Ephemeris

Editors' Note:

Ephemeris, the Classical Journal of Denison University, seeks to offer an opportunity for those interested in Classical studies to publish their scholarly work in an undergraduate forum. It promotes the coming together of history, literature, philosophy, religion, art, and architecture in a way that is both analytical and creative. As is an objective of the Classical Studies department, Ephemeris fosters an attitude about and an appreciation for criticism and interpretation of the Classical civilizations.

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Siskelus and Ebertium

By Adam Mallinger

The scene is a darkened balcony of a theater. As the lights come up, two figures are revealed sitting in the seats. They are renowned Great Book critics GENITO SISKELUS and ROGERNICIES EBERTIUM, of The Roman Tribune and The Athenian Sun-Times, respectively.

EBERTIUM. Good evening and welcome to a special edition of “Siskelus & Ebertium.” This week we will be discussing the differences between Greek and Roman comedies, examining the familiar conventions of both.

SISKELUS. Actually, Rogernicies, we’re only comparing at the comedies of the Roman playwright Plautus and the Greek Aristophanes.

EBERTIUM. In my mind, there is no comparison, Genito. Aristophanes’ The Clouds and Lysistrata are well-crafted works of art. His comedies are social commentaries on Greek life. Plautus’ plays read like spec scripts for Three’s Company. The Braggart Soldier and The Brothers Menaechmus don’t even try to rise above hackneyed plots and lowbrow humor.

SISKELUS. I’m afraid I’m going to have to ask you to back that up, Rogernicies.

EBERTIUM. Gladly. For starters, The Clouds features the character of Sokrates and in part seems to be a commentary on the accusations that the real-life Sokrates corrupted the youth of Athens. Strepsiades is bogged down with debt and decides to send his son, Pheidippides, off to be a pupil of Sokrates. He hopes that Pheidippides will learn enough about the Sokratic method to be able to work out a solution to his debts.

SISKELUS. You mean fast-talk his way out of debt, don’t you?

EBERTIUM. In a manner of speaking, I suppose, but that really is the point of the play. In Sokrates’ world, truth is subjective so long as one can justify it. All one needs to do to win an argument is present the better case. Much of the humor arises from Sokrates’ unique view on life, such as the scene where he tries to convince Strepsiades that Zeus does not exist. Quite logically, he argues the science of convection rather than a god is responsible for rain and thunder..

SISKELUS. As I recall, that scene also draws a comparison between thunder and farting.

EBERTIUM. Well...yes, but....

SISKELUS. In fact, I daresay Aristophanes has an unhealthy preoccupation with bodily functions. The play has a generous helping of crude humor. A discussion about the distance a flea can leap quickly leads to a description of flea farting, and that’s not the only fart joke present. Plus we have the lizard-crapping reference, the threat of a radish being shoved into a rectum, and don’t forget about the erection joke...

EBERTIUM. You’ve made your point, and I still think you’re missing the forest for the trees. The heart of this play is the
relationship between father and son and how their encounter with Sokrates affects that. Yes, there is crude humor, but the better humor is character based and rises out of the characters’ reactions to situations.

SISKELUS. Then can you tell me just what Aristophanes is trying to say? Is he endorsing or condemning Sokrates? At the end of the play, Pheidippes physically abuses his father and is able to justify it using the Sokratic Method. Strepsiades even concedes that under that logic, he deserves the beating. Now what sort of message does that send? The logical conclusion would be a condemnation of Sokrates' logic, but it's hard to back that up when Sokrates is the most sympathetic and reasonable person in the play.

EBERTIUM. I don't follow.

SISKELUS. I'll speak slower. If Aristophanes is endorsing Sokrates, then in effect, he is saying it is acceptable for children to abuse their parents. If he is trying to condemn the Sokratic Method, he fails because there is no character to strongly represent an opposing viewpoint. Sokrates is presented as the teacher to both the audience and the characters. It's like writing a play that has a genocidal madman as the lead character and his views are never stated as wrong.

EBERTIUM. I think the fight scene is intended to be funny and you're taking it too seriously. But it's good you're asking these questions because I think that's exactly what Aristophanes wanted you to do. This is a play that forces you to think about it afterwards. Is Sokrates right? Is he wrong? With the Sokratic method, there is no "true" answer. The viewer gets to decide. It's brilliant! Comedy with deeper social underpinnings!

SISKELUS. Then it doesn't bother you that the writer appears not to know what the point of his own work is?

EBERTIUM. .....well...at least this play tried to be about something. Can you honestly tell me you found depth in The Braggart Soldier and The Brothers Menaechmus?

SISKELUS. More than I found in Lysistrata. I thought that the humor in Lysistrata was broad and played off the stereotype that men are ruled by their penis...uh...penises...penisi?

EBERTIUM. I'll grant you that there were a lot of sex-based jokes, but the women are just as affected by the sex strike. They desire sex too. The point is made that men and women need each other to be complete. Everyone desires love and companionship. Aristophanes demonstrates that by playing off the familiar stereotype of men as sex crazed pigs. The difference between Aristophanes and Plautus is that Aristophanes writes as if he is aware the audience knows the familiar cliches. I'll say it again: Greek plays demonstrate more depth than their Roman counterparts, speaking more to social concerns than silly contrivances.

SISKELUS. I'd have to agree this is the main difference between Greek and Roman...
comedy. Even though Plautus looked to the Greeks for inspiration, his work is not as reflective of contemporary events and people as Aristophanes’ plays. His dialogue is much more natural too. Characters have shorter speeches rather than monologues that go on for several pages. It feels so much truer to life.

EBERTIUM. I don’t go to plays to see real life. I go to be entertained, to be stimulated.

SISKELUS. And I for one wasn’t upset by the absence of the Chorus in The Braggart Soldier or The Brothers Menaechmus. Once it was an original idea, but now it’s a hackneyed device that has long since worn out its welcome.

EBERTIUM. Not that it makes a difference that there is no Chorus. In both of his plays, Plautus has characters directly address the audience, which gets old quickly.

SISKELUS. You didn’t mind when Aristophanes spoke to the audience in The Clouds.

EBERTIUM. That dialogue served a purpose. As a playwright, Aristophanes was assuring his audience that the play wouldn’t have recycled plots, fantastical situations or silly slapstick.

SISKELUS. Only he had no problem with the fart jokes. Personally, I found Aristophanes’ speech a self-indulgent way of attacking other playwrights. It should be unnecessary. If a playwright needs to directly tell me what is in the play, then he didn’t do his job well when he actually depicted the events.

EBERTIUM. May I remind you of how many times Plautus had his characters painstakingly detail each step of their schemes in The Braggart Soldier?

SISKELUS. In that case, it was only so the audience would be able to understand the events as they happened, rather than be confused by the multitude of details.

EBERTIUM. But it makes for a very predictable plot. That’s taking a pretty big risk when you already have a script as hackneyed as The Braggart Soldier or The Brothers Menaechmus. One play expects us to believe that Sceledrus doesn’t realize that the “twin” sisters are actually the same woman and the other tries to convince us that Menaechmus II is incapable of figuring out people are confusing him with his twin. This last example makes no sense as the entire reason he is in Epidamnus is to find his twin. You’d think eventually Menaechmus would get the hint, maybe after the third or fourth such incident.

SISKELUS. Rogernicies, a strong part of the joke is that the audience knows something the character doesn’t. It helps build comic tension.

EBERTIUM. But that tension is totally deflated by the time the joke is told the third time. The only purpose the joke serves then is to make Menaechmus II look completely dense. Put the whip away, Plautus. The pony’s dead. The repetition of the same joke over and over again felt like a bad sketch from that comedy show that performs live each week on Saturday night.
SISKELUS. Did you at least find the joke funny the first time?
EBERTIUM. As long as I pretended I didn’t see it coming from a mile away, yes, a little. The problem here is that Plautus treats his characters as jokes rather than means to a joke.

SISKELUS. I’m not sure I understand.
EBERTIUM. Aristophanes treats his characters like real people. They’re a bit more three-dimensional and then seem to undergo some character development over the course of the play. Witness Pheidippides development in *The Clouds* from a playboy to a master of Sokratic logic. Plautus’ characters rarely develop. They’re put in difficult situations and have to wriggle their way out. And most infuriating is that fact that the problems would be solved a lot faster if his characters weren’t total numbskulls! It’s bad writing if you need your characters to be idiots to further the plot. If every character wasn’t this dumb, I might overlook it, but Plautus takes the joke too far.

SISKELUS. We’re running long on time, so why don’t we go right to our closing remarks?
EBERTIUM. After you.
SISKELUS. Well, I think we can agree that Greek and Roman comedies have very different approaches to humor. The Romans are noteworthy for their attention to complicated situations within simple plots and characters....

EBERTIUM. ...while the Greeks aim for a higher level of humor. The comedies are a way of poking fun at contemporary Greece and Aristophanes crafts his characters with care. This allows the humor to be more character-based than contrivance-based. The situations in Roman comedies are contrived so that every plebian in the audience gets the joke hammered home, and that short changes the intelligence of the rest of the viewers.

SISKELUS. Though the Greeks are not without their indulgence in crude humor...
EBERTIUM. ...which is still more intelligent than bad puns in Roman comedy. In short, if you’re looking for intelligent comedy with character development and a plot that will keep you thinking long after you’ve left the theater, head to the nearest Aristophanes production.

