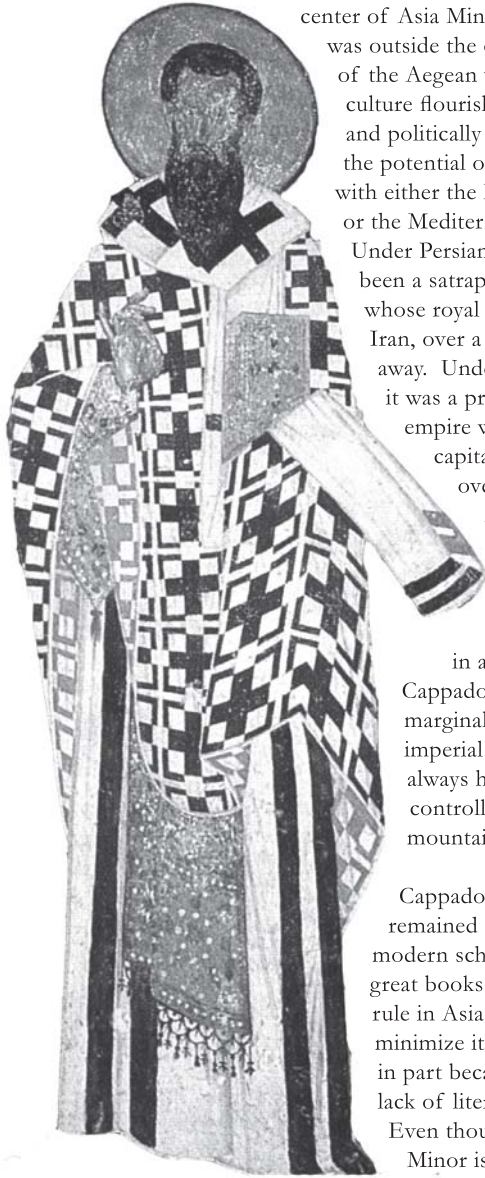


Cappadocia in Late Antiquity *by Ray Van Dam*



Basil of Caesarea

In the ancient world the highlands of Cappadocia were consistently a peripheral region. Situated in the center of Asia Minor, Cappadocia was outside the coastal zones of the Aegean where Greek culture flourished. Culturally and politically the region had the potential of linking up with either the Middle East or the Mediterranean world.

Under Persian rule it had been a satrapy in an empire whose royal capital was in Iran, over a thousand miles away. Under Roman rule it was a province in an empire whose imperial capital was in Italy, over a thousand miles away in the opposite direction.

Even when incorporated in an empire, Cappadocia remained marginal, because imperial authorities always had difficulty controlling mountainous regions.

Cappadocia has likewise remained marginal in modern scholarship. The great books about Roman rule in Asia Minor tend to minimize its significance, in part because of the lack of literary sources.

Even though Roman Asia Minor is celebrated for its important inscriptions, few have

been found in Cappadocia. Modern archaeological surveys and excavations of sites in Cappadocia are rudimentary.

My interest in Cappadocia reflected my admiration for anthropologists, who have often based their reflections about theory and method on close studies of particular communities at particular moments. In order to write a similar comprehensive study for the Roman empire, I wanted to investigate a specific region that was well documented for a short period of time. Surprisingly, Cappadocia turned out to be an appropriate choice, because for the fourth century it is the best documented region in Asia Minor. Basil served as bishop of the metropolitan capital of Caesarea during the 370s; his brother Gregory became bishop of Nyssa and also visited the new imperial capital of Constantinople; and their friend Gregory of Nazianzus served briefly as bishop of Constantinople until returning to his estates in Cappadocia during the 380s. The writings of these three famous Cappadocian Fathers were extensive and included lengthy theological treatises, many sermons, and hundreds of letters to correspondents throughout the eastern Mediterranean world. In addition, emperors and their entourages often passed through Cappadocia as they trekked between Constantinople and Antioch, a convenient staging point for military campaigns against the Persian empire. During the fourth century emperors made more visits to Caesarea than to Rome.

This wealth of information made it possible to evaluate many different topics and themes. For my purposes the most important were the interaction between imperial administration and local aristocrats in Cappadocia, the dynamics of personal relationships among family members and friends, and the impact of a new religion like Christianity on a traditional society.

Petitioners and Patrons

During the fourth century emperors conducted repeated campaigns against the Persian empire. Because those campaigns required a heavily armored cavalry, Cappadocia became strategically vital as an important source for both horses and armor. Huge imperial ranches covered much of the landscape, and Cappadocian horses were famous as racehorses throughout the empire. At Caesarea a sprawling factory produced armor for both soldiers and horses.

Emperors were also interested in Cappadocia because of its proximity to the kingdom of Armenia, where both they and the Persian kings claimed precedence. The emperor Constantine had once hoped to make one of his nephews the king of Armenia. The emperor Valens planned to use Christianity to extend his influence into the kingdom. When the kingdom had converted to Christianity in the early fourth century, the metropolitan bishop of Caesarea had acquired the right to consecrate the primate of Armenia. Valens now hoped that bishop Basil would assist his military campaigns by selecting new bishops for the kingdom.

But when Valens visited Caesarea in 372, he and Basil instead began jousting over their public images. Since the emperor promoted a heterodox version of Christianity, Basil chose to confront him. At the celebration of the liturgy in Basil's church in Caesarea the bishop stood perfectly motionless as he awaited the emperor. In contrast, the thunderous chanting of the Psalms made Valens tremble. In this public phase of their courting ritual everyone had seen the emperor flinch as he approached the altar.

