HARVARD
Department of the Classics

PERSEPHONE

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Table of Contents

Cover portrait, Narcissus by John William Waterhouse (1912), *accessed from Wikimedia Commons under public domain.*

Dear Readers,

In this second issue of our tenure as editors of Persephone, we are excited to bring you a quartet of new and intriguing articles by undergraduate classicists on our updated digital platform. Committed as we are to representing the broad scope of the Classics, we have selected articles that explore topoi somewhat different from those addressed in our fall issue. This spring, diverging from the philological focus of our last issue, we have delved into the realm of material culture and accepted a visual analysis of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's "Marble Funerary Altar of Cominia Tyche" by Anne Power of Harvard College. In a similarly Roman vein, we know you will enjoy a Latin translation of a portion of John Henry Newman's The Idea of a University by the indefatigable Daniel Schewennicke of Merton College, Oxford, whoe verse translation of William Copwer's "The Poplar Field" appeared in our last issue. And, of course, to counterbalance Rome with Hellas, we have published articles on Alexander the Great and Sepedon and Menelaus in the Homeric epics by Carlos Carter of Columbia University and Tyler Dobbs of Harvard College respectively.

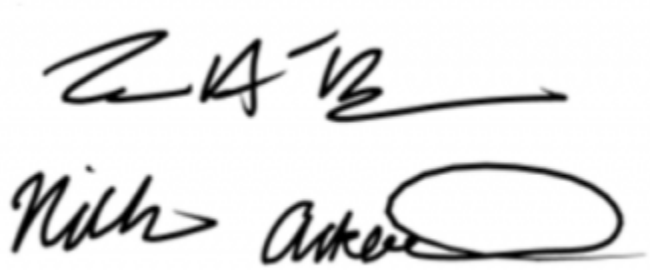
You may notice that our site has undergone several modifications since we launched our fall issue. Now, if the fancy strikes, you can peruse past issues of Persephone using our "Past Issues Tab," which includes all of the pieces from the Winter 2016 issue as well as links to the catalogue entries of even older print editions of Persephone in HOLLIS, the Harvard On-Line Library Information Service. To make our site more navigable, we have also introduced a search box so that you can easily browse articles by title or author.

We hope that you enjoy the four articles published in our Spring 2016 issue and that the changes made to our website facilitate your reading experience. Yet again, we have learned enormously from collaborating with our talented contributors this semester, who never fail to humble us with their knowledge and splendid nerdiness. How lucky we are, and what fun it has been, to have edited Persephone for a second semester!

Sincerely,

Talia Boylan and Nichlas Ackert, '17

Co-Editors in Chief



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Department of the Classics

THE IDEA OF A UNIVERSITY: THE CHANCELLOR'S PRIZE 2014 LATIN PROSE COMPOSITION

By Daniel Schwennicke, Merton College Oxford

Persephone: The Harvard Undergraduate Classics Journal
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http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/persephone/idea-university

The Chancellor's Latin Prize 2014: Prose

audacibus annue coeptis

Immo longe, si quis nescio quo pacto se ipsum erudiat, ea demum eruditio vestro gymnasio quod, cum tanta polliceatur, verum hominum mentibus parum prodest anteponenda est. Excluditote igitur ab omni doctrina eum quem veram sapientiam consectatur, remittitote studiosum ut suapte mente nitatur et indaget: multum proficiat si a vestro sermone praeceptisque disiectis prohibeatur. Omnino quidem pauci sunt qui magistro, qui studiis adsit et eos ad industriam stimulet, facile careant et, si soli sint, modo extremum, ut dicitur, digitum proferant; etiam pauciores (quamquam et talia ingenia inveniuntur) qui non indagando Marte suo sibi nimis confidere et laudem adrogare incipiant - sciunt isti, Brute, quid se deceat, de studio veritatis cogitant? -; sed qui, cum philosophiam rude perceptam, studiis perfusam sed non imbutam se habere seseque in tantis angustiis esse vel potius omnino deesse sentiant, cum se suis sententiis ac moribus ab communibus abhorrere videant, mentis egestatis numquam meminerint, longe paucissimi, immo fortasse est nemo. Quis est enim qui illas res quotquot tamquam subtilissimus pulvis in mentibus consederint et considant, quas facillime norunt promptissimasque habent omnes, diutius ignoret? Licet colloqui non possit, perverse praviterque disserere atque in eo gloriari soleat aut aliquid ineptum quod, quia inter se repugnet παράδοξον nominare audet, aut rusticissimum quoddam, quia sententiosum et argutum existimet, se dixisse, licet cogitando pertinax, obstinatus disputando, ad alios persuadendos sit lentus et tardus. Concessis his rebus et aliis, amice, tamen maiore ingenio et consilio, sapientia clariore, liberaliore cultu, humanitate denique erit germaniore quam ii simplices quibus mentes variis ac multis materiis ideo solum, ut eas magistri formaliter periclitentur et experiantur, confertae sint, qui caecis studiis magis occupati sint quam ut se liberae cogitandi vel indagandi delectioni dedere possint, qui consequentia et prima promiscue devorent, qui philosophias ipsas fide, non intellegentia, adsequi posse putent, qui argumenta ediscant quin fundamenta percipiant, quique perinde ac putaris studiis modo perfectis omnia diligenter conferta et devorata statim evomant et, quamvis se exercuerint, nihil consecuti sint nisi forte quandam consuetudinem studendi.