SISKELUS. And if you can put aside your pretensions for one night and are just looking to laugh, go see Plautus. I’m Genito Siskelus....
EBERTIUM. ...and I’m Rogernicies Ebertium and until next week, the balcony’s closed.
Deception as Social Commentary in Plautus’s Captivi

By Audra Russo

During the time of Plautus, society relied heavily upon the distinction between slaves and freedmen. So as to confirm the claimed superior morality and intelligence of the free people, slaves were openly considered and presented as “morally...[and] inherently inferior” in all aspects. In his play Captivi, however, Plautus’s association of slaves and freedmen through deception boldly challenges the social construction of the relationship between these two social classes. This important social commentary can only be effective because Plautus presents his audience with the conception that the distinction between slaves and freedmen is merely a state of mind. As Tyndarus and Philocrates play off of this notion they are able to create their deceptive plot, thus revealing the reality of social perceptions.

In the play, before anyone mentions the supposed relationship of Tyndarus and Philocrates, the Overseer assumes that both were free men. “LOR. Domi fuistis credo liberi.” Although this is ironic in the sense that both were truly free at some point (and that Tyndarus was free in the very place where he is now captive), it also illustrates the importance of social construction when determining the class of an individual in the time of Plautus. The only indication as to what status these men had possessed in their original society is social interaction with each other. Because the two men had grown up with each other, they are close and act as if they were brothers (no matter what class differences were imposed upon them by society). Although the Overseer’s observation is not specified in the play, he most likely saw that outward relationship and he concluded that they were of the same class.

Although he had designated the men with this ‘free’ status, in this society he only recognizes them as slaves to Hegio. Not even considering the respect that they may have earned at home, he proceeds to treat them as if they were slaves, referring to Hegio as their master. “LOR. At pigeat postea / nostrum erum, si vos eximat vinclis / Aut solutos sinat quos argento emerit.” When Hegio told the Overseer about the men, he did not describe them as particularly harmful, but still encouraged him to watch them with great care while, at the same time, loosening their chains and allowing them to walk around.

HE.

...[M]aijore quibus sunt iuncti demito

2 Goetz, Goergii, and Friderich Schoell, ed. T. Macci Plautus: Comoediae II. Captivi. line 197.
3 Captivi., lines 203-205.
Sinisto ambulare, si foris intus voluent
Sed uti adseruentur magna digentia...
...Non videre ita tu quidem.  

Clearly, if Hegio had presented them differently - as guests or, conversely, as highly threatening people - the Overseer would have formed a completely different impression of Tyndarus and Philocrates. In this way, much as it is in society today, initial impressions are influenced by information from a bias secondary source.

In Act III, the importance of this social “mindset” is revealed as well. In a specific scene, quite possibly the epitome of the aforementioned concept, Tyndarus had been avoiding contact with Hegio, who knows him as Philocrates, and Aristophontes who knows, actually, the real Philocrates and Tyndarus. “AR. ...[E]go domi liber fui, / Tu usque a puero seruitutem seruiuisti in Alide.”

Tyndarus now is attempting to convince Hegio that he [Tyndarus] is, in fact Philocrates, even though Aristophontes claims differently.

The concept of class as mindset is demonstrated in all three of the characters in the scene, but is most complicated for Tyndarus because he knows that Aristophontes is correct. He also knows that, for fear of his life, he needs to convince Hegio that he knows himself to truly be Philocrates. These two completely different mindsets present a difficulty when he must incorporate both into his verbal struggle.

Hegio, who has been misled since their introduction, has been under the impression that Tyndarus is Philocrates. He, however, is growing confused since Aristophontes is so passionate about his knowledge that Tyndarus (as Philocrates) is, in fact, a slave. Thus the situation creates a battle of persuasion versus fact between Tyndarus and Aristophontes, respectively.

Aristophontes is confused as well, because he has learned for himself that Tyndarus is actually a slave and must defend this knowledge by convincing Hegio of the truthfulness of his argument and proving Tyndarus’s insanity, as Tyndarus, simultaneously, is attempting to expose Aristophontes’s ‘mental illness’.

TYN. Hegio, istic homo rabiosus habitus est in Alide:
Ne tu quod istic fabuletur auris immittas tueas. Nam istic hastis insectatus est domi matrem a patrem, Et illic isti <qui> sputatur morbus interdum uenit. Proin tu ab istoc procul recedas...
...Viden tu hunc, quam inimico uoltu intuitor?...
...gisit rabies: caue tibi.  

AR. Ain, uerbero?
Me rabiosum atque insectatum esse hastis meum memoras patrem?
Et eum morbum mi esse, ut qui med opus sit insputarier?

Hegio is influenced by Aristophontes’s simple explanation after the intense exchange between the two men. The two competitors, trying to impose their mindsets upon Hegio,

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4 Ibid., 120, 113-115.
6 Ibid., lines 547-551, 558-559.
7 Ibid., 551-553,
illustrate the power of this type of persuasion.

As a result of this outcome, Tyndarus does not have the support of Hegio’s state of mind. When Hegio believed that Tyndarus was Philocrates, Tyndarus had the confidence that he could act as someone of a higher class than a slave. Upon being found out by Hegio, he still has confidence in himself, but he reverts back to referring to Philocrates as master and admitting that he was owned. “TYN. Optumest: / At erum serserusui, quem seruatum qaudeo, / Quoi me custodem addiderat erus maior meus.”

It is interesting that, even though Philocrates and Tyndarus could be considered friends, Tyndarus feels compelled to meet the standards of those who consider him a slave.

Before considering how Plautus challenges the social constructions of slavery and freedom, it is important to examine the social construction of slaves, as well as possible reasons why these social constructions of the classes existed, and how they were most likely implanted. By understanding the constructions and discovering the possible social motives for and processes by which the system could have been established, Plautus’s attempts to challenge the system are more understandable. Slaves, Romans believed, were inherently slaves. They were born slaves and would always remain slaves, unless there was a disturbance in the social order. Freedmen did not only consider slaves to be morally inferior, but they also stereotyped slaves as “uglier, less intelligent, and generally worse” beings than themselves.

These constructions may have occurred as a result of the need for the dominant culture to feel some sort of superiority. Certain cultures may have been chosen based on beliefs, the fact that historical conflicts existed between that particular culture and the dominant society, or merely because they appeared different. In any case, for some reason, certain people are chosen to become inferior beings for the dominant society. The way in which the superiority of the dominant culture is implemented, probably similar to how it has been implemented in modern society, is by merely creating a state of mind within themselves, by which the dominant society convinces itself that their culture is the superior culture. This mindset is then personified and acted upon. As this society treats the delegated culture as inferior, the delegated culture may begin to assume the roles given to it by the dominant culture in order to avoid castigation that could occur if they do not comply. Eventually, the mindsets of both the freedmen and of the slaves become so universal, that the freedmen accept it and, unfortunately, many of the slaves accept it as well, as if that is how society is destined to be constructed. Thus,

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8 Captivi., 706-708.

9 Moore, 181.
boundaries are created between the two classes, which, according to society, should not be touched. Plautus, however, manages to erase these boundaries in Captivi, challenging the audience to reconsider how their society had been constructed and how valid the boundaries between slaves and freedmen truly are.

Throughout most of the play, Tyndarus and Philocrates have decided to deceive Hegio by trading places as master and slave in order for Philocrates to get permission to go home for a while. The first obvious parallel between these two men is that both of them are slaves under Hegio’s reign. The most important issue to consider, though, is that they are able to exchange roles easily, deceiving those with whom they came in contact, excepting Aristophontes, who had, of course, known both of them prior to the encounter.

As both Tyndarus and Philocrates readjust their mindset, as actors do when preparing to play a role opposite of their natural personality, the men remind each other of the roles in which they are about to submerge themselves.

PHIL. Et propterea saepeis ted ut meminiris moneo: Non ego erus tibi, sed seruos sum, nunc obsecreo te hoc unum: Quoniam nobis di immortalis animum ostenderunt suom, Vt qui wrum me tibi fuisse atque esse [nunc] conseruom uelint, Quom antehac pro iure imperitabam meo, none te oro per precem, Per fortunam incertam at per mei ye erga bonitatem patris, Perque conseruitium commune quod hostica euenit manu, Ne me secus honore honesties quam seruibus mihi, Atque ut qui fueris et qui nunc sis meminisse ut memineris.

TYN. Scio quidem me te esse nunc esse te me.¹¹

They must first convince themselves that they are becoming the other person or else anyone could penetrate the ploy in an instant. While even the initial impression that this plan could be successfully accomplished began to break the boundaries between classes, the first real advancement in the process was the ease by which each transformed into the other. If slaves, as society believed, were inherently slaves and freedmen inherently free, it should, in theory, be difficult for both parties to modify their presentation of themselves, especially since the change converted them into a character of a different social status. The way that the slaves would carry themselves and the level and complexity of their speech, would most likely be difficult to change if they had always only known how to act as society has ordered them, aside from what they have observed. Through this transformation process Plautus shows the audience that a slave has the capacity to think as a freedman would think and even carry himself as a person of higher class carries himself. Thus, society must reconsider whether or not slaves would be capable of such a way of life.

¹⁰ Ibid., 182.

