

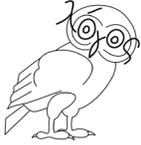
LOGOS

The Classical, Near Eastern & Religious Studies Student Journal

Issue 4

2018–2019





LOGOS

The Classical, Near Eastern & Religious Studies Student Journal

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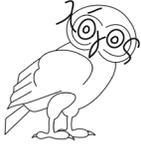
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FOREWORD

JULIA M. PERRONI

I would like to begin by acknowledging that most of the work that went into this journal was conducted at UBC, which is founded on the traditional, ancestral, and unceded territory of the Musqueam people.

This year's LOGOS journal has been a labour of love for myself as editor-in-chief and for all of the incredible team of editors that answered the call this year, as well as for the contributing authors. It is no small task to put together a journal like this, as all of us have learned this year. I would also very much like to thank in particular Cameron Hill, my tireless Chief Submissions Officer, and Elissa Morris, who stepped in at the eleventh hour to complete the journal's layout and prepare it for publication.

As in previous years, the 2018/19 edition of this journal shines with the diverse potential of UBC's Classical, Near Eastern, and Religious Studies Department. This could not have been possible without an equally diverse editor team to polish each paper within this journal to that final shine: Kyra Avery, Ralph Giles, Glen Goerwell, Cameron Hill, Madelyn Huston, Cheyenne Jankola, Miranda Roberts, Maryam Saigol, Keith Warner-Harder, and Lorreiya Zhang. All of these people put in many hours of work and of care in order to see this journal to its final state, and I can only hope that they all know how very much they are appreciated.

We received more than thirty submissions to the journal this year, many of them excellent, and choosing which to publish was difficult. Ultimately, the editor team selected and refined four of those papers into the final forms you will see ahead. We begin with Jaymie Orchard's "Get Your Head in the Game: How Xenophon Elicits Reader Participation in the Symposium" examines the grammatical and literary devices used by Xenophon to engage the reader actively in his Symposium and involve them as a participant in the text. From the Roman world comes "A Hairy Situation: Hadrian's Beard and its Military Connotations" by Wylie Schnorr, an art history paper which analyses the symbolism in sculptural depictions of the Emperor Hadrian, specifically the connection between his beard and his image as a military figure. Then we move to "Cosmic Hierarchy and the Carnavalesque: Descents into Animality in the Hebrew Bible" by Kienan Burrage, which delves into cosmic power structures and the way subversion of human-animal hierarchy is used within the Hebrew Bible to reinforce those structures. And finally, Tiana Vincent's paper "Not Just About Slavery: Another Look at Paul's Epistle to Philemon" delves into the themes of one of Paul's letters and its role in early Christian theology and community, laying out different approaches to the text and proposing an alternative reading.

Thank you again to the editor team who worked on these papers, my Chief Submissions Officer and my Layout Editor for your remarkable efforts and for all of your support, and to the authors for your hard work. It's been an honour to work with all of you. I would also like to thank first the Classical, Near Eastern, and Religious Studies departmental staff and faculty for everything that you do for the students, including those whose work is represented here; none of us could have come this far without you. And, finally, thanks to the executive board of the CNERS Student Association, who have supported me personally throughout this year and have been great allies to this journal.

It's my greatest wish that all those who contributed be able to see their names in print and be proud of all of their work, and so without further ado, it is my pleasure and my honour to present for your enjoyment the 2018/19 LOGOS Student Journal.