In his home region a bishop like Basil hence had enough prestige to intimidate an emperor. But

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From the Chair

Ciao Amici!

Dear Friends of the Department of Classical Studies,

Welcome back to the golden days of the gorgeous fall that we have in Ann Arbor, my favorite season hereabouts. We are delighted to welcome back as Associate Professors with tenure our Greek historian Sara Forsdyke and our classical archaeologist Lisa Nevett. We also welcome back Arthur Verhoogt from his time in Mali; he is taking over from Ruth Scodel as Graduate Advisor, who will be on sabbatical. We warmly congratulate Ben Fortson on his Fellowship from the Humboldt Foundation; he will be spending the year in Halle.

We are very pleased indeed to have joining us two new senior colleagues in classical archaeology. These are Nicola Terrenato (known to all his friends as Nic), who is an expert in the archaeology and history of Roman Italy from the earliest periods onward, and Christopher Ratté, whose specialization is ancient Anatolia, from Lydian Sardis all the way down to Byzantine Aphrodisias. Both of them bring expertise in both excavation and field survey, and their ongoing projects will provide excellent opportunities for our many students with archaeological interests. Their arrivals will fully maintain the high standing of the Interdepartmental Program in Classical Art and Archaeology.

Since Professor Terrenato cannot begin until next September, in his absence we have the good fortune to keep Steven Ellis among us for another year. Steve's exciting archaeological projects this past summer, both at Isthmia near Corinth and the Porta Stabiae at Pompeii (the latter now under the auspices of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology), have involved a number of our students.

In April Sharon Herbert gave the Distinguished Senior Faculty Lecture entitled "The Last of the Phoenicians: the Serendipity of Archaeological Field Research." This was a fascinating account of her work at Tel Kedesh and Tel Anafa in Israel. On May 11 she hosted President Coleman and Ed and Mary Meader for the ground-breaking ceremony for the William E. Upjohn Exhibit Hall at the Kelsey Museum. This major expansion of the Museum will be of enormous benefit to our strength in classical art and archaeology, and will also make more of the collection accessible to the local community. We are also delighted that she was able to excavate again at Tel Kedesh this summer.

In April we also said farewell to three visitors, Greek historian Sarah Bolmarcich, Bronze Age archaeologist Margaretha Kramer-Hajós, and John Humphrey, Visiting Professor of Classical Archaeology, who contributed so much to our teaching over the year. We are very grateful to them all.

To return to philology, we were very sorry indeed to hear the news of the passing on September 28, 2005 of Professor

D. R. Shackleton-Bailey, whose long retirement in this town renewed the distinction of the time when he taught in our Department. It is a great consolation that he accomplished so much in the field of Roman literature. On April 23 a gathering in his study of his friends from all over America was fueled by copious supplies of Mattingly & Moore, his favorite Bourbon.

Allison Friendly tells me that our undergraduate enrollments continue on upwards. I am particularly gratified to see the increasing numbers in Greek, both ancient and modern, and in more advanced courses in Latin. This is a clear sign of the success of our intensive language courses, including those taught over the summer by Netta Berlin. We are delighted that the Foundation for Modern Greek Studies has launched a fund-raising campaign for a Chair in Modern Greek History.

In March we had a splendid Else Lecture on Homer and Milton from David Quint of Yale University. In April Jake MacPhail organized a major conference entitled "Books about Books." Modern Greek hosted two major events last semester, in February was the 4th Annual Pallas Lecture given by Dr. Helen Evans from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, entitled "Byzantium Revisited: The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia in the Twentieth Century," and in January, a lecture was given by Dr. Fani Mallouchou-Tufano from the Acropolis Restoration Service entitled "The Restoration of the Athenian Acropolis: 1834-2005." Sara Ahbel-Rappe brought together a number of philosophers to talk about "Socratic *personae*." This fall on October 26, the Else Lecture will be given by Christopher Gill and tentatively entitled "Concepts of Self and Therapy in Hellenistic-Roman Thought." This will coincide with the visit of the Royal Shakespeare Company who will be performing *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra*. Our Jerome Lectures in March 2007 will be given by Larissa Bonfante from New York University, who will be presenting material on reading Greek and Etruscan images. The big event looming on the horizon is of course the International Congress in Papyrology, to be held in Ann Arbor July 29–August 4, 2007.

Finally, I would like to thank all of you who gave to the Department's strategic fund following our previous newsletter. Please take a moment to keep up your support, which is much appreciated; such contributions are of unique value in showing the next generation the significance of Classical Studies for all our futures.

So *valete* once again.

Richard Janko

Cappadocia continued...

bishops were also sending repeated requests both to the imperial court and to local imperial magistrates for assistance, in particular for relief from taxes. As the medium of correspondence even bishops often preferred to use culture rather than religion. In their letters Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus typically introduced themselves as connoisseurs of Greek literature and philosophy, and they flattered their correspondents as true educated gentlemen. A shared familiarity with classical culture was a means for allowing petitioners to request favors and imperial magistrates to grant them in a polite context that seemed to imply no overtones of groveling or haughtiness. By appealing

to examples from classical mythology and ancient history these bishops could tacitly remind governors, and even emperors, how good rulers were expected to behave toward their subjects.