¹¹ Captivi., 240-249.
Both Tyndarus and Philocrates plan the deception, raising issues of morality. Deception, although a popular issue in metatheater and Plautine comedy, is considered to be lying, which is usually deemed as an immoral act. A stock stereotype played in the theatre and held in society is that slaves may be clever and deceitful, and so, they are, consequently, immoral. Through his role in the deceptive plot, Tyndarus clearly illustrates this stereotype, but the audience cannot overlook that Philocrates plans and carries out the plot as well. Plautus presents an important argument to the audience through this aspect of the plot. Not only do slaves have the capacity to act as freedmen, proving that they cannot be inherently slaves, but freedmen also have the capacity to act as stereotypical slaves. Though discomforting to the audience, with this revelation, Plautus proves the immorality of freedmen, admitting that all cultures have the capacity to be immoral, just as all cultures have the capacity for rational thinking and greatness.

Moreover, as Tyndarus is revealed as being the son of Hegio, the argument given by Plautus is strengthened even more so. “PHIL. Quin isitc isust Tyndarus tuos [Hegio’s] filius.” Not only has a freedman become a slave, but that slave also had the opportunities to act as a freedman, consequently returning him to slave status, then back to the class of a freedman. These rapid transitions within the play, nearly confused the Plautine audience, but exemplified the truth of society. If placed in a situation, or class, and convinced that it was the place in which you were meant to be or were going to be held for the rest of one’s life, anyone is able to conform to the code of conduct for the particular society, thus obliterating the possibility that slaves are inherently the subservient people.

Raising important issues about the nature of slaves and perceptions of cultures formed for mere convenience, Plautus’s challenges of the social construction created subjects of “potential discomfort” among people of the dominant society. After considering themselves superior to many other cultures for so many years, to be presented with ideas that disputed these values was overwhelming. The slave races were always considered races that represented all of the faults of humanity. Suggesting that slaves may possess the virtues supposedly granted to those who consider themselves superior and that those supposedly superior have the faults designated to the slave culture, the audience may reconsider the assumptions and realize that faults and virtues could, quite possibly, be more evenly allotted than their dominant society would have enjoyed to believe.

12 Captivi, 990.

13 Moore, 181.
Virgil's *Aeneid* and Lucan's *Pharsalia*, or *De Bello Civili*, are both epic poems, yet these poems are quite different. Both the work of Virgil and Lucan share in the most common aspects of the epic tradition. Their epics are full of heroes and battles, and at some point of the epic, the underworld is sought as a place to find answers about what the future holds. It is at this point that the great difference between Virgil's style and Lucan's style is quite evident. In both works, there is a mysterious woman, feared by men, who is able to show a mortal character in the epic just what the future holds, but the woman herself as well as the way she shows the mortal man the future through the use of the underworld is quite different. At the same time that difference is highly reflective of the view of the poet on his society and the potential that that society has.

Virgil's *Aeneid* was composed during the reign of Augustus as the first Principate, or emperor, of Rome. Virgil, as many other Romans of his day would have, remembered a time before the establishment of the Principate by Augustus. The rule of Augustus had its opponents, and thus, Virgil was commissioned to compose his epic as a work that would help legitimize the rule of Augustus at the expense of the Roman Senate. Augustus always claimed that he was making efforts to restore the Republic, but what actually emerged from Augustus' reign was a new institution. The *Aeneid*, in part, supports the legitimacy of Augustus reign by telling the story of Aeneas, a man fated to found the race in Italy that would one day emerge as the Romans. All the hardships and fighting that Aeneas endures from the time he leaves the shores of Troy to the time he defeats Turnus in Italy is for the sake of beginning a new race of half Trojan and half Italian blood in Italy, which would one day found the city of Rome. Successive generations of Romans, sprung from the blood of Aeneas, would come to be a powerful nation, and that nation, upon conquering the lands surrounding the Mediterranean Sea, would produce one man, Augustus, who would bring peace to the world. Thus, Aeneas struggles, decried by fate, are justified in that they will one day, despite the immediate effects, bring world peace.

Lucan's *Pharsalia* casts a different light on the potential fruitfulness of the Roman wars. Living in the time of the emperor Nero, Lucan was part of a nation that had not lived in a time without the emperor dominating Roman politics. Lucan had enjoyed a period of time when he was in the favour of the emperor Nero, but for some unknown reason, possibly the turn against Caesarism, and thus, against the current emperor, in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, he fell out of
favour with Nero. Lucan criticises the political system of Rome in his own time, but at the same time, Lucan is unable to offer any alternative to the empire. The main way in which Lucan criticises the Roman state of his own lifetime is through the use of blatantly anti-Virgilian elements. A good example of this can be seen in looking at the difference between the Cumaean Sibyl in Book 6 of the Aeneid and her Lucan counterpart in Book 6 of the Pharsalia, the Thessalian witch.

The Cumaean Sibyl and the Thessalian witch perform a common role in the epic tradition. For both Virgil and Lucan, these women provide the vehicle by which the events of the future are partially revealed through the use of the underworld. The anti-Virgilian aspects of this part of the Pharsalia quickly emerge upon the very introduction of the Thessalian witch. Toward the very beginning of his Book 6, Virgil describes the Cumaean Sibyl as a woman feared by men. Aeneas “arces quibus altus Apollo / praesidet horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae / antrum inmane petit.”

Lucan’s Thessalian witch also dwells in a place with many mouths, but these mouths are the mouths of the dead. She “desertaque busta / incolit et tumulos expulses obtinet umbris / grata deis Erebi.”

These tombs and graves are perversion of the place apart — a dark / Enormous cave — the Sibyl feared by men.

14 Virgil, Aeneid Book VI, Lines 9-11. In duty bound, went inland to the heights / Where overshadowing Apollo dwells / And nearby, in a

15 Lucan, Pharsalia Book VI, Lines 511-513. dear to the deities of Erebus, she inhabited deserted tombs, and haunted graves from which the ghosts had been driven.

16 Virgil, Aeneid Book VI, Lines 46-51. And as she spoke neither her face / Nor her hue went untransformed, nor did her hair / Stay neatly bound: her breast heaved, her wild heart / Grew with large passion. Taller to their eyes / And
Phoebus Apollo inhabits the Sibyl, and only when he is done prophecising through her does he release the Sibyl from his power.

The Thessalian witch has a much different relationship with the gods. Instead of being a mouthpiece for the prophecies of the gods, the witch controls the gods. Lucan tells the reader, "Omne nefas superi prima iam voce precantis / concedunt carmenque timent audire secundum." Lucan's Thessalian witch does not use typical and acceptable methods to get what she wants from the gods. Instead, the witch commands the gods, and fearing what another spell may compel them to do, the gods submit to all of the witch's whims.

Another aspect of the Thessalian witch that sets her apart and adverse to the Cumaean Sibyl is the way in which she helps those who seek knowledge of the future gain it from the underworld. The Sibyls' method is very religious and ritualistic, and in the Aeneid this process is drawn out over the span of one hundred forty lines. The Sibyl tells Aeneas that the journey to the underworld is easy, but the journey back to the land of the living is a difficult one. In order to complete the entire journey, an individual needs the golden bough, which "ipse volens facilisque sequetur / si te fata vocant aliter non viribus ullis / vincere nec duro poteris convellere ferro." In the Aeneid, only the pius man can obtain knowledge of the future from the underworld and return to tell others about the events of the future. The golden bough is not enough, though. Religious rites must still be performed in order to gain the favour of the gods. The Sibyl sacrifices four black bullocks to Hecatē, and Aeneas too offers sacrifices, a black lamb to Night and the Earth, a sterile cow to Proserpina, and the carcasses of bulls for Pluto. All of these sacrifices, the descriptions of which are steeped in ritualistic language that would have reminded Romans of their ritual sacrifices, are necessary to enter into and return from the underworld safely.

Lucan's witch does not perform these rites to appease the gods, and her process is compacted into much fewer lines than Virgil's. Because, through her potions and spells, she is more powerful than the gods, she can simply tell the gods to bring a shade back from the dead, and the gods comply. The process by which the Thessalian witch makes contact with the underworld is also a perversion of the actions of the

sounding now no longer like a mortal / Since she had felt the god's power breathing near.

Virgil, Aeneid Book VI, Lines 77-80. But the prophetess / Whom the bestriding god had not yet broken / Stormed about the cavern, trying to shake / His influence from her breast, while all the more / He tired her mad jaws, quelled her savage heart / And tamed her by his pressure.

Lucan, Pharsalia Book VI, Lines 527-528. At the first sound of her petition the gods grant every horror, dreading to hear a second spell.

Virgil, Aeneid Book VI, Lines 146-148. It will come willingly, / Easily, if you are called by fate. / If not, with all your strength you cannot conquer it, / Cannot lop it off with a sword's edge.
Cumaean Sibyl. This process takes the form of a sacrifice in reverse. A shade brought back from the dead needs a repository, and so, the witch digs up a corpse from the ground. She “pectora tunc primum ferventi sanguine supplet / volneribus laxata novis.”

Instead of the blood flowing out of the body, and the victim dying, in this scene, the body is cut, and then the blood is poured back into the body. After this, chants and potions are used to bring the corpse back to life, a process very similar to the chants and libations that would be used during a sacrifice. Having been brought back to life, the corpse then proceeds to tell of the events of the future. The method of the Thessalian witch, unlike that of the Cumaean Sibyl, is one which any man, whether pius or impius, can use.