Nay, self-education in any shape, in the most restricted sense, is preferable to a system of teaching which, professing so much, really does so little for the mind. Shut your College gates against the votary of knowledge, throw him back upon the searchings and the efforts of his own mind; he will gain by being spared an entrance into your Babel. Few indeed there are who can dispense with the stimulus and support of instructors, or will do anything at all, if left to themselves. And fewer still (though such great minds are to be found), who will not, from such unassisted attempts, contract a self-reliance and a self-esteem, which are not only moral evils, but serious hindrances to the attainment of truth. And next to none, perhaps, or none, who will not be reminded from time to time of the disadvantage under which they lie, by their imperfect grounding, by the breaks, deficiencies, and irregularities of their knowledge, by the eccentricity of opinion and the confusion of principle which they exhibit. They will be too often ignorant of what everyone knows and takes for granted, of that multitude of small truths which fall upon the mind like dust, impalpable and ever accumulating; they may be unable to converse, they may argue perversely, they may pride themselves on their worst paradoxes or their grossest truisms, they may be full of their own mode of viewing things, unwilling to be put out of their way, slow to enter into the minds of others; — but, with these and whatever other liabilities upon their heads, they are likely to have more thought, more mind, more philosophy, more true enlargement, than those earnest but ill-used persons, who are forced to load their minds with a score of subjects against an examination, who have too much on their hands to indulge themselves in thinking or investigation, who devour premiss and conclusion together with indiscriminate greediness, who hold whole sciences on faith, and commit demonstrations to memory, and who too often, as might be expected, when their period of education is passed, throw up all they have learned in disgust, having gained nothing really by their anxious labours, except perhaps the habit of application.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN
THE IDEA OF A UNIVERSITY

HARVARD
Department of the Classics

MARBLE FUNERARY ALTAR OF COMINIA TYCHE AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

By Anne Power, Harvard University

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http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/persephone/marble-funerary-altar-cominia-tyche-metropolitan-museum-art

Marble Funerary Altar of Cominia Tyche at the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Anne Power
Harvard University

This funerary altar from the Metropolitan Museum's collection of Roman Art is dedicated to the memory (and hair) of Cominia Tyche, a Roman woman who died sometime during the Flavian period in the late first century AD[1]. Standing at just over three feet, the altar is rectangular in shape with both the top and bottom bracketed by moldings that lend an architectural, finished quality to the monument.

In addition to these ornaments, a niche dominates the front surface of the altar from which a bust of Cominia Tyche herself emerges. She is presented from the chest up, her shoulders draped in finely carved cloth. Her facial features are unique, featuring a large nose, square jaw, and thin lips that create a determined expression. Despite the veristic quality of her depiction, she is still young; her youth may suggest that she died at an early age. Perhaps her most notable feature, however, is her impressive hair, which springs from her forehead in a sizable crescent of tightly wound, equally sized curls. Her hair is so big, in fact, that its upper regions seem ready to break through the topmost limits of the niche and spill over onto the altar beyond. The abruptness of her hairline coupled with the uncanny similarities of each curl suggests that this gravity defying hair style just might be a wig.

Below this eye-catching bust is a Latin inscription that tells us both her name and the age at which she died--27 years, 11 months, and 28 days. It also tells us that her husband, Lucius Annius Festus, had this altar set up in her memory. In addition to informing us of her name and age, Festus also uses this inscription to pay homage to Cominia's good Roman virtues, such as chastity and piety. Indeed, the setup of this monument in the memory of Cominia seems also to be for Faustus' benefit as he finishes the inscription by mentioning both himself and his descendants.[2]

The final element of the altar is around the left corner. Here, the viewer finds a jug and shallow bowl in relief on the side. These objects refer to the common practice of leaving food for the dead at monuments such as this one.[3]

It seems as though this altar to Cominia Tyche played several roles in the Roman imagination. At its most fundamental, the monument is meant to commemorate the life and death of a young woman in a permanent medium. On a more materialistic note, the level of detail paid to the bust in addition to the flattering inscription could reflect the importance of display and public image in Roman life. Even in death, Cominia is depicted with an expensive likeness and a fashionable hairstyle, a visual assertion of status that the praise in the inscription is meant to enhance.