The imperial administration at all levels tended to be sluggish, more inclined to react than to initiate. Petitions and edicts represented the two sides of an ongoing conversation between imperial administrators and provincial notables, and emperors and other imperial magistrates anticipated the flow of incoming requests as reassurance that they were not just talking to themselves. Imperial administration was a negotiated relationship. In fact, by presenting imperial magistrates with opportunities to demonstrate their generosity,

petitioners like the bishops of Cappadocia could even represent themselves as the benefactors of their potential patrons.

Fathers and Sons

In Roman society mortality rates were high, and perhaps two-thirds of Roman children had lost their fathers before the age of twenty-five. The use of model life tables and statistical sampling by modern historians such as Bruce Frier has considerably enlightened the demographic profile of the Roman empire. The families of the Cappadocia Fathers can now provide case studies for analyzing the tensions between specific experiences and general demographic expectations.

One set of experiences involved sons and their fathers. Basil was the oldest son in his family. His father was probably about thirty at Basil's birth, and even with the high mortality rates in the Roman empire he could have looked forward to mentoring his son well into young manhood. Gregory of Nazianzus was likewise the oldest son in his family. But since his father was already about fifty or older at Gregory's birth, he would have been fortunate to see his son reach his teenage years. Basil could have anticipated growing into adulthood with his father, while Gregory should have become fatherless at a young age.

The fates of both inverted expectations. Basil lost his father when a young teenager, and into his mid-forties Gregory was still caring for his aged father. These experiences, in part because they were unexpected, clearly affected their feelings about their fathers. Basil never mentioned his father and rejected anything that resembled his father's career as a grammarian. He also seems to have nursed deep painful yearnings for his father, and

he longed for a fatherly mentor. Gregory revered his father for decades and consistently followed his father's lead. He praised his father's gentleness and serenity. Yet at least twice he thought of his father as a "tyrant," as if somehow his father's amiable reasonableness had itself become oppressive. Loss and longing, devotion and resentment: both Basil and Gregory had conflicted feelings about their fathers.

Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus became

prominent theologians. Since one of the important issues in theological controversies during the fourth century was precisely the exact definition of the relationship between God the Father and Jesus Christ the Son, it seems reasonable to wonder whether personal experiences might have influenced doctrinal formulations. Basil certainly seemed to think so. "How is it possible to grasp the concept of God the Father," he asked in one of his letters, "if we do not understand fatherhood?" The irony of this comment, of course, is that Basil had lost his own father at an early age and as an unmarried cleric he had never become a father himself.

Remembering the Past

The rise of Christianity necessitated the rewriting of history. Long ago cities and local notables in Cappadocia had identified themselves with Greek history and mythology; then they had tried to accommodate the new realities of Roman rule. After the conversion of Constantine, however, Christianity defined the dominant worldview, including historical perspectives. Then both cities and families had to invent and publicize new legends to supplement their Greekness and Romanness with Christian traditions.

The geographer Strabo, a contemporary of the emperor Augustus, recorded many legends

In their letters Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus typically introduced themselves as connoisseurs of Greek literature and philosophy, and they flattered their correspondents as true educated gentlemen.



Gregory of Nazianzus

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Early Greek Theater in Sicily *by Kate Bosher*

Sicily's theaters, poets, and collections of dramatic figurines and vases have been used to help explain Athens' theatrical tradition or, at most, to paint a picture of Athenian theater imported to the colonies. It is hard to find a history of Sicilian theater itself, however, probably in part because of the gaps in the historical record and the fragmentary nature of the very varied sources, and in part because of a prevailing view

*There is no dithyramb,
when you drink water.*

(Epicharmus of Syracuse,
Kassel and Austin,
PCG I, fragment 131)

that the Greek West simply adopted Athenian theater piecemeal as it was fed to it. Despite the many good reasons to be tentative in reconstructing the history of Sicilian

theater, I was drawn in by the richness of the sources and took it up as a dissertation topic. Emboldened by a potent mixture of interdisciplinary studies and a desire to redeem the colonial world, which may be as intoxicating and dangerous as unmixed Athenocentricity, I set out to rescue Sicily from the shadow of Athenian theater. Much of what follows is drawn from arguments in secondary sources that are more fully referenced in my thesis. With the caveat that nearly every point could be debated, I

offer one version of the story of the development of theater in Syracuse.

In the hollow of a hill, where Sicel tribes once worshipped water deities, near the island of Ortygia, the *gamoroi*, aristocratic rulers of Syracuse, built one and perhaps two early theaters. These late sixth-century meeting places may have housed political gatherings, and perhaps also performances of Stesichoros, dithyramb, and other poetry. When the *gamoroi* were ousted by their political underlings, a brief democratic period ensued which was brought to a close by the arrival of Gelon, a Deinomenid, together with his army. Whether Gelon was genuinely welcomed by the population or not, he does seem to have set up a political structure which paid at least lip service to the social and political involvement of the people.

His brother, Hieron, refined this technique of political manipulation through public performance. After laying waste to the city of Catania in 476, for example, he hired Aeschylus to write a play celebrating his founding of the new city he built in its place. Despite his absolute control of the city of Syracuse, he also seems to have sponsored a reproduction of Aeschylus' apparently pro-democratic play, the *Persians*. Perhaps most

important, his rule is associated with the Sicilian Epicharmus, who is hailed as the inventor of the comic plot by Aristotle and others. The scanty fragments of Epicharmus' work suggest that he too presented the tyrant in a favorable light and that his plays may have belonged to a wider program of propaganda. The names of contemporary comic poets, Deinolochus and Phormus, suggest that there was a fairly active body of Sicilian playwrights in the period. With the end of Deinomenid rule in 467, evidence for large-scale theater disappears from the archaeological and literary record in Sicily.