The most obvious difference between Virgil’s Sibyl and Lucan’s witch, as the process of gaining information from the underworld shows, is the respect for religion that either of these women have. The very first thing that the Sibyl tells Aeneas to do is to sacrifice seven bulls and seven ewes. After doing this, Aeneas is quickly told that he must pray if he desires knowledge from the gods. The great respect for Roman religious practices of the Sibyl again crops up in the preparation for Aeneas’ journey to the underworld. As has already been pointed out, the Sibyl sacrifices four black bullocks to Hecatē, a goddess of the underworld, and she tells Aeneas to sacrifice to various gods of the underworld. The Sibyl’s insistence that religion been respected once again crops up in the underworld itself. In the underworld, Aeneas sees the shade of his helmsman, Palinurus, and Palinurus implores Aeneas to either put dirt over his body or, if it is possible, to take Palinurus across the Styx, a thing which would not be permitted until the body could be properly buried. To this pleading, the Sibyl tells Palinurus, “Unde haec o Palinure tibi tam dira cupidio / tu Stygias inhumatas aquas amnemque severum / Eumenidum aspicias ripa ad amnemque severum / Eumenidum aspicias ripamveh iniussus adibis / desine fata deum flecti sperare precando.”

The Sibyl insists in the fact that the decrees of the gods are unable to be broken, and thus, Palinurus must wait for his body to be buried before he can cross the Styx.

The Thessalian witch practically mocks all of the tenants of Roman religion. Toward the beginning of his description of the witch, Lucan says, “Nec superos orat nec cantu supplice numen / auxiliare vocat nec fibres ilia litantes / novit funereas aris inponere flammamas / gaudet et accenso rapuit

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20 Lucan, Pharsalia Book VI, Lines 667-668. Then she began by piercing the breast of the corpse with fresh wounds, which she filled with hot blood.

21 Virgil, Aeneid Book VI, Lines 373-376. From what source comes this craving, Palinurus? / Would you though still unburied see the Styx / And the grim river of the Eumenid s, / Or even the river bank, without a summons? Abandon hope by prayer to make the gods / Change their decrees.
Lucan then proceeds to list, in lurid detail, the horrible acts of defilement this witch commits on the bodies of people. She kills people who have years left to them by destiny. She mangles corpses entombed in coffins, hanging from the noose, and crucified on the cross. On top of all this, she is not unknown to kill if she cannot slake her thirst for gore otherwise. On occasion, the witch steals babies from their mothers’ wombs and places them on altars as a sacrifice. Besides these horrific attacks on the good order of things, the witch is able to command the gods, which would be impossible for other Roman authors to comprehend as the gods, though full of folly, were more powerful than simple mortals. The mockery of the sacrifice presented by Lucan when the witch brings the corpse back to life is yet another way in which the witch of Thessaly insults Roman religion.

For Virgil and Lucan, the Principate form of government holds different possibilities, and the attitudes expressed through the Cumaean Sibyl and the Thessalian witch illustrate this difference. Virgil sees the Roman world in his age and Roman customs as potentially fruitful. Aeneas, full of respect for the religion and customs of his ancestors as well as the decrees of fate, endures, not for his own sake, but for the sake of the future generations of his descendants, the Romans. Aeneas toils so that one day there may come a time of world peace. Lucan sees this system, which Aeneas endeavoured to enable to exist, as accomplishing nothing. Roman religion and customs only produced civil war, and that war eventually led to Nero becoming the leader of the Roman state. Lucan’s main opposition to the events that had taken place in Rome in his lifetime was what he saw as the corruption of the state, ultimately the result of the victories of Caesar, but Lucan can offer no other alternative to this system.

Translations
Lucan, De Bello Civili, translated by J.D. Duff.
Virgil, Aeneid, translated by Robert Fitzgerald.

22 Lucan, Pharsalia Book VI, Lines 523-526. She addresses no prayer to Heaven, invokes no divine aid with suppliant hymn, and know nothing of the organs of victims offered in sacrifice; she rejoices to lay on the altar funeral fires and incense snatched from the kindled pyre.
Ephemeris

Pandora's Box

By Marisa Wikramanayage

My mind has become a Pandora's box
Of all the things I should forget
And yet I never stop breaking the lock
Letting all my demons out, causing me to fret.

The stupidest things, the most depressing things
That one could possibly come up with,
Keep circling around in my head in concentric rings
Spiraling like a phoenix rising from the flames and ashes of myth

So where is the one thing that keeps me sane?
Pandora had hope, where is mine?
There is none - depression breeds unnecessary pain
In a mind like Pandora's box, control is ill defined.

A Composition

By Bob Wyllie

Magna silentia saepe feram anticipant hiemem prout
Immotus longe incumbit classes ager inter.
Jam noctem flamma atrum terminet herbam et adurit,
Magni oculosque corusca ignis lumine armaque Marci.

As often great silences anticipate a violent storm,
The field lies undisturbed between distant armies.
But now a blaze ends the dark night and singes the grass,
Both the arms and eyes of great Marcus glinting with the light of the fire.
The Panathenaic Festival

By Alison Hughes

Despite the fact the *amphorai* were small in size compared to the large structures on top of the Akropolis, they still served as one of the most important parts of the Panathenaic festival. By analyzing Jeffrey Hurwit’s article, *The Athenian Acropolis*, and Jenifer Neils’ articles, *The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* and “Panathenaic Amphoras: Their Meaning, Makers, and Markets,” one can conclude the prized vases and other offerings helped to fulfill the social and religious goals of the festival. Such groups as the *tamiai*, the priestesses, and the *hieropoioi* helped to control actions taking place on the grounds. They also further aided in the making and rewarding of the *amphorai*. These groups occupy this sacred space, but at the same time added a social dimension. The amount and assortment of offerings was extraordinary and the wide variety of dedicators was amazing, which helps to make the Akropolis a religious and social institution. While religious festivals and games were taking place at the Akropolis, it was obvious in the readings that there was a social and political approach behind them. As Hurwit focuses on who was at the Akropolis daily, the audience realizes there were many more activities than the Panathenaic festival. Further, Neils reveals many facts about the *amphorai* that helped to explain how they related to the Akropolis and the festival. Through her analysis, she intensifies one’s current understanding of *tekhte*. As the audience of these two authors, one can understand the religious and social space in terms of the vases that were given to the winners and objects that were placed within this area.

The Akropolis, which held one of the most important athletic competitions, was a very sacred space. Held every four years, the Panathenaic Games served as a way for Athens to honor their patron deity, the goddess Athena. Not only was it a time to pay tribute to Athena, but also a way for citizens to acknowledge other deities venerated on the Akropolis. These are only some of the religious goals of the festival. The dedicatory objects and the *amphorai* also helped to accomplish the religious purposes of the festival. At the Olympic Games at Olympia, olive leaf wreaths were rewarded to the winners, whereas *amphorai* were given in the same way at the Panathenaic Games. The olive leaf wreaths were offered back to Zeus after given to the victors. The *amphorai* usually “accompanied its owner to the grave” (Hurwit 29). They were seen as a religious symbol, depicting an image of Athena. Because the deity they were honoring is the goddess of handicraft, the winners received a symbol of her epithet. This religious portrayal and image of Athena is embedded in the minds of those who left the Akropolis, for after the winners claimed their prize, they were forced to remember
they competed for their faithful goddess. If they were to open the amphora, it contained olive oil from the sacred olive trees that Athena gave to Athens after her victory over Poseidon. This further shows the religious part of the festival because the goddess they respect and cherish “gives” to them a symbol of purity for which she is well known.

Along with the amphorai, dedicatory offerings also revealed the religious goals of the Panathenaic festival. Hurwit explains that many people were attracted to the Akropolis during the festival. As they entered the festivities, which began with the procession, they saw the offerings everywhere they glanced. Everything from a small cup to a large bronze statue was presented in Athena’s honor. Regarding the dedicators, Hurwit claims, “the Akropolis belonged to all Athenians, no matter what their class, status, or gender” (62). This wide range of people who visited illustrates the amount of religious offerings placed on the Akropolis. One of the goals was to display these religious offerings in a way that everyone who arrived was enthused by the amount of dedications. They were carefully placed in areas that were easy to access and to view in order to accommodate the large crowds of people. Offerings and vases added to the religious function of the festival. Neils states, “[t]o the ancient Greeks, organized religion focused neither on a sacred text like the Bible or Qur’an, nor on abstract dogmas and creeds, but rather was comprised principally of actions: rituals, festivals, processions, athletic contests, oracles, gift-giving, and animal sacrifice” (13). Her interpretation is a perfect summary of the way these objects related to ancient Greek religion.

Not only was the Panathenaic festival a religious event, but also a social one. It brought many varieties of citizens together to honor their sacred Athena. The making and distributing of the amphorai were done by specific groups of people who were socially linked as citizens of Athens. The Boule and athlothetai arranged for the making of the amphorai and presented the winning olive oil. One can only imagine the amount of interaction between people during the award ceremony. It was a time for the victors to be socially recognized and the amphorai were emblems of that acceptance.

The tamiai recorded the dedicatory offerings that were given to Athena. This group of elite Athenians also inscribed stelai with legal guidelines for the visitors to view. The hieropoioi were a group of elite Athenians who were in charge of the sacrifices that took place and also were the heads of the Panathenaic Games. These examples give light to the fact that there were many citizens who came together to take part in the festival and other ceremonies. When visitors arrived on the Akropolis, they were bombarded with not only dedicatory offerings, but also large crowds of people. There was noisy interaction going on, music being played, and objects being sold. It was an atmosphere much like the streets of Athens; a “bazaar.”
The Panathenaic amphorai, “even in Roman times...lived on as a symbol of the games at Athens” (51). Even today, these prizes still represent the social events that took place on top of the Akropolis. The manufacture and meaning of the amphorai and votive offerings helped to make the Akropolis a social institution.