Not only does the inscription commemorate the chastity and piety of Cominia--important hallmarks of a good Roman *matrona*--but it also highlights the piety of the dedicator, Lucius Annius Festus. The inscription opens with the lines, "to the spirits of the dead/to the most saintly Cominia Tyche."[4] This supersession of Cominia in favor of the spirits of the dead reflects the importance of the Roman virtue *pietas,* both religious and familial. On the one hand, Faustus is expressing his *pietas* by erecting this monument in the memory of his wife. On the other, he is also using it as a chance to exhibit his reverence and *pietas* for the dead in general, an important practice for the ancestor-

worshipping Romans. This idea of the altar's double purpose is continued later in the inscription, which ends with the line: "also for himself and for his descendants."[5] It is clear, then, that this altar not only glorifies the spirits of the dead and of Cominia in particular, but it is also advantageous for Faustus and his family, perhaps as a reminder to contemporary viewers of his munificence and status in life, but also to future viewers of the established lineage of his descendants.

The relief of the jug and bowl on the side serve as a reminder that this altar is a monument to Cominia as well as a religious space, a chance for those Romans still living to honor the dead and show off their *pietas.* Furthermore, when facing the front of the altar the viewer is able to see the raised forms of the jug and bowl on the side. Their depth and discernibility could be read as another indication of the quality of the monument but also as a constant reminder to the viewer of the presence of these objects and the religious rites they imply.

The funerary altar of Cominia Tyche and its various elements offer evidence for the prevalent concerns and practices of Roman culture. The high style and fine detail of the bust reflect both Flavian styles and the importance of personal presentation while the inscription reflects anxiety about practicing (and appearing to practice) good Roman virtues.

Notes

1. “Marble funerary altar of Cominia Tyche,” accessed April 3rd 2014, http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/253569?high=on&rpp=15&pg=1&rndkey=20140331&ft=*&when=A.D.+1-500&what=Sculpture&pos=4.

2. “Marble funerary altar of Cominia Tyche.”
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

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THE LESSER SHALL SERVE THE GREATER: SARPEDON AND MENELAUS IN NARRATIVES OF THE ILIAD AND THE ODYSSEY

By Tyler Dobbs, Harvard University

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http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/persephone/lesser-shall-serve-greater-sarpedon-and-menelaus-narratives-iliad-and-odyssey

The Lesser Shall Serve the Greater:
Sarpedon and Menelaus in Narratives of the Iliad and the Odyssey

Tyler Dobbs
Harvard University

In Book 16 of the *Iliad*, Zeus allows Sarpedon to die in battle even though Sarpedon is his son. In Book 4 of the *Odyssey*, however, Menelaus learns that he will escape death because he is Zeus' son-in-law. This seems puzzling; why should Menelaus receive a privilege denied to Sarpedon? Why must Zeus' son die while his son-in-law gets to live forever? Searching for a theological justification to this problem would be a futile exercise.[1] As Albert Henrichs writes, "The Greeks are notoriously inconsistent, especially when it comes to articulating differences and affinities between gods and mortals."[2] The Homeric epics offer us a window into the human—and even the divine—condition, but they do not present us with a coherent theological system.

Instead of drawing a systematic theology out of the poems, I will explain this discrepancy by analyzing the narrative purposes that the deaths of Sarpedon and Menelaus serve within the poems. The *Iliad* links the deaths of Hector and Sarpedon using textual and structural parallels; before each hero's death, Zeus considers sparing him, but relents when a goddess voices opposition. This connection glorifies Hector by comparing his death with the death of Zeus' son. In the *Odyssey*, Menelaus mentions Elysium—where he will enjoy immortality—side-by-side. with Ogygia—where Odysseus has been offered immortality. This juxtaposition serves to contrast the two places; Elysium is the fulfillment of Menelaus' destiny, while Ogygia is a distraction from Odysseus' destined homecoming. In each case, the fate of a lesser character— Sarpedon or Menelaus—gives us insights about the destiny of a central character—Hector or Odysseus.