Julia M. Perroni
Editor-in-Chief

GET YOUR HEAD IN THE GAME

How Xenophon Elicits Reader Participation in the Symposium

JAYMIE ORCHARD

Xenophon has been lauded by scholars for his unique ability to create lifelike depictions of historical characters and animated dialogues throughout his *Symposium*.¹ This exceptional vividness has motivated scholars to analyze the potential purpose of his work, as it stands in contrast to other Greek authors' depictions of historical figures.² Emily Baragwanath has argued, for example, that Xenophon had didactic aims and hoped to bring the reader to a state of *aporia* in which they are forced to evaluate the text's debates.³ She explains that the "*Symposium* is framed by Xenophon's imagining of a hypothetical viewer who is reflecting upon and drawing judgments from the responses of the spectators...the ones in the text."⁴ In this essay I elaborate on this interpretation with a philological examination of the vivid techniques by which Xenophon elicits *aporic* 'reader participation,' a term I borrow from Richard Gerrig and Matthew Jacovina. They define it as "not filling in missing information in a deductive or inductive fashion" but, rather, as filling in the gap as "a type of commentary on the text."⁵ It functions in the *Symposium* as the blurring of the literary symposiast with the reader, which encourages a "participatory reader"—one who interacts with the text in an active and meaningful way—to engage with the text more closely. The grammatical techniques used by Xenophon to elicit reader response include indefinite pronouns and conditional clauses that encompass both the reader and the fictional guests of Kallias' *symposium*, as well as appeals to sensory experiences, familiarizing metaphors, and Homeric allusions. I consider how these techniques promote reader participation in two representative scenes: the discussion of Autolykos' beauty and Nikeratos' references to Homer.

POSITIONALITY AND THE VIEWER

View is crucial to Xenophon's *Symposium*. This is evident in the prominence of spectacle, and the recurrent theme of the gaze.⁶ In her book, *The Feminine Matrix of Sex and Gender in Classical Athens*, Kate Gilhuly discusses the gaze among *symposium* participants and places these symposiasts "pointedly against the backdrop of Athenian civil viewing."⁷ She discusses the cultural practices of viewing present in the *symposium* and applies them at

the scale of the polis. The *Symposium* is "a spectacle for the polis to view," she argues, and a spectacle for the reader too.⁸ For, the reader views the men in Xenophon's work in the same way that the *symposium* participants view one another.

Xenophon's positioning of the reader is done self-consciously from the very outset of the *Symposium*. In the opening lines Xenophon explains the purpose of the work is "to show the things [he] learned from being present" at such a gathering.⁹ By choosing the verb *dēloūn* (to show, make visible, exhibit) Xenophon introduced the concept of viewing, and positioned the symposiasts as objects for him to display to the reader.¹⁰ Thus Xenophon characterized the reader as a viewer from the very beginning of his work, this viewership was meant to parallel his experience as a past symposiast. The parallel adds an air of intimacy that transforms the narrative from an historical retelling into a personal account and shifts the reader from the position of a passive observer to that of a confidant. If this were an historical account, the reader would assume a level of objectivity in the author, and would accept the narrative largely at face value. By positioning the reader as a confidant observing a personal account, this puts more onus on the reader to participate, to fill in missing information, and to evaluate the style and bias of the teller.

AUTOLYKOS' BEAUTY

The importance of sight, and the positioning of the reader continue in the scene in which the symposiasts are first struck by Autolykos' beauty:

Anyone (τις) who considered the happenings would have thought the beauty to be something royal by nature, especially if someone had acquired it with modesty and moderation, as was then the case for Autolykos. 1.8¹¹

Baragwanath highlights the importance of the use of the indefinite pronoun, *tis* (τις), in this passage. She states that the "indefinite *τις* here encompasses—and invokes—Xenophon's readers, positioning them as judges of the significance of the responses of the symposiasts."¹² Xenophon uses the indefinite pronoun *tis* (anyone), rather than a definite pronoun *hoi* (they), which would refer only to the symposiasts, and so Xenophon does not limit the appreciation of Autolykos' beauty to the symposiasts alone. Anyone would have been struck by his looks, including the reader. This is reinforced by the choice of the verb *ennoein* (to consider). Again, Xenophon's diction does not limit the effects of Autolykos' beauty to those able to see him, but extends them to the reader, who is able to participate by considering his beauty for themselves.

8 Gilhuly, 2009, 100.

9 All translations are my own. Chapter and book references, as well as Greek from: Marchant, 1921. *Xen. Sym.* 1.1. οἷς δὲ παραγεγόμενος ταῦτα γιγνώσκο δηλώσαι βούλομαι.

10 Gilhuly, 2009, 100. Huss 1999, 69; interestingly, does not comment on the connotations of the verb and instead provides a catalogue of its appearances in Xenophon.