For the next half-century, Syracuse was governed by an unstable succession of democracies. From this period, only one crucial dramatic piece of evidence remains: the mimes of Sophron. Sophron's remarkable choice to write in Doric dialect, and many themes and images comparable to those found in Epicharmus, suggest that he was, to some degree, writing in a similar tradition. His prose mimes, however, are usually thought to have been written for small audiences, and so they may only be evidence for the continuing interest in theater of a select group, perhaps of the elite.

There is very little real evidence of large-scale public theater, therefore, until the sudden appearance of the phlyax vases at the beginning of the 4th century. These vases, which depict some sort of bawdy comedy, were for a long time thought to represent a native subliterate tradition of South Italian and Sicilian farces. What makes the vases so puzzling, however, was that there were so many of them (more than 200 hundred still exist); they were so widespread (all over the south of Italy and Sicily); and yet, the type of comedy represented on them was so standardized. Is it likely that local subliterate farces would have been represented suddenly in such a standardized form over such a wide area?

Csapo and Taplin have now demonstrated that a few of the vases represent Athenian comedy, and in particular Aristophanes. This proof was revolutionary for it meant that Aristophanes spread far more



Performance of Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai* at the theater of Syracuse, July 2001

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Kostas Karyotakis

by Vassilis Lambropoulos

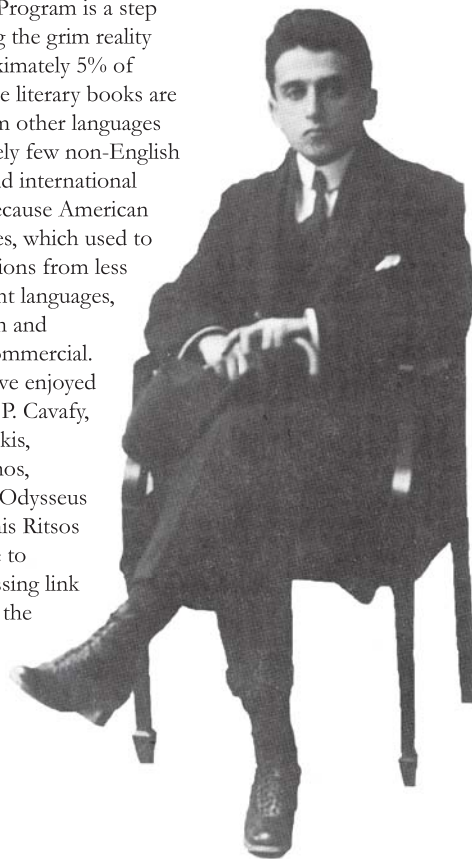
After poet Kostas Karyotakis (1896-1928) committed suicide at the age of 32, Greek literature was never the same. Now English-speaking readers will be able to see why. He was influenced by French Symbolists and became the leading figure of Modernist despair with a unique satiric edge. The formal precision, technical experimentation, and dark vision of his writings, combined with the deafening gunshot of his suicide, had enormous impact on succeeding generations of poets.

Karyotakis is the last major figure of the Greek modern canon not yet translated into English. The Modern Greek Program in the Department of Classical Studies is joining forces with the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Birmingham, UK, to publish *Battered Guitars: The Poetry and Prose of Kostas Karyotakis*, which will appear at the end of 2006. Michigan faculty Keith Taylor, who coordinates the Undergraduate Program in Creative Writing in the English Department, learned Greek specifically for the purpose of translating Karyotakis. He has been working on this project for many

years, together with his friend William Reader, a Religion Professor at Central Michigan University. Together, they won the 2004 Keeley and Sherrard Award from *Poetry Greece* magazine for two path-breaking Karyotakis translations.

The series Birmingham Modern Greek Translations has been publishing books of poetry and fiction under the editorship of Dimitris Tziouvas, Professor of Modern Greek. With funding provided to the Modern Greek Program of Michigan by the Foundation for Modern Greek Studies, the series will be able to bring out in late 2006 the first book-length, English translation of Karyotakis. Both Michigan and Birmingham have had a long history of creative engagement with modern Greek culture. For example, modern Greek language courses at Michigan go as far back as the 1880s, and occur in other periods, like the 1940s and 1970s. Past Birmingham faculty include two great advocates of contemporary Hellenism, Nikolai Bakhtin, brother of literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin, and George Thomson, who proposed that the study of Greek should begin with its modern form.

This transatlantic collaboration between an American and a British Modern Greek Program is a step toward reversing the grim reality that only approximately 5% of English-language literary books are translations from other languages because extremely few non-English writers command international attention and because American university presses, which used to support translations from less commonly taught languages, are cutting down and turning more commercial. Readers who have enjoyed the poetry of C.P. Cavafy, Nikos Kazantzakis, Angelos Sikelianos, George Seferis, Odysseus Elytis, and Yannis Ritsos will now be able to discover the missing link from the 1920s, the unique voice of Kostas Karyotakis.