Homer connects the death of Sarpedon with that of Hector by having Zeus waver over whether to spare each man. Zeus laments Sarpedon's fate; "woe is me (ὤ μοι ἐγών), for that it is fated that Sarpedon, dearest of men to me (φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν), be slain by Patroclus, son of Menoetius!" (*Il.* 16.433-4).[3] Using a parallel structure, Zeus expresses the same sentiment toward Hector; "alas (ὢ πόποι), look you now, in sooth a well-loved man (φίλον ἄνδρα) do mine eyes behold pursued around the wall" (*Il.* 22.168-9). Each speech opens with an interjection expressing grief, and then relates the man's relation as dear (φίλος) to Zeus. In both speeches, Zeus proceeds to contemplate whether he should save the Trojan fighter or allow him to die at the hands of his Greek attacker.[4]The textual connection continues with the response Zeus receives. In both cases, a goddess averse to the Trojans—Hera in the case of Sarpedon, Athena in the case of Hector— persuades Zeus not to intervene and save his favorite.[5] Both goddesses pose the same rhetorical question using the same words; "a man that is mortal (θνητόν), doomed long since by fate, art thou minded to deliver again from dolorous death?" (*Il.* 16.441-2, 22.179-80). Both goddessesthen offer exactly the same rebuke; "do as thou wilt; but be sure that we other gods do not commend (ἐπαινέομεν) you" (*Il.* 16.443, 22.181). Both times this persuades Zeus to acquiesce to the death of his favorite.

Admittedly, verbatim repetition is frequent in Homer as a byproduct of the poems' oral composition. Such formulaic language frequently lacks any deeper meaning; it was simply easier on the bard's memory to reuse a line or part of a line in multiple contexts. However, the

structural parallels of these two scenes are too great for us to construe the verbal parallels as accidents of oral composition. The structural parallels might indicate that these two episodes are variations on a type scene that was more frequent in non-extant epic poetry. But even if we concede such an unprovable speculation, it is significant that Homer chooses to employ this type scene only in the deaths of these two characters.

By textually and structurally linking Sarpedon's death with Hector's, Homer exalts Hector by comparing him to a god's son. Sarpedon is a unique figure in the Trojan War; other than Aeneas, he is the only son of a god fighting on the Trojan side, and he is the only son of Zeus fighting on either side.[6] By making Zeus waver over the death of Hector in the same way that he hesitates over the death of his own son, Homer emphasizes how extraordinary Hector is. By having the gods argue over Hector's death in the same way that they wrangle over Sarpedon's, Homer portrays Hector as equally important to the gods as their own children. Homer narrates the conflict over Sarpedon's body (*Il.* 16.563-644), which is eventually whisked away for burial (*Il.* 16.666-83), but he devotes even more attention to the defilement of Hector's body (*Il.* 22.367-404) and its eventual return to Priam for burial (*Il.* 24.552-620). Moreover, Sarpedon's death is the first in a chain of three *aristeiai* that ends with Hector's death.[7] In each of these *aristeiai*, the narrative slows down to show one great hero reaching his zenith by killing another great hero. First, Patroclus attains his *aristeia* when he kills Sarpedon. Second, Hector reaches his *aristeia* when he slays Patroclus. Finally, Achilles slaughters Hector, which precipitates his *aristeia*. This ultimately magnifies Hector by placing his death at the culmination of a chain that began with the slaughter of a son of Zeus.

Whereas the *Iliad* links the death of Sarpedon to the death of Hector, the *Odyssey* juxtaposes the immortality promised to Menelaus with the immortality offered to Odysseus.[8] Menelaus himself reveals that Odysseus is in Ogygia when he recounts what Proteus, the Old Man of the Sea, told him; "him I saw on an island, shedding big tears, in the halls of the nymph Calypso, who keeps him there perforce (ἀνάγκῃ), and he cannot come to his native land (πατρίδα γαῖαν)" (*Od.* 4.556-8).[9] Immediately following this brief description of Odysseus, Proteus reveals Menelaus' own fate to him:

> "But for thyself, Menelaus, fostered of Zeus, it is not ordained (θέσφατόν) that thou shouldst die (θανέειν) and meet thy fate in horse-pasturing Argos, but to the Elysian plain (Ἠλύσιον πεδίον) and the bounds of the earth (πείρατα γαίης) will the immortals convey (πέμψουσιν) thee, where dwells fair-haired Rhadamanthus, and where life (βιοτή) is easiest for men. No snow is there, nor heavy storm, nor ever rain, but ever does Ocean send up blasts of the shrill-blowing West Wind that they may give cooling to men; for thou hast Helen to wife, and art in their eyes the son-in-law (γαμβρός) of Zeus" (*Od.* 4.561-9).