11 *Xen. Sym.* 1.8 εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἐννοήσας τις τὰ γιγνώμενα ἡγήσατ' ἂν φύσει βασιλικόν τι κάλλος εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἂν μετ' αἰδοῦς καὶ σοφροσύνης, καθάπερ Αὐτόλυκος τότε, κεκτηῖται τις αὐτό.

12 Baragwanath, 2012, 633.

1 Bowen, 1998, 9-10, 14-15; Danzig, 2004, 17; Thesleff, 1978, 167-168.

It is important to note that not all scholars view Xenophon so positively. Some find his work derivative. For scholarly reception of Xenophon's works, see: Rood, 2017, 435-48.

2 Sokrates also appears in the works of Aristophanes and Plato. The essential character of the historical Sokrates has been moulded to fit each author's needs, however he remains recognisable to the audience as a historical figure. The other *symposium* participants are also historical figures; however, their depiction in Xenophon's *Symposium* is uniquely nuanced and complex. *Ar.Nub.*; *Pl. Symp.*, *Euthphr.*; See Konstan, 2011, 75-77; for discussion of adaptation of Sokrates' character for literary purposes. Danzig, 17-48, 2004; argues the *Symposium* is an intensely apologetic work. Dillery, 2017, 195-222; in contrast, posits that though a work such as Xenophon's may be written as a defense that need not be its only purpose of the work.

3 *Aporia* is a state of being at a loss, complete perplexity and confusion. Baragwanath, 2012, 631-63; Baragwanath, 2017, 279-97.

4 Baragwanath, 2012, 632.

5 Gerrig and Jacovina, 2009, 225.

6 See Gilhuly, 2009; for occurrences of gaze within the *Symposium*, see especially Chapter 4.

7 Gilhuly, 2009, 99.

The conclusion of this scene continues to elicit reader participation:

For, chiefly, just as whenever some light appears in the night the eyes of all are drawn to it, so too then the beauty of Autolykos drew the gazes of all to him. None of the onlookers was not affected in some way by him in their soul; some became more silent, some even arranged themselves in some sort of pose. 1.9¹³

In order to communicate the overwhelming and enchanting nature of Autolykos' beauty Xenophon does not provide a description of his looks, but instead he uses a simile to liken Autolykos' beauty to a light in the night, and then shifts the focus of this passage to the impact it has on those who see him. The inclusion of a resonant simile that focuses on sight sets the experience of the symposium participants in line with the experience of the reader viewing the symposium. The reader is struck by the simile in the same way Kallias and his guests are struck by Autolykos. Xenophon accomplishes this by using an indefinite temporal clause set off by *hōtan* (whenever) to introduce the simile. This shifts the focus away from the events of the symposium to a general statement of fact—whenever x happens, y is sure to follow. This simile serves to set the scene in terms of the reader's personal experience.

The familiarizing effect of similes has been studied at length in Homer's works, and Xenophon utilizes a simile to similar effect here.¹⁴ David Porter, in his 1972 article on Iliadic simile, discusses both the use of similes to suspend the action of a scene momentarily and to place epic scenes against the "perspective of the world at large."¹⁵ In the same way, Xenophon's simile halts the narrative, and familiarizes the beauty of Autolykos by contextualizing it for the reader. The symposiasts are struck by Autolykos, some nearly speechless, and some frozen in poses. The simile stops the action for an instant and the reader is given the chance to see the tableau performed by the symposium participants captivated by Autolykos' beauty. Xenophon shifts the focus from the profound beauty of Autolykos to the quotidian experience of the reader, thereby including the reader in these happening as a viewer and positioning them parallel to the symposium participants.

The reader, now positioned as a viewer of Autolykos, is evoked along with the rest of the symposiasts, in the following line. Xenophon writes: "None of the onlookers was not affected in some way by him in their soul..."¹⁶ This passage, and the description of the symposiasts' reactions that follows, invites the reader to consider how Autolykos' beauty might affect them. Xenophon does not use definite pronouns nor does he specify the symposiasts. His use of *hoi men...hoi de* (some did x, some others did y) urges the reader to consider how they themselves would respond to Autolykos' luminous beauty. This close connection between reader and symposium participant not only helps to characterize the reader as viewer, but also urges the reader to associate themselves more closely with the text.

