered in later Roman legend and even dubbed a pater patriae for his actions, it was nonetheless sacrilegious for Metellus, despite being the *Pontifex Maximus* who placed the Vestals himself, to have seen the very *sacra* he saved and later suffered the punishment of blindness for.[64] Since "birth, death and sexual activity belonged to the house and family, the pollution of these first two events in the lifecourse of the family severely contaminated the house and anyone who entered [and] was capable of rendering a temple unfit for the gods."[65] It is here that we can see the extent of the symbolic function of the Vestals' virginity; she, as the charge of the *sacra*, embodied the city of Rome, and as such, her unpenetrated body was a metaphor for the unpenetrated walls of Rome."[66]

Outside of a Vestal's undisputed relation to virginity, she simultaneously represented the *matroni*, bringing matrons' private domain over the hearth to the public stage. Part of the requirements to become a Vestal Virgin included stringent

60 Roberts, "Rome's Vestal Virgins: Public Spectacle and Society," 108.
61 Stowers, "Theorizing the Religion of Ancient Households and Families," 14.
62 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 324.
63 Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, n.d., 5.52.6-7.
64 Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.450-452.
65 Stowers, "Theorizing the Religion of Ancient Households and Families," 13.
66 Holt N. Parker, "Why Were the Vestals Virgins? Or the Chastity of Women and the Safety of the Roman State," The American Journal of Philology 125, no. 4

social criteria, essentially guaranteeing that only upper class Romans had access to the priesthood. There had been bias in favor of upper class women since the origins of the Vestal order, which is generally accepted to have begun "in the hearth cult of the ancient royal household of the city."[67] Since the Vestals were representatives of the collective Roman ideal, it was unfathomable for a lower class woman to reflect the ideal Roman identity and culture as a Vestal in the highly stratified Roman system.[68]

Aside from the aforementioned matronly rituals of the Vestals, the Vestals also portrayed themselves in the style of the *matroni*. While there were no statues of Vesta herself within the *aedes Vestae*, there were statues depicting the Vestal Virgins, all of which depicted the Vestals wearing a *stola*, the standard dress of elite matrons, draped over their shoulders and hanging to their feet.[69] This choice of vestment is interesting for two primary reasons. First, since this was the standard of elite matrons, there was nothing particularly identifying about the *stola* for the Vestal priestesses, which is unexpected for such a high-ranking priesthood. Second, and more significantly, all elite matrons would wear *stola* to reflect their status as the wives of Roman citizens, but the Vestals were not wives. In addition, the Vestals also wore the day-to-day accessories worn by all women, such as the *vittae*, ribbons to hold their hair in place. As such, Roberts suggests that the modest habit of the Vestals was indicative of them using clothing as a unifying instrument more than a religious function, "at least [representing] this category of women, if not [implicating] their participation, in important rituals."[70]

However, the most striking part of their appearance was not their clothing itself, but their hair. The Vestals wore their hair coiffed into *sex crines*, six vertical locks draped across the priestess's shoulders and neck with several braided locks placed horizontally across the head.[71] While this hairstyle was popularized by the Vestals, Roman brides adopted the *sex crimes* for their wedding day, likely representing the chastity common to both groups in the liminal context of a bride's wedding day into crossing over to the status of a matron.[72] Thus, this iconic hairstyle enabled the Vestals to more extravagantly represent the class

of virginal women in Roman society, in addition to their clothing representing the *matroni*. With the Vestals publicly reflecting all levels of women in Roman society, Cicero's words ring true: "Since Vesta protects the city's hearth, virgins shall more easily watch over the fire and women may witness that the nature of

67 Beard, "The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins," 13.
68 Roberts, "Rome's Vestal Virgins: Public Spectacle and Society," 46.
69 Roberts, "Rome's Vestal Virgins: Public Spectacle and Society," 61.
70 Roberts, "Rome's Vestal Virgins: Public Spectacle and Society," 61.
71 Laetitia La Follette, "The Costume of the Roman Bride," in *The World of Roman Costume* (Univ of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 56-57.
72 Roberts, "Rome's Vestal Virgins: Public Spectacle and Society," 61.