Elysium, as described here, has much in common with Ogygia as described in the following book (*Od.* 5.55-75).[10] Both Elysium and Ogygia are places of immense natural (or even supernatural) beauty. Elysium always has fair weather, while Ogygia has a "luxuriant wood (ὕλητηλεθόωσα)," "four springs in a row (κρῆναι ἑξείης πίσυρες)" and "soft meadows (λειμῶνες μαλακοί)." According to Homer, Ogygia is the type of place that even a god would wonder at (*Od.* 5.73-5). Likewise, both Elysium and Ogygia are remote islands. Most importantly, Elysium and Ogygia are both associated with immortality: Menelaus will be

whisked away to Elesium because the gods ordain that he should not die, while Calypso offered to make Odysseus "immortal and ageless all his days (ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήραον ἤματα πάντα)" on Ogygia (*Od.* 5.136).

Although Homer describes Ogygia and Elysium in similar terms, this is not (as William Anderson argues) to homologize Odysseus' experience on Ogygia and Menelaus' afterlife in Elysium.[11] Rather, it is to contrast the two. Calypso's offer of immortality is a distraction from Odysseus' divinely ordained *telos*,[12] but Proteus' promise of immortality is Menelaus' divinely ordained reward.[13] As Zeus tells Hermes when sending him to free Odysseus from Ogygia, it is Odysseus' "fate (μοῖρ' ἐστί) to see his friends, and reach his high-roofed house and his native land" (*Od.* 5.41). In keeping him on her island, Calypso—whose name means "concealer" or "she who buries"[14]— is keeping Odysseus from his destiny; she is preventing him from making his fated *nostos*[15] and from serving as agent of divine justice against the suitors.[16]

For Menelaus, on the other hand, immortality is not a distraction from his destiny; it *is* his destiny.[17] As we saw above, Menelaus' reward of immortality is θέσφατόν—divinely ordained.[18] Not only do the gods decree Menelaus' journey to Elysium; they themselves will make it happen by sending him there. Elysium is Menelaus' ultimate destination rather than an obstacle on his way to it. The fact that Elysium is Menelaus' *telos* draws our attention to the fact that Ogygia is *not* Odysseus' *telos*.

I have argued that Sarpedon dies in order to give greater significance to the death of Hector. Furthermore, Menelaus, who is promised immortality in fulfillment of destiny, contrasts with Odysseus, who is offered immortality to distract from his destiny. The comparisons I have drawn are ultimately important because they show us how Homer uses minor characters to shed light on major characters. Why, at last, does Zeus' son die in battle while his son-in-law lives forever in bliss? Because through the death of Sarpedon we understand Hector, and through the immortality of Menelaus we understand Odysseus.

Notes

1. Janko writes of the scene where Zeus considers sparing Sarpedon, and notes that "the purpose is dramatic, not theological," a statement that applies to the whole episode. See Richard Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 375.

2. Albert Henrichs, e-mail message to author, October 6, 2014.

3. This and all subsequent quotations of the Iliad in English are taken from Butler's translation.

4. "And in twofold wise is my heart divided in counsel as I ponder in my thought whether I shall snatch him up while yet he liveth and set him afar from the tearful war in the rich land of Lycia, or whether I shall slay him now beneath the hands of the son of Menoetius" (Il. 16.435-40). "Nay then, come, ye gods, bethink you and take counsel whether we shall save him from death, or now at length shall slay him, good man though he be, by the hand of Achilles, son of Peleus" (Il. 22.174-6).

5. Richard Janko, The Iliad: A Commentary, 376.

6. Ibid., 370, 376.

7. *Aristeia* defined in this context as the point when a hero reaches the pinnacle of his prowess and draws the focus to himself.

8. I am indebted to Anderson for realizing this connection. See William S. Anderson, "Calypso and Elysium," The Classical Journal 54 (1958): 6-7

9. This and all subsequent English quotations of the Odyssey are taken from Murray's translation.

10. This is in fact the first description of Elysium in Greek literature. See Anderson, "Calypso and Elysium," 1.

11. Anderson, 7-8.

12. I interpret *telos* here as the ultimate end of the hero's journey.

13. This is not to say that Menelaus earned this reward through any ethical or heroic behavior. Rather, this honor is due purely to his special relationship with Zeus as Helen's husband. As we see in Book 11, the other great heroes of the Trojan War experience a shadowy afterlife in Hades. Only in later Greek thought does Elysium become a reward for the virtuous and heroic. See Alfred Huebeck, Stephanie West, and J. B. Hainsworth's *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 227.