13 Xen. Sym. 1.9 *πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ ὅταν φέγγος τι ἐν νυκτὶ φανῆ, πάντων προσάγεται τὰ ὄμματα, οὕτω καὶ τότε τοῦ Αὐτολύκου τὸ κάλλος πάντων εἴλκε τὰς ὄψεις πρὸς αὐτόν: ἔπειτα τῶν ὁρώντων οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἔπασché τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου. οἱ μὲν γὰρ σιωπηρότεροι ἐγίνοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐσχηματίζοντό πως.*

14 For background see: Ready 2011.

15 Porter, 1972, 11–21.

16 Xen. Sym. 1.9

NIKERATOS' INTERTEXTS AND ALLUSIONS

When it is Nikeratos' turn to say what he takes the most pride in, he proffers his ability to remember and recite Homer. Nikeratos' penchant for citing Homer introduces some interesting implications for intertextuality within Xenophon's work. Allusion and intertext in classical works have been widely studied.¹⁷ Unlike more subtle allusions, Nikeratos' explicit quotations of Homer remove the need to question authorial intent. They instead allow for an analysis of the effect on the reader.¹⁸ Nikeratos is very clear and proud about the source of his knowledge:

My father, who took care that I became a good man, compelled me to learn all the verses of Homer. Even now I am able to recite the entire Iliad and Odyssey by heart. 3.5¹⁹

Nikeratos' references are explicit quotations of Homer. Some ancient authors favour the subtlety of "Alexandrian Footnotes," a technique used to acknowledge allusions to literary predecessors, and at the same time indicate them to the reader.²⁰ Xenophon takes a very different tack, rather than adding airs of erudition with obscure allusions, Nikeratos' statement acts almost as a challenge to the reader, inviting them to recall their own remembered verses of Homer. Throughout the work, the verses that Nikeratos cites seem random or only tangentially related to the point at hand. In this scene, where Nikeratos states that he would improve his fellow symposiasts with his knowledge of Homer, he jumps from stating that Homer wrote on everything concerning mankind to a reference about charioteering.²¹ The reader expects a grand proclamation of Homeric wisdom in order to prove Nikeratos is able to make his fellow symposiasts better. The reader is then disappointed, and perhaps amused, when the quotation Nikeratos selects is about turning a chariot close to the turning post. Almost immediately Nikeratos moves to recite Homer's promotion of the onion garnish, as if realizing his first reference was not applicable for the symposium.²²

Nikeratos' proposal that the other symposiasts use onion as a garnish for their drink stands out as conspicuous among Nikeratos' quotations:

And I know something else in addition, and it is possible for you to test very immediately. For somewhere Homer said: onion is a garnish for drink. And so if someone were to bring an onion, very immediately this would be of some benefit, for you to drink more pleasantly. 4.7²³

Nikeratos subverts expectation. While it is not surprising that he quotes Homer, it is noteworthy that he confesses that he does not

17 See Hinds, 1998; for overview of previous scholarship, and the importance of allusion in roman poetry.

18 Farrell, 2005, 98–111; has taken the discussion of allusion and intertextuality to the realm of authorial intent. He discusses how scholarship has viewed intentionality and how intent may or may not affect the reader.

19 Xen. Sym. 3.5 *καὶ ὅς εἶπεν: ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐπιμελούμενος ὅπως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενοίμην ἠνάγκασέ με πάντα τὰ Ὀμήρου ἐπιμαθεῖν: καὶ νῦν δυνάμην ἂν Ἰλιάδα ὅλην καὶ Ὀδύσειαν ἀπὸ στόματος εἰπεῖν.*

20 Ross, 1975, 78; describes an Alexandrian footnote as a term used to connote an author's intentional reference to their literary predecessors by using phrases such as third person plural passive verbs such as "dicuntur" or "ferunt", these are not true footnotes but rather acknowledgements by the author that they are referring back to another work.