Kostas Karyotakis

CFC

Translation 2006

by Jay Reed

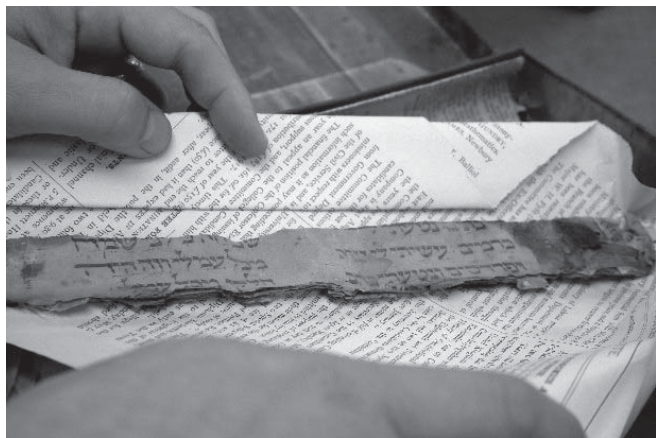
The yearly translation contests sponsored by the interdisciplinary Contexts for Classics consortium since 2002 have inspired not only remarkable work by our undergraduates and graduate students, but also an appreciation of the creative aspects of translation from one language to another. The contest asks for translations out of Ancient Greek, Modern Greek, or Latin into any medium; a 2005 undergraduate winner rendered Catullus' epitaph on his brother as a stark but moving graphic novel in digital format. Even the more conventional entries gather in more than the literal meaning of their originals. One 2006 winner enlighteningly reimagined the poetry of Gallus—which survives in only ten meager lines—as both alluding to earlier Latin and Greek poetry and the target of allusions by later Latin poets; another recast a chorus by Aeschylus into the rhythms of Gerard Manley Hopkins, with delightfully surprising aptness. These translations embody literary history and literary criticism. They thus splendidly realize the goals

of Contexts for Classics (which spans several literature departments and programs): to study the Classical tradition, or afterlife and influence of Classical culture, in a critical way and particularly in a way that brings out the critical nature of translation itself (in the broadest sense), its tendency to comment on what it transforms. There are connections here with the whole tradition of Latin literature, which from its beginnings put Greek literature (which Latin writers were often overtly rendering and appropriating) through a creative process. The first Latin epic was Livius Andronicus' translation of Homer's *Odyssey*—a scaled-down translation, to judge by the remaining fragments, whose selections and reorganization of the original must have been tailored to its new cultural setting. We are delighted that our Ancient Greek, Modern Greek, and Latin students, in setting their minds to the translation of their favorite literary works, have come to understand this cross-cultural process and added their own work to this rich tradition.

A New Breakthrough

in Reading Ancient Manuscripts? by Richard Jankeo

Although few people suspected it at the time, October 20, 2005 may turn out to have been an extraordinary day in the history of classical scholarship. Earlier in the year Professor W. Brent Seales of the Department of Computer Science



The spine of the codex, showing the uppermost layer of text.

at the University of Kentucky told me about new technology he is developing for reading papyrus-rolls that cannot physically be opened. He had successfully tested it on model papyri that he had made and inscribed in ink.

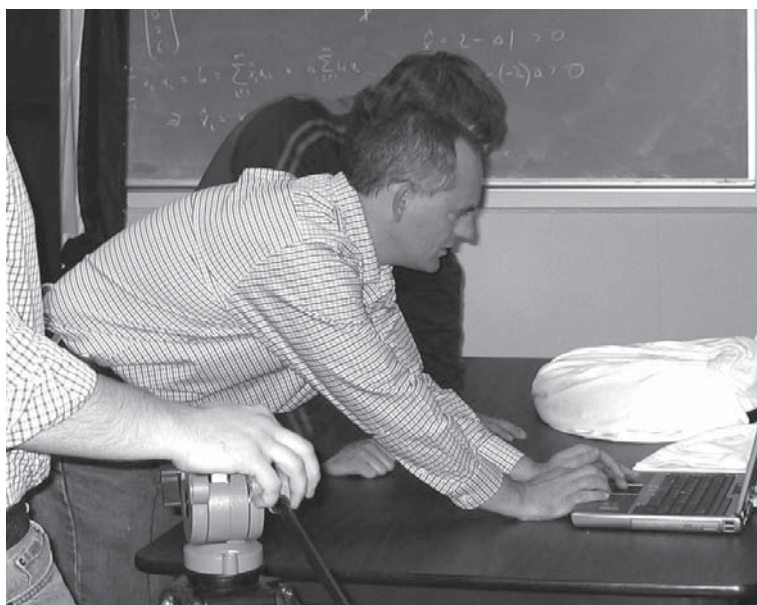
At once my mind leapt to the hundreds of charred scrolls from Herculaneum that still reside, stubbornly rolled up, in closets that fill a whole room in the National Library in Naples. Last June, after wandering through the labyrinth of rooms in the former Royal Palace that houses the library, we met up in the *Officina dei Papiri* (Workshop of the Papyri) to investigate the possibilities. We were shown the damaged rolls still sitting dozen by dozen in their glass cases, but swiftly concluded that, for the technology to be deployed, money needs to be found for a mobile version of the equipment to be built. The Herculaneum scrolls are too fragile ever to be moved, and so the equipment must go to them. But how could such money be raised without one knowing whether the technology will work on real objects?