14. Anderson, 7.

15. *Nostos* defined here as the hero's homecoming.

16. For Odysseus as agent of divine vengeance, see Od. 22.35-41.

17. And this is immortality in the strict sense of the word. It is not merely that he will have a happy afterlife, but that he will not die at all.

18. From θεός and φημί.

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ALEXANDER THE GREAT THROUGH ACHAEMENID SPACETIME

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http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/persephone/alexander-great-through-achaemenid-spacetime

Alexander the Great through Achaemenid Spacetime

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In the autumn of 329 BCE, Alexander III, king of Macedon, king of Asia, was struck by a sudden bout of diarrhea. He was on horseback pursuing nomadic Scythians; they had provoked him with insults and arrows shot from the opposite bank of the Tanais river while he celebrated the founding of his new city, Alexandria Eschate. Alexander's condition was serious and he was carried back to camp in order to recover. Some time later, envoys from the Scythian king arrived to offer apologies for the unfortunate taunt and chase (the work of bad apples), and Alexander had no other option but to accept the gesture, evidently incapacitated by the runs (Arr. 4.4.9 –4.5.1).

This episode occurs in the second part (330-323 BCE) of Alexander's campaign against the Persian Empire and raises some historical problems concerning the ability of Alexander's person to lead his army in such 'search-and-destroy' missions. If the pursuit was stopped by Alexander's diarrhea, why was he attacked by the flux in the first place? Why did his army not continue the pursuit without him? Did they also suffer from diarrhea or were they more affected by the extreme heat? Arrian provides answers, events tied together by neat causal relationships, to some of these questions: Alexander stopped pursuing the Scythians because he was attacked by diarrhea; Alexander was attacked by diarrhea because he drank fetid water; Alexander drank fetid water because he was made thirsty by the great heat. Should the chain of causality stop here, then the land (ἡ γῆ) and its features, its water and air, become sources of problems for Alexander and his army. Specifically, Alexander's body is affected by the landscape, here in an immediate and acute way. But such a localized effect situated in Alexander's body (ἐς τὴν γαστέρα) brings about a broader outcome. The effect of Alexander's inability to continue the chase is multiplied in the Macedonian army's inability (or unwillingness) to continue the chase. And in this case, Arrian does not make clear why the army stops. The cause of the interruption of the pursuit rests solely in Alexander's body (Arr. 4.4.9). Why then did the Macedonian army stop too? This essay will attempt to demonstrate the significance of Alexander's body within the context of Achaemenid spacetime – space and time as it was organized by the histories and traditions of the Persian Empire.

Alexander's Macedonian army was a highly complex and versatile weapon. Although Alexander's 'success' is difficult to pin on one cause, it may be said with some confidence that the Macedonian army had something, a rather large something, to do with it. Repeatedly, scholars represent the army as capable of winning because of its large size, the quality of its elite fighters, its diversity of tools, staying power, and organization.[1] This last point leads one to think about the army's command structure and the implications thereof. The Macedonian army was blessed with a number of highly talented leaders, Alexander aside. Moreover, the level of cooperation between sub-units and their discipline made it a force that could be distributed over a space in multiple almost-autonomous columns to effectively carry out operations.[2] As such, it is even stranger to think that the pursuit of the Scythians (above) was stopped on account of Alexander's stomach pains. The possibility of an entire army being affected

by fetid water must be entertained, but it is highly unlikely and not supported by any of the sources.-What seems to be going on here is rather simple: the Macedonian army stopped pursuing the Scythians because Alexander stopped pursuing the Scythians. If this was the case, then the following notion must be considered: Alexander's body was a major factor in the determination of the movements and purpose of the larger body of the Macedonian army.