women is capable of purity."[73]

But, if this clear precedent for virginity as purity was idealized through the Vestal Virgins, what became of "the city's hearth" when virgins were no longer the sole representatives of Vesta? Following the Roman fire of 14 BCE under Augustus' reign, the *sacra* were transplanted from the temple of Vesta to the Palatine.[74] Ordinarily, the *Pontifex Maximus* lived in the *domus publica* of the Roman Forum adjacent to the *aedes Vestae*. Augustus instead opted to convert part of his personal Palatine home into a cult place of Vesta, dedicating a shrine (*aedicula Vestae*) and altar of Vesta (*ara Vestae*) inside of his own Palatine home.[75] Whereas the Vestals tended the sacred hearth of the community of Rome in the public *aedes Vestae*, Livia now did this in her own home; thus, Augustus propagated himself and his family as patrons of the cult of Vesta and, by extension, as guardians of the safety and prosperity of Rome.[76] Valerius, a religious traditionalist, celebrated the imperial family's custody of the *sacra* as "welcome proof that the old values lived again,"[77] favorably invoking Pudicitia as a resident of not only Vesta's hearth, but now also of "the peak of the Palatine, the household gods of Augustus, and the most holy bed of Julia [Livia Augusta]."[78] Since the Romans held *pudicitia*, "sexual virtue," in high regard, it is remarkable that the marriage bed of Livia was now praised in a Vestal nature.

However, this blurred more lines than just Vestal identity. The imperial family is the most convincing case study of the gray area of private versus public worship, as the imperial unit novelly aligned state, religion, and family. In his chapter on "Theorizing the Religion of Ancient Households and Families," Stanley Stowers describes a rigid dichotomy separating the place of domestic religion from "public, civic, and state religion epitomized by the temple, centrally defined by occupying a separated sacred space in contrast to the home."[79] Within this binary, a home itself cannot be considered a temple and there must be a crossing over from "here" to "there," as human occupation would negate the sacred component of the space.[80] Dumézil rebutted this idea, contrarily insisting that "there is no rigid, absolute bond between a cult and the place where it was practiced during the historical era," citing that "from the time of the earliest settlement there were

73 Cicero, *De Legibus*, 2.29.

74 Hans-Friedrich Mueller, "Vesta Mater: Mother Vesta," in *Roman Religion in Valerius Maximus*, Routledge Classical Monographs (London: Routledge, 2002), 59.

75 Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 54.27.2-3.

76 Lien Foubert, "Vesta and Julio-Claudian Women in Imperial Propaganda," *Ancient Society* 45 (2015), 192.

77 Mueller, "Vesta Mater," 59.

78 Valerius, *Memorable Deeds and Sayings,* 6.1.init.

79 Stowers, "Theorizing the Religion of Ancient Households and Families," 11

80 Ibid.

surely a rex and a Regia, as well as a public hearth."[81] In this original Roman structure, "when the Forum had been occupied under adequate conditions of security, the rex and the Vestals, the royal house and the hearth, were installed there,"[82] explaining how Valerius believed the mixing the public religion of the state with the domestic worship within the imperial home to be a return to old values.

Just as the Vestals embodied the pinnacle of the ideal Roman woman, the Augustan women of the early empire conversely sought to emulate the esteemed Vestal status in their own public image. For instance, by the first century, each Vestal was accompanied by a *lictor* (herald) bearing the *fasces*, "a bundle of sticks that represented authority and announced her presence to crowds."[83] The imperial women subsequently enjoyed their own new privileges paralleling those of the Vestal Virgins, including this new authoritative development. By the third century, the imperially appointed *Augustae*[84] could also now be granted the further titles of *Mater Senatus* ("Mother of the Senate," a political honorific), *Mater Castrorum* ("Mother of the Camp," a martial honorific) and *Mater Patriae* ("Mother of the Fatherland," a religio-political honorific).[85] Potentially the most remarkable new distinction granted to the imperial women under Tiberius, though, was that they were now allowed to not only sit among the Vestals, but to even offer prayers on behalf of magistrates, priests, and the emperor – Tiberius himself.[86]