All of the discussion regarding the amphorai relates to a main point Neils makes in her article. “In ancient Greek culture there was a long-standing tradition of awarding prizes in recognition of physical prowess as demonstrated in contests with peers” (29). This tradition is seen even today in the Olympic Games, and in other athletic competitions. Winners are given awards, whether it is medals, trophies, or money. Even on a smaller scale, local competition winners receive small trophies with an image of their sport on the top. The same idea took place with the amphorai. The winners acquired a prize with not only their deity on one side, but also an image of their sport on the other. The tradition of awarding extraordinary athletes, in all levels of competition is a practice that has been tradition since the ancient Greek times.

In “Panathenaic Amphoras: Their Meaning, Makers, and Markets,” Jenifer Neils analytically discusses the winning vases at the Panathenaic Games and relates them to tekhne. In ancient Greece, all spaces, objects, and buildings existed for a purpose. Usually, this purpose was to facilitate religious, political, and social behavior. The amphorai were specifically made for the winners and were not to be displayed in a local museum. The Greeks prized technical excellence because it was a tradition. Greeks also used color, scale, elevation, and every part of the composition relate together to make it so visible. The artist tried to help the viewer reckon with the piece by creating interrelationships between the figures. The important physical ways Greek artists accomplished this idea of tekhne was through centrality, the way the bodies were facing, and naturalism.

Knowing these facts about Greek tekhne, Neils expanded my understanding of the term. Looking at creations such as metopes and large statues, the basic facts of tekhne is revealed. But by reading Neils' article, I learned even more about the way Greeks have slightly changed the images shown on the amphorai to create perfection. This is not a sculpture or figure, rather a form of painting in which the Greeks also applied tekhne. Using the black-figure technique, the obverse decoration always consisted of an image of Athena. Because of importance and relevance, the obverse decoration remained relatively unchanged over the centuries. Greeks tended to keep the most significant images and decorations untouched. This reveals how Greeks reckoned with the viewer. The artist illustrates the importance of an image if it is left unchanged. Before 540 BC, the vases did not exhibit the columns Athena stood between in the most recent amphorai. Not
only do the decorations on the vase change through time, but also “the pose and proportions of Athena change[d] as well” (30). As time passes, she became taller and high waisted. Neils focuses on the direction Athena is faced and states her body is “moving to the left, but with her head turned back to the right” (31). This further explains how Greek artists of the *amphorai* focused on the image and position of Athena on the obverse decoration. By noticing this, her audience is taken further than just focusing on statues and figures. She deepens their horizons and explains that *tekhnē* can be applied to smaller, painted objects, not just large statues and buildings.

One of the most important themes of Greek *tekhnē* was further explained in Neils’ insightful article. Judging from the information provided and topics discussed, Greeks found the usage of artwork to be very crucial. These *amphorai* were carried, buried, and respected. In other words, they were not displayed in a case like they are today; rather they were used in a physical manner. Moreover, Neils states that used Panathenaic *amphorai* were later auctioned off in the late fifth century for a large sum of money. This is clear evidence why the Greek artists prided themselves in perfection in order to raise the value. Neils takes this idea of *tekhnē* a step further and applies it to the rewarded vases at the Panathenaic Games.

The *amphorai* and dedicatory objects that were seen on top one of the largest sanctuaries tell us a great deal of information regarding the Panathenaic Games. This was a time in the Akropolis’ history that every citizen could join and honor their loyal goddess Athena. The artwork shown on the vases shows us not only the types of competition that was performed during the festival, but also information about Athena. The objects placed around the grounds helped fulfill both the religious and social intentions of the festival. This was a grand festival, which honored their god who was also displayed on every *amphorai*. The Panathenaic Games was a religious, political and social event. The visual images, employees and visitors on the Akropolis helped to attest to this fact. In addition, Neils’ discussion about the *amphorai*, helped add another element to known facts about ancient Greek *tekhnē*. Her audience further realizes what Greek artists valued most while completing a work of art. Hurwit and Neils critically analyze the Akropolis and Panathenaic festival to reveal many hidden facts about these great parts of Greece and its history.
Hannibal’s Importance in the Second Punic War

By Steve Nery

Rome eventually won the Second Punic War, but not until after Hannibal ravaged Italy for over a decade and won many huge victories along the way. There is no doubt that Hannibal was a great Carthaginian general, at the very least. There are many factors in war, though, such as the battle terrain, the size of the armies, and the competence of each army. The question then must be asked: How much was the war influenced by Hannibal himself? By examining him and other Carthaginian commanders and their success, as well as the conditions surrounding their battles, it can hopefully be proved that Hannibal’s role in the war was a major reason for the Carthaginians’ success for many battles. Unfortunately, his ineffective grand strategy also led to the Carthaginians’ loss of the war.

First let us examine Hannibal’s exploits. In the winter of 218 B.C., he routed the Romans at the Battle of Trebbia. After days of being encamped near each other, the two forces met when the Romans were drawn out of their camp by some Numidian cavalry. Hannibal, having discovered that the Romans never planned for an ambush in open ground, dispatched his younger brother Mago with a small force to surprise the enemy from behind in the battle. When the Romans came out, Hannibal brought out his infantry, numbering some 20,000, up in one big line, while his cavalry, numbering 10,000, were split up on both sides of the line. His slingers and pikemen, about 8,000 strong, were located in front of his infantry and cavalry. Tiberius Sempronius Longus, the consul in charge of the Romans on that day, brought out his three lines of infantry, 36,000 strong, and posted his 8,000 cavalry on the sides. Longus was not an incompetent man; he had won a small victory over Hannibal shortly before, but was perhaps a little too eager to follow it up. He was probably not quite as good of a commander as Publius Cornelius Scipio, the other consul. This battle took place on a flat and treeless piece of land, so the terrain gave neither side an advantage in this regard, although Longus had 6,000 more men than Hannibal. The battle initially began as a standoff, but on the sides Hannibal’s cavalry outflanked the enemy’s, as would be the case in most battles. After some heavy fighting, Mago emerged with his 1,000 infantrymen and 1,000 cavalry and attacked the Romans from behind. The Romans were routed, as only 10,000 men managed to escape from the battlefield. Every aspect of this battle seems to be equal, or even favor the Romans. The terrain was suited for an even battle, and the Romans held the strength in numbers. There is no evidence either that the Carthaginians were superior to the Romans in fighting ability, as the battle was at a standstill until Mago attacked. In fact, the Romans who
escaped actually fought better than Hannibal's men, as they "hacked a passage with the edge of the sword right through the African center (Livy 82)." The only thing that won the battle for Hannibal this day was his brilliant decision to somehow hide a contingent of his troops in an open field.

Hannibal's next great victory came at Trasimene the following summer. This time he faced the consul Gaius Flaminius, who was not the military equal of his predecessors. Hannibal knew this and realized that Flaminius would give him plenty of opportunities for a pitched battle. Livy praises Hannibal for this, calling his reasoning "both far sighted and strategically sound" and claiming, "there is no more precious asset for a general than a knowledge of his opponent's guiding principles and character (Livy 247)."

Hannibal therefore led his men into a favorable place for a battle. He marched through a valley, with Lake Trasimene on his right, and hills on his left. As Flaminius followed him, he sent the slingers and pikemen, as well as the Celts and his cavalry under cover of the hills during one night. Flaminius pitched his camp next to the lake, not far from Hannibal's, just as was expected from him. At the first sign of dawn the next day, Flaminius marched his troops into battle. Once the Romans engaged Hannibal's contingent, his troops lying in ambush rushed at the Romans and fell upon them from every side at once. "In consequence, most of the troops were cut down while they were still in marching order and without the least chance to defend themselves, delivered up to slaughter (Polybius 250)." About 15,000 Romans died in the valley and another 10,000 were captured, while Hannibal's losses amounted to no more than 2,500. The deck was stacked in Hannibal's favor here, as he chose a favorable spot for battle, and probably had more men than the Romans, with his new Gallic allies. He must still be commended for realizing that the opposing commander was brash and hungry for battle, and for plotting another ambush to produce yet another massacre. While Flaminius was foolish to fall into the trap, Hannibal was wise for knowing that he would.

His last and most impressive complete route came at Cannae in the summer of 216 B.C. The Romans, led by the cocky Gaius Terentius Varro and the wiser Lucius Aemilius Paullus, had a massive force of 80,000 infantry, and over 6,000 cavalry. Hannibal, by contrast, had about 40,000 men, and 10,000 cavalry. Never afraid to sacrifice his allies, Hannibal put the Celts in the front lines, in an arched formation, so that the center of the first line was closer to the Romans than the sides were. The two armies clashed on even ground, and Hannibal's cavalry almost completely destroyed Varro's. Meanwhile, the Romans defeated the thin first line and poured through the Celtic and Spanish center, and rushed triumphantly towards the Carthaginians. The Romans came through so heavily that "they then had both contingents of the African heavy
infantry on their flanks (Polybius 272).” The Carthaginian sides both turned inward and surrounded the Romans. “The result was exactly what Hannibal had planned: the Romans, by pressing too far ahead in pursuit of the Celts were trapped between the two divisions of Africans (Polybius 272).” Complete massacre ensued. About 10,000 Romans were captured, and nearly all the rest, including the consul Paullus, were killed. Hannibal lost at the most 6,000 men. This was the worst defeat in Roman history to this point. Although the Roman army was inexperienced and one of its generals was incompetent, it still had a great advantage in numbers. It was through Hannibal’s sacrifice of his allies that he managed to surround and route the Romans. Again, his leadership must be praised.