But how is this not obvious? Clearly, Alexander's body, short and stout as it was, played an oversized role in the campaign. But there is more at a different level, perhaps at the level of the matter that constituted his body. As the Macedonian expedition moves from Gaugamela eastwards, through Achaemenid spacetime, its 'body' is replenished with troops from Macedon or with troops from the newly conquered empire. By the time the army finds itself chasing after Scythians in Sogdiana, it has been topped up by "oriental troops," resulting in a change to its Macedonian character, at least in ethnic terms, as I will describe below.[3] In contrast, Alexander's body was not replenished. By 329 BCE, Alexander was in his sixth year of campaigning and his body had suffered through three major battles.[4] Could this fact have made him more vulnerable to attack by the viruses or bacteria or microbes in the fetid waters of the Sogdianian country? Although this truth is impossible to recover by historicizing methods, Arrian extensively discusses Alexander's wounds. Alexander's body suffers injury time and again as the campaign progresses: undiagnosed concussion (Arr. 1.15.7); catapult shot to the shoulder (Arr. 2.27.2); fibula fractured by an arrow (Arr. 3.30.11); stone blow to head and neck (Arr. 4.3.3); arrow through breastplate (Arr. 4.23.3); scraped ankle (Arr. 4.26.4); perhaps a Poros-inflicted wound (Arr. 5.14.4); punctured lung (Arr. 6.10.1–2).[5] Is this pattern not to be expected? As the configuration of matter, namely Alexander's body, makes its way through (Achaemenid) space-time, would it not be reasonable to suffer a few reconfigurations, a few nicks in the body? Certainly and obviously so, but the more important point is twofold: Firstly, that Alexander's body, this particular configuration of matter, *matters* and secondly, that the injuries it sustains are indicative of a change that can be understood in historical terms.

On October 1st, 331 BCE at the battle of Gaugamela, Alexander ostensibly achieved the mission his father Philip had set years earlier. What that mission was, in fact, can only be speculated. But, if the campaign was one of revenge against past offences to Greece by the Persians, the deed was done at Gaugamela. The Persian army was destroyed, its navy fleet dispersed, and its major cities open for plunder. Alexander, king of Macedon, became Alexander, king of Asia. But this transformation, the explicit result of the deployment of extreme violence by the Macedonian army over Achaemenid spacetime was a process – an event that emerged as the result of a series of related and past events. As such, this transformation has a history. What is more, this history, at least an aspect of it, is encoded in the changes to Alexander's body through his wounds. Although a detailed analysis of Alexander's injuries is beyond the scope of this essay, there are ideas worth considering at some length.

First, Alexander's body, and the particular configuration of matter moving through Achaemenid spacetime, takes on increasing significance as it determines the movements and actions of a Macedonian army that wreaks havoc on the Persian forces.[6] That Alexander's body was of special significance was *self*-evident in

Macedon (especially after Alexander won recognition as the legitimate heir to Philip), but in Achaemenid spacetime, the significance of Alexander's body changes from being 'Alexander as a force for destruction' to becoming 'Alexander as a force for construction'. In other words, Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire cause his body to transition from being engaged in processes of conquest, such as the carrying out of campaigns and sieges, to being involved in processes of consolidation. These processes of consolidation include the appointing of satraps and the collecting of taxes and tribute. This transition is neither either/or in its modality nor is it aoristic. Even before the Persian army led by Darius is destroyed at Gaugamela, Alexander's body meant both destruction and construction, more precisely continuity and change, as is evident in the case of western Asia Minor.[7] In this landscape, Alexander reconstituted city-states as democracies no longer burdened by tribute; beyond the Hellenic city-states,[8] he followed Achaemenid precedent and tribute continued.[9] In 330 BCE, we can see both modes of being as Alexander marches into Babylon (Arr. 3.16.3–5), welcomed as King of Asia, and, a few months later, as he marches out of Persepolis having burned the palace complex to the ground (Arr. 3.18.11–12).

Second, the examples of Babylon and Persepolis bring into focus the year 330 BCE, the moment when the range of meaning of Alexander's body (construction/destruction or continuity/change) intensify. In that very year, Alexander is also represented as both pursuing Darius III (change) and honoring his body by royal burial (continuity) (Arr. 3.19.1 ff.). How did those 'on the ground' interpret these seemingly contradictory actions? And then, how can such responses to Alexander's actions be understood in historical terms? I would like to suggest here that a typology of responses may be useful, however crude. To some, Alexander's body continued to signify a process of destruction, of pure plunder. Bessos, a Persian noble and satrap of Bactria, responds with a challenge, however feeble and on the move, to Alexander's authority (Arr. 3.21.10 and 3.25.3). Why he would even attempt to contest the power of the Macedonian army, Alexander's body multiplied, is unclear. Perhaps Bessos had misunderstood the nature of Alexander's project and had underestimated the limits of Alexander's reach, his unrelenting speed, and his intent to punish Darius's murderers.[10] In other words, Bessos did not detect that Alexander's body moving through (Achaemenid) space-time meant both continuity and change. The case of Spitamenes, perhaps another noble of Persian descent, is also illustrative of the types of responses to Alexander's body. He appears first by Bessos's side (Arr. 3.28.10), only to finally betray him to Alexander's forces. Here, then, is a response of a different kind (although it echoes Bessos's own behavior toward Darius): Alexander's body signifies continuity and features a system of forgiveness and re-integration (initiated by the delivery of a proper gift, i.e., Bessos).