21 Xen. Sym. 4.6

22 Xen. Sym. 4.7

23 Xen. Sym. 4.7 *καὶ πρὸς τούτοις γε ἄλλο οἶδα, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτίκα μάλ' ἔξεστι πειραῖσθαι. εἶπε γάρ που Ὀμηρος: ἐπὶ δὲ κρόμμον ποτῶ ὄνον. ἐὰν οὖν ἐνέγκῃ τις κρόμμον, αὐτίκα μάλ' αὐτὸ γε ὠφελιμῆνοι ἐσεσθε: ἥδιον γὰρ πεισθε.*

know where in Homer the quote is from. This welcomes the participation of the reader as they are forced to recall where the reference appears. A learned reader would likely jump at the chance to identify this passage of the Iliad. In fact, this intentional obscurity pushes the reader to mimic Nikeratos' allusive behaviour, which helps set the reader in parallel with the symposiasts.²⁴ I believe the inclusion of intertextual references serves as a request to the reader to think of or even recite aloud verses of Homer that they might remember. The random or spontaneous nature of these intertexts creates an organic feel in the dialogue of the Symposium and also reassures the reader that any remembered verse would not seem more out of place than those recited by Nikeratos. Though Xenophon is likely using Nikeratos' quotes as a way to shift the plot of the narrative, a side effect is inducing reader participation.

Charmides' rebuke of Nikeratos' proposal extends beyond the confines of the symposiasts, and urges the reader to consider alternative possibilities: "And Charmides said, Gentlemen, Nikeratos wishes to go home reeking of onions, so that his wife will believe that no one even considered kissing him."²⁵ Xenophon's use of *mēde* and *mēdena* ("and not" and "no one") in such close proximity emphasizes the absoluteness of the statement and broadens the scope of this injunction. In ancient Greek this double negative does not negate the statement, but rather compounds and emphasizes it. A similar usage is present in Book 6.²⁶ When Phillipos pushes Sokrates to let him mock the Syracusan, Sokrates shuts down the argument with the line: "No, do not compare him to anyone of those" using *mēdeni* and *mēde* ("no one" and "and not").²⁷ Here, Sokrates uses *mēdeni* and *mēde* to apply his prohibition backward to all the things which Phillipos suggested he might compare the Syracusan to.²⁸ Therefore the emphatic use of *mēdeni* and *mēde* reinforces the power of the statement, while the use of *mēdeni* extends the purview of the prohibition. Sokrates does not allow Phillipos' last suggested mode of comparison, nor any of those that came before. Similarly, I believe here Charmides' rebuke is all-encompassing. This begs the question, then, that if Nikeratos is not kissing the other symposium participants, whom else may he not be kissing? The performers Kallias hired to provide entertainment at his symposium? Or even people outside of the walls of Kallias' house? Not only does this extend the scope of the Symposium, but it begs the reader to think about these possibilities.

Xenophon appeals to the reader's sense of smell to strengthen Charmides' ridicule, and, perhaps, to add an element of humour. The appeal shifts the reader from passive observer to active participant. At many points throughout the symposium appeals to the senses are made, and the multisensory quality of the symposium is emphasized by Sokrates himself:

And Sokrates said, by Zeus, Kallias, you are entertaining us perfectly. For not only have you provided a faultless dinner, but you are also providing pleasant sights and sounds. And

24 Hom. II.XI. 629-31 ἡ σφῶν πρώτων μὲν ἐπιτροίηλε τράπεζαν/ καλὴν κυανόπεζαν εὐξοον, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῆς/ χάλκειον κάναον, ἐπὶ δὲ κρόμμιον ποτῶ ὄσων/ ἡδὲ μέλι χλωρόν, παρὰ δ' ἄλφειτον ἱεροῦ ἀκτῆν (For the two of them she set out a beautiful table with polished metal feet, then on it she set out a bronze basket, in it an onion relish for drink, and pale honey, and beside sacrificial ground barley.)

25 Xen. Sym. 4.8 καὶ ὁ Χαρμίδης εἶπεν: ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ Νικηράτος κρομμύων ὄζων ἐπιθυμεῖ οἴκαδε ἐλθεῖν, ἵν' ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ πιστεῦη μὴδὲ διανοηθῆναι μὴδὲνα ἂν φιλήσει αὐτόν.