Hence I suggested that we should look in the collection of the University of Michigan to see what pieces were sufficiently sturdy to travel to the existing equipment, which is at the Center for Non-Destructive Analysis at Iowa State University in Ames, Iowa. In September Traianos Gagos, the Director of the collection, and I visited the collection to chose two pieces for testing. We looked at a number of fascinating objects, including a papyrus-roll that was completely intact but where the papyrus was too brittle to be opened, and a box containing about a hundred leaves of a codex (ancient book) which were so impossible to separate that one could not even be sure whether the manuscript was in Greek or in Coptic. Could this even be yet another Gnostic text, like the newly discovered Gospel of Judas? And could the roll contain lost poems by Sappho, Simonides, Alcaeus or Stesichorus—or the record of a Roman census? The possibilities seemed tantalizing and exciting; I ached to know what these texts may contain.

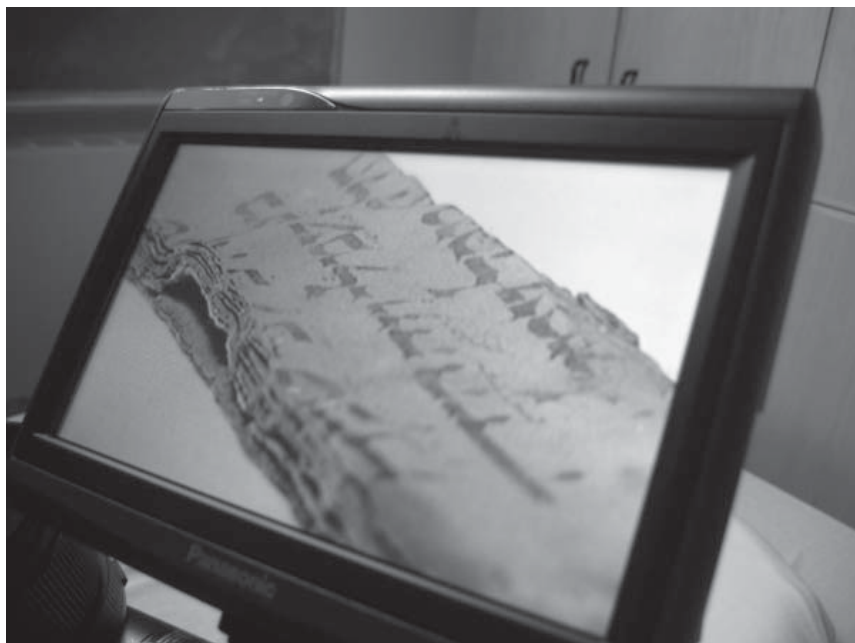
Finally, with advice from our conservator, Leyla Lau-Lamb, we

made our choice. Both the scroll and the codex were judged too fragile to travel to Iowa without the risk of damage. So we selected two more durable items. The first was P. Mich. Inv. 1733, which consists of undissolved Ptolemaic papyrus mixed with plaster, probably from mummy cartonnage, with evident traces of writing in carbon-based ink, which was the earlier type of ink used in antiquity (it was made of a mixture of lamp-black and gum). We could not tell for certain whether the writing was in Greek or Demotic Egyptian, but Greek seemed more likely. The second item which we selected was the leather-bound spine of a parchment codex dated to the 15th century C.E., where the top layer of writing was clearly visible—an extract, in Hebrew, from the *Book of Ecclesiastes*. The remaining layers were glued tightly together. As always happens with Medieval codices, the spine of this book was made up of unwanted written matter. This item, like many in the collection, was acquired from a dealer in Egypt during the 1920s.

When Leyla had safely escorted the two fragments to Ames, Professor Seales and his colleagues made X-ray



Brent Seales examining the images in Ames, Iowa.



images of them. That was the easy part; the hard part is to process the images with computer software (called by him 'EDUCE') that the underlying layers of writing can be distinguished. But in February Professor Seales sent us an image of the underlying layer from the book. Since my knowledge of Hebrew is minimal, I sent the image to our colleague Yaron Eliav in Near Eastern Studies. He has kindly identified it as follows:

"This was an easy one, Richard. It is a very short fragment from the Hebrew Bible which quotes *Ecclesiastes* 2:4-5. The words, mirrored in the photograph, include vowels and cantillation signs and were written by a professional scribe. Line 1 has the words *li* (the pronoun myself) and the word *batim* (houses) and then the two first letters of the word *nata'ati* ("planted" in the first singular). Line 2 has the word *keramin* (vineyards) and the start of the word *asiti* (I made). Line 3 has the word *upardesim* (and groves/orchards; a loan word in late biblical Hebrew, from either Akkadian or Persian, which also appears in Greek *παράδεισος*), and the start of the word *venata'ati* (and I planted). From the short size of the lines and missing words, I can guess this was a manuscript written in columns, i.e. a scroll and not a page of a codex."

Just to keep some Greek in here, here is the version of the Septuagint:

μ μ , μ
μ , μ

. We may compare the King James Version: "I made me great works; I builded me houses; I planted me vineyards; I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted trees in them of all kind of fruits . . ."

Just before this newsletter went to press, I was sent a second image. This was from the back of the same layer from which the first image was made. It was much harder to read, but again more of the Hebrew text of *Ecclesiastes* could be made out, which Yaron again deciphered for me.