Hannibal had a knack for short-term strategies away from battle as well. After the Battle of Trasimene and before the Battle of Cannae, eventual war hero Quintus Fabius Maximus, the “Cunctator,” followed Hannibal around and had him trapped at a passage in the mountains. Recognizing that he was in an unfavorable position, and that his army would most likely lose a battle there, Hannibal fooled the Romans that night. Fabius had posted 4,000 of his men in a pass so as to prevent Hannibal from escaping. Once darkness set in, Hannibal had his men tie sticks to 2,000 cattle, light then, and drive them up the gorge. The Romans mistook the cattle for a large Carthaginian force coming at them at full speed, and retreated. Hannibal subsequently “brought both his army and his plunder safely through the gorge (Polybius 260),” and even rescued 1,000 of his men who had been taken hostages. Because of his quick thinking, Hannibal had managed to escape from a position in which the Romans thought they had the possibility to end his campaign.

Even in defeat, Hannibal was still an amazing commander. Although his army was routed at Zama by Publius Cornelius Scipio the younger when he was recalled to Africa, Hannibal still apparently drew up an ingenious battle formation. Always spontaneous, he formed his ranks in the Roman fashion, in three distinct lines. He placed his elephants in the very front, to try to cause commotion in the Roman ranks, and make them lose formation. Unfortunately for him, the elephants were ineffective, as Scipio drew his ranks up with gaps in between maniples so that the elephants would charge right through. Not only that, but as modern historian Brian Caven iterates, “The elephants were in all probability inadequately trained (Caven 251).” On the flanks, Hannibal placed his cavalry to contend with the Romans’, but he did not have the great cavalry upon which he typically relied to outflank the enemies. Behind the elephants Hannibal placed the auxiliaries, including thousands of mercenaries. These men were placed at the front to wound the Romans and cause disorder, so that his veterans (who were in the second line) could then move up and
crush the Romans. They were also at the front to prevent them from running away, as these men had no loyalty to Carthage. This too failed, though not by Hannibal's fault. Livy claims that the mercenaries ran away and were forced to fight the Carthaginians in order to make a retreat, while Polybius blames the Carthaginians for not supporting the mercenaries. In all probability, Livy is correct, as Hannibal's trusted veterans never showed any signs of cowardice in previous battles, and the mercenaries were more concerned about getting paid than about defeating the Romans. Hannibal had no reason to foresee that the mercenaries would have to make a path through his own men by blood; he probably presumed that they would simply drop back and get out of the way as the Roman velites commonly did. Had the mercenaries done their job, the veterans could have come up and faced a weakened Roman line. The third line was composed of his Italian contingent, of whose loyalty he was unsure. They were therefore placed some distance back, as to prevent a problem. This tactic had already worked before for Hannibal, such as when he was crossing the Alps with some Gauls. He placed the Gauls at the rear of his line, by his best troops, so that an attack by them would not prove disastrous. More could not have been asked from Hannibal, with the army that he had available. Livy writes, "He had tried everything he could both before and during the engagement before he withdrew from the battle, and on the admission even of Scipio as well as of all the military experts, he achieved the distinction of having drawn up his line on that day with remarkable skill (663)." Polybius and even modern historians seem to agree with this assessment.

Based on his defeat, it is safe to conclude that not even Hannibal's genius could overcome the incompetence of his army, especially up against as formidable an adversary as Scipio. While Hannibal had routed the Roman army thrice before, and won several other smaller battles, Caven describes what it was he was lacking at Zama that his own genius could not make up for:

But at Zama, Hannibal had not encountered a Longus or a Varro or a Fulvius; his elephants were not the noble beasts that had crossed the Pyrenees, the Rhone and the Alps; his cavalry, inferior in number, had apparently no Hasdrubal, Hanno or Maharbal to lead them; his Balaerie slingers and Moroccan bowmen were of little use in hand-to-hand fighting and in retreat; and his second line, which might have done useful work if the mercenaries had succeeded in driving back the enemy in disorder, were not the stuff to stem an advance that was carrying all before it (253).

If Hannibal had the army that he took with him into Italy at the beginning of the war, his strategy at Zama should have worked. Instead he was left with only one competent line, that of his veterans, and they were much
older and less numerous than they were at Cannae. In all likelihood, no commander could have defeated Hannibal when he had a strong army. As we shall see, though, it was his own fault that he did not have a competent army raised and ready for the battle.

Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, was another Carthaginian commander, but he did not enjoy nearly the same kind of success that Hannibal did. His failure should help to dispel any theories about all of the Barcas being great generals, or of the Carthaginians simply being better fighters than the Romans, and should help show Hannibal's unique talent. Again, there are several factors that must be examined to see how much of an impact Hasdrubal had in his defeats, but it should be clear that many of his conditions were close to Hannibal's, yet he could not succeed on the same level as Hannibal.

Hasdrubal was stationed in Spain in the year 210 B.C., and Scipio was also in that area, trying to win the Spaniards over as allies. Hasdrubal was in command of a force of about 30,000 Carthaginians and Spaniards, whom Hannibal had left him in charge of before crossing the Alps several years before. Scipio's force also included a large contingent of Spaniards, whom Hasdrubal had previously defeated. The two armies met each other near the town of Baecula after having been wary of each other for some time. When Hasdrubal learned of Scipio's arrival near him, he positioned his men so that they were protected both by a river and a steep ridge in front of them. "Scipio when he came up was eager to give battle, but felt uncertain as to how to proceed when he saw what a strong and advantageous position the enemy had chose (Polybius 421)." He finally decided to attack, though, alarmed at the possibility of Hasdrubal meeting up with Mago or another Carthaginian general. Scipio sent his best men up the ridge to attack the Carthaginian covering force. At this point, Hasdrubal initially did not make any move, until he saw that his men were suffering heavy losses. When this occurred, he led his men out to the brow of the hill, trusting the strength in their position rather than any strategy. Scipio sent his light-armed troops up the hill, and took half of his army with him to attack the Carthaginians from the left flank. Hasdrubal was still leading some of his troops out of camp, as he had not responded early enough to the attack. "Up to this moment he had waited there, trusting to the natural strength of his position and feeling confident that then enemy would never venture to attack him, and so because the flank assault took him by surprise, he was too late in deploying his troops (Polybius 421)." When Hasdrubal saw that he was losing the battle, he escaped with about 10,000 men. Scipio did not follow him to route the remaining force, for fear of running into another Carthaginian general. This was still a grand success for Scipio, though, as he had managed to defeat an army which should have been able to easily
For this loss must fall on Hasdrubal's shoulders, as he had not prepared his troops for battle, even when he saw a part of the Roman force climb the ridge to attack his light armed troops. He had instead acted too confidently, and did not realize that the small force climbing the ridge was simply a diversion. While Scipio's men were experienced from conquering Spain, Hasdrubal's men were part of the force that had initially conquered Spain for Carthage some years before. With a division of the same genre of men, Hannibal had enjoyed great success in Italy to this point. Hasdrubal had managed to blow this battle despite his advantage in position and his army of veterans.

Hasdrubal and the men that he escaped with then proceeded to cross the Alps, in a much more successful manner than Hannibal had. The Romans sent the consul Marcus Livius Salinator to face Hasdrubal in northern Italy. Livius was reinforced with 7,000 of the other consul's men, to help him win this battle. According to Livy, when Hasdrubal saw that both consuls were present on that day, he thought that they might have already defeated Hannibal. Accordingly, he determined to fight this battle to the last man. He had an army composed of skilled fighters from Spain, a large number of Gauls, and some Ligurians. Hasdrubal drew his formation up so that it was deeper than it was wide, which made it easier to attack its sides. On the right side of the lines, Hasdrubal and Nero (the other consul) clashed. "There, in that sector, were the two commanders-in-chief, the greater part of the Roman foot and Roman horse; there were the veteran Spaniards, wise in the ways of Roman warfare, and the tough fighters of Liguria (Livy 492)." Nero was unable to get directly through Hasdrubal's men, so he detached part of his forced and sent them around the side. Once again, Hasdrubal did not adequately defend for an attack to the side, and he was outflanked. Nearly all of his army was killed, including himself. Polybius and Livy praise him for his fighting prowess and bravery, as Livy claims, "There, still fighting, he found a death worthy of his father Hamilcar and his brother Hannibal (Livy 493)." While Hasdrubal had done everything that he could do as a soldier, he was simply not nearly as gifted as his brother at commanding troops. Caven eulogizes him this way: "A man of very ordinary ability as a strategist and tactician, he would seem to have had some administrative capacity but hardly a spark of the genius or a scrap of the personal magnetism that made Hannibal almost unique (Caven 215)." In contrast to his brother, we see that Hannibal enjoyed far greater success with the same breed Carthaginians whom Hasdrubal was in charge of, as both of their armies were instrumental in victories in Spain before the Second Punic War even started. Therefore it would be foolish to stereotype all of the Carthaginian generals, or even just the
Barcas as being superior breed of leaders. It would also not give Hannibal due credit to claim that the Carthaginians were just a good fighting people. Indeed, it took a genius of Hannibal's caliber to come up with strategies to defeat Roman armies that were larger than his own.