Yet, Spitamenes, if Arrian's account is accurate, returns shortly thereafter and leads the insurrection of Sogdianians against Alexander's ultimate city (Arr. 4.1.4–5). What type of response is this? Here, the contextualization of the building project of the city of Alexandria Eschate is useful. This city would lay beyond Cyropolis, northeast toward the Tanais River. Cyropolis was founded by the very founder of the Achaemenid Empire (Arr. 4.3.1). Can the building of Alexandria Eschate be understood as Alexander the Great one-upping Cyrus the Great? If so, Alexander's project is not only a gesture of consolidation of empire but also of expansion beyond

its established limits. Alexander's empire envelops Cyrus's. Alexander's body is not the body of 'the last of the Achaemenids' but rather something beyond that configuration.[11] The meaning of his body has been intensified and extended to entail conquest, consolidation, and expansion. That this was the case may be confirmed by Porus's or Taxiles's reading of Alexander as he moves through "Indian" timespace (Arr. 5.8.4 ff). Each actor understands that Alexander's body and his Macedonian army allow only the types of responses that will result in the empire's expansion.

Now, what is the cumulative effect of these changes? The significance that Alexander's body takes on beginning in 330 BCE as it moves through Achaemenid spacetime and beyond results in a campaign very unlike that begun in 334 BCE. Alexander's body, no longer challenged by Darius and the Persian army, is transformed into a high-level priority target for a proliferation of disparate actors who can respond by submitting, integrating or fighting back (or a combination of these). The composition of Alexander's Macedonian army changes both in terms of its ethnicity and its command structure.[12] The deployment of the army in efforts to consolidate the Persian heartland while expanding into borderlands brings about a multiplicity of back-and-forth marches by the military seemingly covering fewer stades.[13] Cities are won and then lost, and then won again or destroyed. Subordinates are given orders and fail in executing them.[14] The landscapes are hostile and punishing.[15] Killing, rape, and enslavement flare. Alexander gets diarrhea and the Macedonian army stops its pursuit of rebels. Why, then, was the second part (330-323 BCE) of the campaign so unlike the first part (334-331 BCE)? The most straightforward answer may be that Alexander's body, that particular stout configuration of matter, moved through Achaemenid spacetime.

Notes

1. Ma, John, “Alexander’s Decision-Making as Historical Problem”, RÉMA, 6, 2013, p. 115.

2. For example, Alexander divides his army into three parts, leading the nimblest part himself, with the intent to pursue Darius’s mercenaries and to subdue the peoples of the Tapourian mountains (Arr. 3.23.1–2).

3. Bosworth, A. B., *Conquest and Empire*. Cambridge University Press. 1988, 271– 273.

4. Keegan, John. *The Mask of Command*. Elizabeth Sifton Books, New York, 1987, p.32.

5. Is this an argument for an increase in frequency of injury? Quantitative statements about Alexander on the basis of Arrian’s account may be meaningless or untrue. But it does seem as if Alexander’s injuries increase in number if not in frequency.

6. That Alexander himself seems to be sensitive to the importance of the king’s body is evident from his focused cavalry charges both at the battle of Issus and Gaugamela. Alexander aimed at Darius.

7. This is evident by Alexander’s reconceptualization of the newly-conquered Priene as a city-state in the Greek tradition. Also see, Sherwin-White 1985.

8. How Alexander determined the Hellenicity of a polity is unclear, and his decisions about dispensation seem to be sensitive to the particularities of each polity. See the case of Aspendus, a Hellenic polity that was forced to pay tribute after some unpleasantries (Bosworth 1988, 254–5).

9. Robin Lane Fox, 2007, p. 271.

10. Heckel, 2006, p. 72, interprets Arr. 3.28.8-10 to suggest that Bessos *et al*. “were convinced that Alexander would not pursue them into Bactria but turn instead to the warmer and richer lands of India.”

11. R. Lane Fox, 2007, p. 295, puts forth a striking analysis of the different options available to Persian nobles in light of Alexander’s new kingship style.

12. The change brought about by the removal of Philotas and Parmenio are the topic of another essay, if not a book. No matter, let it be know that these changes occur in 330 BCE.

13. This is my intuition based on reading Arrian. But it would be useful to have a more accurate sense of how much distance was covered during the periods of insurrection in Sogdiania and Bactria, *inter alia.*

14. See Pharnuches at Polytimetus River (Arr. 4.3.7).

15. The Gedrodsian dessert seems to be the single greatest enemy of the Macedonian army (Arr. 6.21–26).

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