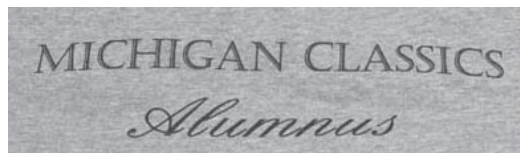
This may seem like a small beginning, but it can lead to great things. The scroll is in the same iron-based ink that is used in many unopened texts from the 3rd century C.E. onwards. One major example is the spines and bindings of thousands of Medieval codices across Europe (which usually contain pages from earlier books that had been discarded) to the carbonized papyri from Petra in Amman (on which Ludwig Koenen and Traianos Gagos are working); a number of these are still unopened, not to mention our complete codex in Michigan. Moreover, if similar results come from the Ptolemaic cartonnage, which contain a different type of ink, then we will also be able to read hundreds of new classical texts from earlier periods, notably the rest of the collection from Herculaneum (see further Brent Seales, "The Virtues of Virtual Unrolling," *Herculaneum Archaeology* 3 [2005] 4-5). Unless, of course, as the Preacher says, "vanity of vanities, all is vanity . . ."

Attention Alumni!

Alumni news is on our website and we would like to hear from you! Please let us know what you have been doing since you left the University as an undergraduate or graduate student in our Department. Visit our website and complete the online form at:

<http://www.umich.edu/~classics>

You can also visit our website for more information on purchasing a Classical Studies t-shirt. Shirt texts include "Michigan Classics," "Michigan Classics Alumna," and Michigan Classics Alumnus." All proceeds go to help support the undergraduate initiative. Show your support!



review: Thomas Spencer Jerome *by Bruce Frier*

On a gorgeous autumn afternoon in 1985, the people of the island of Capri dedicated an inscription to a distinguished former resident: the Emperor Tiberius, who spent most of the second half of his reign (from A.D. 26 to 37) at leisure in his numerous elaborate villas on Capri. There, so hostile ancient and modern critics claimed, he practiced in secret all manner of sordid vices. But the citizens of Capri resolutely “rejected the base tales of posterity,” preferring instead to describe Tiberius as “an excellent Prince and a most venerable man.”

The inscription, embedded in the architrave of the gate to Capri’s citadel, has an odd history, much of which is retold in Carlo Knight’s recent book *L’Avvocato di Tiberio* (La Conchiglia, 2004). Drawing on extensive archival sources in the United States and Italy, Knight recounts the life of Thomas Spencer Jerome (1864-1914), the American expatriate who lived on Capri from 1899 until his death.

Jerome, scion of a politically prominent Michigan family, had abandoned his legal career in order to become the American Consul in

Capri—an island that was already a favored watering hole of wealthy Europeans and Americans. But Jerome’s stay in the Bay of Naples was largely spent in scholarly pursuits, and above all in a tireless, quixotic effort to rehabilitate the reputation of Tiberius, who Jerome came to feel had been grievously wronged by history. In 1912 Jerome campaigned for a local monument to honor the Emperor, but local controversy made his efforts unavailing until 73 years later, when Capri finally paid homage to Jerome as well, as “an illustrious American citizen and student of Rome, because with genuine critical spirit he restored at Capri dignity and honor to the Emperor Tiberius Caesar Augustus.”

Knight describes Jerome’s life as “tormented,” but in truth there is little evidence of genuine distress. Jerome was an intimate friend of the renowned American philanthropist Charles Freer (with whom, Knight conjectures, he may have had a homosexual relationship), as well as many other artists and intellectuals who flooded to Capri in the aftermath of Oscar Wilde’s 1895 trial. But Jerome also maintained close contacts with eminent scholars such as Francis Kelsey of the University of Michigan

and A. W. Van Buren of the American Academy in Rome.

Jerome and Freer had originally settled together in the Villa Castello, a sprawling mansion built atop the ancient city wall of Capri, with a famous garden that Charles Caryl Coleman painted in 1906. But shortly thereafter Freer abandoned the arrangement when Jerome installed a young mixed-race American “governess” named Yetta, with whom he was obviously infatuated. Yetta remained a dominant personality at the Villa.

If Jerome is remembered today, it is for two things: his posthumous book *Aspects of the Study of Roman History* (1923), in which he sought to demonstrate, as part of his on-going effort to vindicate Tiberius, that Roman imperial histories had been fatally contaminated by rhetorical falsehoods; and the endowment in his will of the famous lecture series that bears his name. The Jerome lectures are delivered both in Ann Arbor and at the American Academy. The next lecturer, scheduled for Winter Term of 2007, is Prof. Larissa Bonfante of New York University, who will speak on March 26, 2007.

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A view from the cheap seats, Segesta, July 2001

Greek Theater continued...

widely and earlier than had previously been imagined. There is, however, no literary evidence for this importation of Aristophanes to the West, and this seems an extraordinary silence given the profusion of vases.

Another Sicilian playwright of the period, however, is infamous, both for his writing and for his harsh tyrannical practices: Dionysius I of Syracuse, who came to power in 406 BCE.

As tyrant, Dionysius' use of theater, seems to be similar to, if not perhaps even modeled on, that of the two Syracusan tyrants who preceded him, Gelon and Hieron. Dionysius, like Hieron, seems to have used tragedy and comedy to whitewash his own dictatorial practices. Well known

in antiquity for the harshness of his rule, Dionysius seems to have filled his plays, not only with adages about justice and good government, but even more ironically with a criticism of tyranny itself! Xenarchus, writing mimes in the tradition of Sophron, is reported to have been commissioned by Dionysius to mock his enemies.