As skilled as Hannibal was at commanding his troops in battle, he failed in several other exploits necessary to wage a successful war. One of these failures came before the war even began. In crossing the Alps, he lost over half of his men, and many of his pack animals. As B.D. Hoyos writes, "This had not been inevitable. As the Carthaginians well knew, many Gallic peoples had migrated (with wagons, families, and animals) across the Alps in both directions and without disaster, just as a decade later Hannibal's brother would bring a new army through in good shape (Hoyos 173)." Granted, neither the Gallic tribes nor Hasdrubal took as large of a force over the mountain range, but Hannibal could have averted disaster if he had timed his campaign better. Had he crossed the Alps either before or after the bitter mountain winter, he may well have been able to bring fifty to sixty thousand men to Italy in good shape. With this large of a force, as well as his Gallic allies, things may have turned out different.

Another flaw in his strategy lies in his failure to get reinforced. Carthage did seek at times to give him fresh troops, as when he received 4,000 new men in 215 B.C., and when Hasdrubal tried to join him. According to the ancient sources, though, Hannibal could have been reinforced more if he wanted to. "Polybius stresses that it was Hannibal who all these years held the threads to all theatres of war and diplomacy in his own hands. Thus it was Hannibal who allowed himself to do without reinforcements for years on end (Hoyos 175)." It is interesting to note that thousands of forces were sent to Spain and Sicily during the war, places that were not nearly as crucial as Hannibal's position in Italy. Perhaps Hannibal was too cocky to think he needed more troops, or perhaps he did not wish to ask Carthage for more men, as this was basically a war that he started with his own actions in Spain. Either way, his failure to get more men limited his ability to defend all his allies in the Italian peninsula and certainly restricted any possibility of a march on the city of Rome itself. This failure also prevented him from maintaining a strong army, with which he may have been able to defeat Scipio in Africa.

There was much speculation by the ancient sources that Hannibal missed his chance to win the war when he did not march on Rome after the battle of Cannae. According to legend, Maharbal, the commander of the Carthaginian cavalry, wished to make the march for Rome, and Hannibal refused. Livy quotes Maharbal as saying, "You know, Hannibal, how to win a fight; you do not know how to use your victory (Livy 151)." Livy goes on to claim,
“It is generally believed that that day’s delay was the salvation of the City and of the Empire (Livy 151).” Most modern sources do not believe that Hannibal’s refusal to march was actually the salvation of Rome, as Hannibal was not skilled at siege warfare and perhaps would not have been able to take the city. Hannibal may also have expected the Romans to negotiate a treaty to end the war, as was common after a crushing defeat in those days. The fact still remains that in order to win this war, Hannibal would have needed to take the city of Rome itself, whether he knew it at the time or not. Hoyos claims that Maharbal’s idea was a good one, as he wanted to press on with his cavalry and take the city by surprise (177). This may well have worked, as the city would most likely have been in a great deal of panic after the loss of so many men in the battle, including one consul and eighty senators. There is also the matter that the Romans did not have a skilled veteran army to defend the city either. Whether or not Hannibal could have taken the city cannot be proclaimed for sure, but if there was one time in the war in which he had a good chance at it, this was that time.

It seems that with Hannibal’s grand strategy for the war, he should have taken the chance of attacking Rome and ending the war in a single battle. After the Romans declined to negotiate following their loss at Cannae, he must have known how hard the Romans were determined to fight. He could not win a long drawn-out war, for he did not acquire the men to defend all of his allies in Italy, nor could he count on them all remaining loyal. Only by keeping the energy he generated at Cannae constant could he have counted on keeping his allies. By slowing the war down after the battle, this possibility was lost.

It is safe to conclude that Carthage’s initial success in the Second Punic War was because of Hannibal’s brilliance as a leader. With a good army at his service, nobody in his time was his equal. His remarkable skill was not enough to make up for an incompetent army, though, such as the one he commanded at the Battle of Zama. He was also not the best at making up a grand strategy. Although his idea of winning over allies in Italy seemed like a good one, as it would get him more troops, it also meant that he had to spread himself too thin all their cities. Eventually, he was not able to defend any of them. He also failed at maintaining a good army, although he had the opportunity to do so. Therefore his role in the war can be assessed thus: his strategies were what won several huge victories over the Romans at the beginning (and lesser victories later on, as the Romans refused to fight any more huge pitched battles), but his flawed grand strategy also helped lead to Carthage’s defeat in the end.

Works Cited


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*Mosaic*

*By Christopher Bungard*
Hannibal and the Italian Cities

By Michael P. Fronda
Department of Classical Studies  
2002 Association of Ancient Historians Annual Meeting

Rome’s victory in the Second Punic War paved the way for her conquest of the Mediterranean. Yet that victory is bound up with Hannibal's failure in Italy, even though he brought Rome to her knees in the early stages of the war. Previous explanations for the failure of Hannibal’s strategy have tended to stress either the hopelessness of this strategy, because of the loyalty of Rome’s Italian allies and their willingness to be integrated into the Roman system, or the success of Rome’s counter-strategy of attrition, aimed at limiting allied revolts while wearing down Hannibal’s forces (see J. Lazenby in T.J. Cornell, et al., *The Second Punic War: A Reappraisal*; the debate fundamentally framed by G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* 3.2). Previous scholarship, however, neglects an important dimension of the question of the failure of Hannibal’s strategy; that is, the significance of local conditions, especially local diplomacy and inter-municipal rivalries in shaping the course of the war. Ultimately, Hannibal’s strategy was incapable of dealing with the complex matrix of local diplomatic ties and rivalries.

The following example will prove suggestive. Naples and Nola, two cities with close diplomatic ties, had a history of hostility toward Rome, fighting against her during the Second Samnite War. However, both cities remained loyal to Rome during the Second Punic War, despite repeated overtures by Hannibal. Meanwhile Capua, with a history of loyalty to Rome dating to the Samnite Wars, and enjoying the privileged status of *civitas sine suffragio*, rebelled to Hannibal during the Second Punic War. Capua was a regional hegemonic power (M. Frederiksen, *Campania*), and the argument that convinced the Capuan senate to rebel was that an alliance with Hannibal would yield an extension of Capuan territory and power (Liv. 23.6.1, 10.2). After rebelling, Capua attempted - without Hannibal’s assistance - to capture Cumae (Liv. 23.35.1-19), and the people of Nola requested a Roman garrison specifically for fear of an attack by the Capuans (Liv. 23.19.4). These events suggest that the decision of a city to remain loyal to Rome or to revolt was rooted, at least partly, in local diplomatic concerns. In effect, by gaining Capua as an ally, Hannibal may have strengthened the loyalty of other Campanian cities fearing Capuan aggression. Second, Capua and Nola-Naples consistently opposed each other in different conflicts from 4th through 3rd centuries, regardless of their relationship with Rome during those conflicts. This suggests that some inter-municipal rivalries were long lasting, and persisted well after initial Roman conquest.

The evidence for inter-municipal rivalry is the most clear for Campanian cities; however, similar patterns of local rivalry are
visible elsewhere in Italy, especially in Apulia and Magna Graecia. By shifting the focus of the war from Rome or Hannibal to local conditions, the Second Punic War, with its significant corpus of ancient evidence, can be used as a window for exploring local municipal concerns generally overshadowed in the sources.
Scires a Pallade doctam: Arachne and Ovid

By Dr. Garrett Jacobsen
Department of Classical Studies
2002 Meeting of Classical Association of the Midwest and South, Austin, Texas
April 3-6

Reading the Arachne myth in the Metamorphoses may reveal Ovid’s awareness about “the historical dimension of myth” (Burkert, Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual) and his conscious use of “mythical narratives” as a mirror to “contemporary life” (Griffin, Latin Poets and Roman Life). Ovid creates an implicit bond between myth and reality: the story of Arachne resonates with a sense of alienation that rings true to Ovid’s own apparent experience. While autobiographical elements in poetry are always problematic, if not impossible, to adumbrate, and should perhaps be subordinated to the “internal necessities” of the poetry (Veyne, Roman Erotic Elegy: Love, Poetry, and the West), the accepted historical evidence points to an obvious schism between Ovid’s poetic themes and the social and moralistic legislation of Augustus. This tension between Ovidian art and Augustan propaganda is symbolized in the certamen of Arachne and Minerva.

Arachne’s plebeian origins (de plebe, VI.10), her skillfulness (opus admirabile, VI.14), and audacity (temeraria, VI.32) bring her to challenge Minerva (cur haec certamina vitat? VI.42) in a femineus labor, a craft of particular association with Roman women (Giardina, The Romans). The goddess can brook no insolence to her power (numina nec sperni sine poena nostra sinamus, VI.4), her expertise (tanta...magistra, VI.24), or her potential beneficence (supplice voce roga: veniam dabit illa roganti, VI.33). The ensuing contest and its outcome illustrate the gulf between the residents of Olympus and the mortals of Earth, or in Ovid’s view the dwellers on the Palatine and the ordinary citizens of Rome (hic locus est, quem, si verbis audacia detur/haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia caeli, I.175-176).