According to Cassius Dio, Caligula, the grandson of Tiberius, appointed his grandmother, Antonia, to be priestess of Augustus, saluting her as Augusta and bestowing all the privileges of the Vestal Virgins upon her per this new title. Through this account, we can see that the new religious honorific of Augusta bore with it connotations of the highest form of chastity originally only associated with the Vestal Virgins, with scholars suggesting that by the time of Caligula, the emperors' female relatives were turned into "honorary Vestals."[87] As such,

"the chastity of Vestals thus reflected not only Livia's chastity but also the chastity of all the women of the imperial household."[88] These newfangled imperial developments seem to have solidified one of the pre-existing perspectives of the Vestals as matrons, since these "honorary Vestals" now legally reflected both the chastity of virginity and the fertility and fidelity associated with the *matroni*. The

81 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 78.

82 Ibid.

83 Roberts, "Rome's Vestal Virgins: Public Spectacle and Society," 61.

84 *Augusta* was the feminized version of Augustus, originally denoting Octavian Augustus Caesar's wife, Livia Drusilla, but later becoming an imperial honorific bestowed upon empresses and honored women of the imperial family.

85 Julie Langford, *Maternal Megalomania: Julia Domna and the Imperial Politics of Motherhood* (JHU Press, 2013), 84-112.

86 Dio, *Roman History*, 49.38.1, 59.3.4.

87 Foubert, "Vesta and Julio-Claudian Women in Imperial Propaganda," 189.

88 Mueller, "Vesta Mater," 52.

simultaneous political and religious revolution of the status of Roman noblewomen – Vestals and imperial women alike – clearly corresponded to the first century evolution of the Roman hearth of Vesta becoming more closely associated with the imperial family in a domestic context, promoting a new Vestal image consisting of the ideal representative of Vesta being both the *virgo* and the *materfamilias*.

"Rome," Horace wrote, would stand "as long as the Pontifex climbs the Capitoline beside the silent Virgin"[89] – the *paterfamilias* of Rome alongside the *materfamilias*. The acts of the Vestals were public only in the sense that they were performed on behalf of the Roman people, yet retained their private nature just out of view of the eyes of the populace within the *aedes Vestae*, reflecting the unique role of women as the permeable boundary between the public and private.[90] Cicero, whose wife Terentia hosted the Bona Dea celebration in 62 BCE, testified to the Vestals' ability to represent the collective in this ceremony: "What is done by the Vestals, is done on behalf of the Roman people,"[91] a reflection of the *materfamilias'* original role as charge of the hearth on behalf of her family. The fluidity of Vesta between the domestic and public spheres was not just part of "the common Greco-Roman practice of representing deities in the same guises in public as in private contexts,"[92] but specifically emulated the very nature of Vesta's deity as "goddess of the earth,"[93] intrinsically tied to whichever piece of earth one planted their hearth upon. Therefore, since "the continuous fire of the *aedes Vestae*, the *ignis Vestae*, is indeed the hearth of Rome," it serves as one of the reminders of Rome's permanence in history and in its place on earth, its city securely rooted in Vesta's green vesture as promised by its hearth, under the care of Rome's representative mothers and daughters, the Vestal Virgins.[94]

89 Horace, *The Complete Odes and Epodes*, trans. David West, 1st edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 3.30.8-9.

90 Roberts, "Rome's Vestal Virgins: Public Spectacle and Society," 73.

91 Cicero, "De Haruspicum Responsis" (Delivered before the Senate, 56AD), 17.37.

92 Bodel, "An Outline of Roman Domestic Religion," 255.

93 Augustine, "Book IV," 376; Ovid, Fasti, 6.455-460.

94 Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 315.

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