If we posit Dionysius as a supporter of theater, like his forebearers Hieron and Gelon, we have a possible solution to this sudden widespread appearance of depictions of popular theater on vases. That is, if Dionysius was actively supporting theater, and public performance, as Hieron had done, then it seems reasonable that similar performances

would have within a few years begun to be performed in various parts of South Italy and Sicily under his control. And perhaps cities outside his control may still have felt the influence of a sudden encouragement of the arts. If Sophron, in the intervening period, was simply composing his mimes for the literati during the turbulent and democratic upheavals of the latter half of the 5th century, this is sufficient for the tradition of comic theater, local theater, to

have continued among the powerful, who, when their day came, turned it to their own political purposes, propaganda, as well as entertainment of the general population. If we look to the next grand tyrant of Syracuse, Hieron II, the same technique seems to be in evidence, for it is under his rule that many of the great theaters of Sicily were built, some with

his name or that of his wife etched on a commemorative stone.

In this way, I think, theater did have its own history in the West, not just through little distant echoes of Athens, but with its own tradition, accepting, including and being influenced by the great Athenian playwrights, no doubt, but still driven by its own political and social needs. I think, that this was a theater, unlike that of Athens, whose public and grand form was created by the tyrants, not by the democracy. In the vast complicated exercise of building and holding an empire, producing and supporting grand productions was one more play for power on the part of the Sicilian tyrants. ●

Well known in antiquity for the harshness of his rule, Dionysius seems to have filled his plays, not only with adages about justice and good government, but even more ironically with a criticism of tyranny itself!

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Cappadocia continued...

that placed the cities and shrines of Cappadocia squarely in Greek mythology. Especially popular were legends about Orestes, who was thought to have traveled eventually to central Asia Minor. Other mythological or historical figures who appeared as the founders or the patrons of cities included Jason and the Argonauts, the Amazons, and, of course, Alexander the Great.

The impact of Roman imperialism devastated these older traditions. The general Lucullus looted paintings and statues for his villa in Rome. Pompey renamed cities after himself, and subsequent Roman magistrates redrew municipal and provincial boundaries. The renaming of cities, the realignment of regions, and the theft of statues and monuments would have destroyed whatever etymological myths these cities and regions had previously developed about their names, titles, and cults. Strabo was sadly resigned to this great loss of past Greek traditions. One city on the coast of the Black Sea conjured up no legends at all. Now it was simply “a small town that has nothing worthy of memory.”

Then the expansion of Christianity undermined many of these Roman legends, and during the later fourth century bishops took the lead in promoting yet more replacement traditions. Gregory of Nyssa even suggested that the founder of Christianity in Cappadocia had close ties to Jesus Christ. Jesus’ apostles had supposedly scattered as missionaries to various regions and cities; Gregory now claimed that the centurion who had once glorified Jesus at the foot of the cross had retired to Cappadocia. Although

his comment was apparently the first reference to the centurion’s leading role in the Christianization of the region, this legend implied that Christianity in Cappadocia had an old ancestry that went all the way back to the moment of Jesus’ death. As a result, Gregory could even argue that Cappadocia was as much of a Holy Land as Palestine itself.

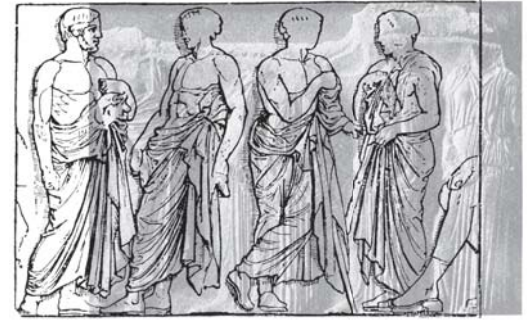
Late antiquity was a marvelously fertile era for the writing of new histories. It was also a depressingly fertile era for the forgetting of older histories. In many cases all that remained were fragments of memories, disconnected inklings of ancient stories and traditions. One price to be paid for the success of Christianity was the loss of older legends and histories. •



Gregory and his Father Preaching at Nazianzus, from Byzantine manuscripts of the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus

One additional result of such historical studies is an enhanced interest in the writings of church fathers as literature, receptive to the same sort of literary criticism that has long been used to interpret venerated classical texts. Gregory of Nazianzus, for instance, composed poems in different meters and dialects about many subjects, including his own autobiography. In total, his verses would be about the equivalent of the *Iliad*. Gregory himself had studied classical culture for years as a graduate student at Athens, the Ann Arbor of the ancient world. Now most of his poems still await proper study by classicists who are both deeply familiar with Greek poetry and trained in contemporary critical studies.

Patristics scholars have long venerated the Cappadocian Fathers as theologians and extensively studied their doctrinal treatises. But it is certainly also possible to think about their writings in the context of the longer historical dynamics of the eastern Mediterranean. For more elaboration of these topics, readers might enjoy my series of books: *Kingdom of Snow: Roman Rule and Greek Culture in Cappadocia* (2002), *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia* (2003), and *Becoming Christian: The Conversion of Roman Cappadocia* (2003), all published by the University of Pennsylvania Press.



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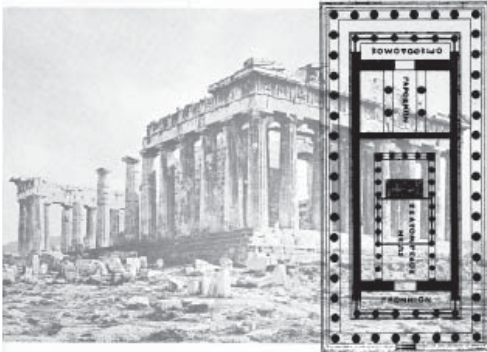


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4 p.m., 2175 Angell Hall

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