The figures of Minerva’s tapestry, glorifying the imperial power of divinity, are pictures of Romanitas (augusta gravitate sedent, VI.73). The rigid didacticism of Minerva’s work echoes the Augustan classicism current in Rome (Anderson, Ovid’s Metamorphoses, Books 6-10). In strong contrast to such propaganda are the images of Arachne’s tapestry, illuminating the passionate duplicity of the gods with the Ovidian word play on ludere, ‘to mock and deceive’ or ‘to make love’ (elusam...Europam...luserit...luserit, VI.103f). The depictions on Arachne’s tapestry reflect the very elements of Ovid’s own storytelling in the first part of the Metamorphoses (Bömer, P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphosen: Kommentar): divine love affairs verbally woven into one another; helpless women seduced by powerful, passionate and deceitful gods.
The final judgment of Arachne's work reveals no flaw, but the weaver chooses suicide before the wrath of Minerva, foreshadowing an increasingly frequent imperial Roman solution to political problems. Propaganda, whether Olympian or Palatine, must replace the truth of the artist's vision. Minerva's punishment expels Arachne from human society with a metamorphosis that becomes "lex" for Arachne and her progeny (VI.137f). The metamorphosis of Arachne becomes a prophetic warning of Ovid's own expulsion from Roman society and exile to the Black Sea at the hands of Augustus. The contest between art and state appears no contest at all.
Abstract for Senior Research:  
The Changing Role of Isis in Egyptian Mythology  
By Tara K. Ellison

I am exploring the changing role of Isis in Egyptian mythology and her relationship to the socio-political order. One method of analyzing Isis' position in Egypt is to examine the myths, religious rituals, and political terms regarding kingship. Isis was closely linked to her husband/brother Osiris and their son, Horus, so I address their roles in society as they reflect on Isis. Using a historical framework, I discuss the nature of myth, as well as the actual Egyptian myths, and the theologies surrounding Egyptian myths. It is then easier to interpret written and pictorial references to Isis as someone within the religious tradition might understand her position. This analysis will begin as Egypt unites under one pharaoh and through the Roman period, as Isis remained an important goddess. Her role fluctuated within a changing society, especially as politics were increasingly governed by the Western world. Egyptian mythology was the basis for both political and religious ideology, and Isis was ultimately central to this matrix. There is little research regarding the role of Isis, and other Egyptian goddesses, compared to the analyses of gods such as Osiris and Horus. This paper will strengthen our understanding of the continuing role of the goddess in ancient Egypt.

Abstract for Senior Research:  
'Non sum ego qui fueram': The Interaction of Desire and Identity in Roman Elegy and the Problem Comedies of Shakespeare  
By Robyn Bowers

This project is governed by a single idea: that desire for another is signaled by shifts in one's identity. Beginning with the poetry of Catullus and Propertius, a paradigm of how the lover reacts to love is built. From that point, the paper progresses through four more chapters; the paradigm is applied to Ovid's Metamorphoses, Vergil's Aeneid, and Shakespeare's All's Well That Ends Well, Measure for Measure, and Troilus and Cressida. Chapters include close textual analysis of primary sources as well as consideration of recent scholarly criticism, most notably of the feminist variety. Questions of self-image and subjectivity are posed throughout the paper as they relate to particular sources. At its best, the paper reveals that there is a universal quality to the experience of love, one that transcends language and historical eras as well as our own biases.
Abstract for Senior Research
Pigs in Antiquity
By Chris Bungard

For the Greeks and the Romans, pigs and their wild counterpart, boars, were a crucial part to life. Pigs were essential in the practice of religion, being sacrificed to a wide variety of gods and goddesses. As religion and public life were fully intertwined, it is not surprising that the pig was such an important animal. A young pig was the cheapest sacrifice a family could offer up in private worship. The blood of a piglet was seen as a means of purification. Pork was one of the primary meats consumed by the Greco-Roman people, by far more common than beef. Considering all of this, it is not surprising that stories of pigs, wild and domestic, and their keepers pervade the passages of Greco-Roman literature, especially mythology.

This study looks at the way in which the image of the pig and the boar changed over the passing of the centuries. In both Greece and Rome, early history revolved around the agrarian life. As the city developed, more people in both societies spent more of their time away from farms. The farm itself sits at the edge of the civilized world. It is the boundary between the domestic and the wild. The less time people are exposed to this halfway world, the less they see wild nature as glorious. The wild is the haunt of beasts and barbarians. Any idyllic portrayal of nature is the nature of the farm.

The pig is the ideal subject for such a study as it is one animal that exists on either side of the wild-domestic line. The pig can be tended by a swineherd, like Homer’s Eumaeus, or it can be the destructive agent of the gods, like the Calydonian boar or Phaea the Crommyonian sow. In Homer, nature is much more noble. Heroes are likened to boars in attempt to glorify the furious power of the wild beast. The domestic pig is seen only around the character of the swineherd, who slaughters them for the feasts of the suitors. The pig nourishes. By the time of Vergil, the boar is only used in a simile with the warrior Mezentius, the cruel king of the Etruscans who was banished by his own people for tying the living to the dead, just to mention one of his barbarous acts. The image of the domestic pig is similar to Homer’s. Vergil’s Aeneas sees a white sow suckling thirty piglets, a symbol of the future position of Rome, nourishing the neighboring communities.
Ephemeris

Contributors’ Notes

Adam Mallinger is a senior Cinema major from Columbus, Ohio. He has taken both "Great Books: Classical" and "Comparative Mythology" from Dr. Jacobsen and enjoy the Classics far more than he expected to simply because the structure of the discussions is very loose and informal. He feels it makes for more entertaining discussions.

Audra Russo, a sophomore double majoring in Education and English, is happy to be able to share one of the fruits of her labor in the Classics with the Denison community. She has been lucky to have the opportunity to participate in a strong Latin program in her hometown of Medina, Ohio and to have been able to share a couple semesters with the Classics department at Denison. Haec olim meminisse iuvabit! 😊

Marisa Wikramanayate is a freshman currently trying to figure out what her major should be. She has a tendency to disappear literally into a dream world of her own. As for Classics - mythology is an inspiration realized only during a blue moon.

Bob Wyllie, a sophomore Physics and Philosophy double major, feels that Classical Studies are indispensable as a liberal arts discipline both for the relevance and force it has on modern thought and the beauty and elegance its subject exhibits singularly. His submission deals with the beauty and elegance of Latin itself, and composing it gave him a vast appreciation for the accomplishments of Vergil and other classical authors. He hopes to continue to be able to learn about and appreciate the classics at Denison.

Alison Hughes is a sophomore from Milwaukee, Wisconsin and plays tennis at Denison. She is an Art History major who enjoys learning and studying about ancient Greek and Roman culture and its connection to art.

Steve Nery is a junior Philosophy major with a minor in Classics. He enjoys studying classics because he think classical society was very interesting in itself, as well as in its arts and mythology. He thanks Ephemeris for choosing to publish his work.

Michael Fronda earned his B.A. in History and his B.A. in Classics at Cornell University. He then received his M.A. in History and PhD Candidate History at Ohio State University. His field is Roman History and he has done archaeological fieldwork in Greece and Italy. The abstract he submitted is for a paper he is presenting at the association of Ancient Historians annual meeting, and the paper is part of a larger study he is completing on local political, economic, and diplomatic conditions and their contribution to the failure of the Hannibalic strategy in Italy. This topic constitutes his dissertation.

Garrett Jacobsen, Associate Professor and current Chair of Classical Studies, began teaching at Denison as a part-time Visiting Lecturer twenty years ago. He received an A.B. in Latin from Franklin and Marshall College and the M.A. and Ph.D. in Classics from the Ohio State University. His research interests include Roman literature, comparative mythology, late antiquity, the Byzantine world, and the classical tradition. He and Karl Sandin, Associate Professor of Art History, direct the Loca Antiqua program which offers travel seminars to classical sites; the next seminar is scheduled for May 2003 and will take place in Italy and Greece.
Tara Ellison is a senior Classical Civilizations and Religion double major. She has loved the ancient world since sixth grade, when first seriously introduced to it. How little human nature has changed through the millennia fascinates her. She thinks that by studying how other people have addressed the same basic problems we face today we can act more positively to change our world. We may make new mistakes, but she believes we can avoid some by looking at other civilizations.

Robyn Bowers is a senior from Springfield, Ohio, majoring in Latin and English. Her senior honors thesis was developed in part from two summer scholars projects in Latin and other coursework in Latin. She wishes to thank the Classics department for their wonderful teaching and support. *rideo quod amo.*

Christopher Bungard is a senior History, Latin, and Classical Civilizations major. Where else can you read about a festival to appease the spirits of the dead by putting beans into your mouth, and then spitting them into the corners of the room for the spirits to eat?

Betsy Prueter is a sophomore English and Classical Studies double major and co-editor of *Ephemeris.* She is very excited to be a part of a new tradition of Classics at Denison with the creation of *Ephemeris.* She hopes, with the publication and circulation of this journal, to increase interest and awareness in Ancient Studies. One of the main purposes of the journal was to introduce to other colleges and high schools to the benefits of continued studies Classics in post secondary education. She wishes to thank Melanie Vanderkolk for all the work she put into creating the journal. Without her help, *Ephemeris* would have never become a reality. Thanks also go to Dr. Jacobsen and Chris Bungard for their support and assistance. Enjoy!

Melanie Vanderkolk is a sophomore Classical Civilizations major and Art History minor, and enjoys being the co-editor of *Ephemeris.* She would love for *Ephemeris* to motivate and encourage others to take an active interest in the Classical Studies and hopes that readers will enjoy the variety of works in *Ephemeris.* The Classics are not simply studies of the past, but studies in the foundation of how we live today. She would like to thank Betsy Prueter for her hard work (and LONG hours) on the journal, Dr. Jacobsen for encouraging the birth of the journal, and Chris Bungard for his help in reading submissions.