26 Xen. Sym. 6.10

27 Xen. Sym. 6.10 μὴδενὶ μὴδὲ τούτων εἵκαζε.

28 Xen. Sym. 6.10.

he [Kallias] said, and so what if someone were to bring perfume for us? That way we might celebrate with sweet smells also. 2.2-3²⁹

Though this passage emphasizes the appeals to the senses made throughout the symposium— taste, sight, sound, and smell— touch is conspicuously absent. In a work so concerned with the propriety of physical affection, it is, perhaps, unsurprising that the sensation of touch is not indulged. As sensory experiences are highlighted early on in the Symposium, the references to smell in the conclusion of the onion garnish scene resonate with the reader as they recall the multisensory nature of the work. Not only do sensory experiences act as a sort of through-line by which to connect the conversations of the Symposium, but they also add richness to the text, which helps immerse the reader in the work. Xenophon uses the sense of smell in this scene to further his cause and to strengthen the reader's connection to Charmides. The conclusion of this scene is rich in its inclusion of viewers beyond the walls of Kallias' *andrōn*:

By Zeus, said Sokrates, perhaps we risk some other reputation, that will bring us ridicule. An onion truly seems to be a garnish, as it seasons pleasantly not only food but also drink. If we nibble on this also after dinner, see to it that some do not say we went to Kallias' merely to indulge. 4.8³⁰

Sokrates' comment, humorous or otherwise, warns that onlookers may be given the wrong idea about their sympotic activities if they over indulge, and that this must be guarded against.³¹ This direct invocation of the indefinite onlooker asks the reader to weigh-in, to decide for themselves whether the symposiasts are indulging in opulence or are respecting the moderation fit for good and noble men.

CONCLUSION

Xenophon's Symposium is a highly engaging text, drawing the reader into the dialogue and spectacle of Kallias' symposium. His lexical choices frame the symposium as an object to view. This sight line is complicated by Xenophon's positioning of the symposium participant as viewers of each other. In this way the reader is likened to the symposium participants and their experience is set in parallel. The use of indefinite pronouns in place of pronouns referring to the symposiasts invite the reader to consider their own relation to the symposium. Similes and intertexts force the reader to consider their own knowledge and perspective. This creates a dialogue between the reader and the text which strengthens the readers connection to the text. Finally, sensory experiences help immerse the reader in the sensations of Kallias' *andrōn*. Thus Xenophon elicits reader participation, which makes the text pleasurable to read, creates vividness, and ultimately supports any didactic or apologetic aims Xenophon may have had in writing his Symposium.

29 Xen. Sym. 2.2-3 εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης: νῆ Δί', ὦ Καλλία, τέλος ἡμᾶς ἐστὶς. οὐ γὰρ μόνον δεῖπνον ἄμεμπτον παρέθηκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεάματα καὶ ἀκροάματα ἡδίστα παρέχεις, καὶ ὅς ἐφη: τί οὖν εἰ καὶ μύρον τις ἡμῖν ἐνέγκαι, ἵνα καὶ εὐωδία ἐστὶμῶμεθα;

30 Xen. Sym. 4.8 νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλ' ἄλλην που δόξαν γελοῖαν κίνδυνος ἡμῖν προσλαβεῖν. ὄσων μὲν γὰρ διη ὄντως ἔοικεν εἶναι, ὡς κρόμμιον γε οὐ μόνον σίτον ἀλλὰ καὶ ποτὸν ἡδύνη. εἰ δὲ διη τοῦτο καὶ μετὰ δεῖπνον τρωξόμεθα, ὅπως μὴ φήσῃ τις ἡμᾶς πρὸς Καλλίαν ἐλθόντας ἡδύπαθεῖν.

31 Jay 2016, 21-2; discusses the prevalence of onions in Greek diet and states that though onions were used as a garnish they were by no means a luxury. Therefore Sokrates' caution against decadence must be understood as a general caution against opulence.

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A HAIRY SITUATION

Hadrian's Beard and its Military Connotations

WYLIE SCHNORR

Hadrian, who is counted among what have been coined the “Five Good Emperors,” is a peculiar case in the world of Roman art. Hadrian reigned from 117 CE to 138 CE, a period in time during which the Roman Empire was at the height of its power. The examinations of this period have equally matched the considerable size of the state. Arising out of these studies is the popular theory that Hadrian was portrayed with a beard in order to symbolize his love of Greek culture, when in fact, his beard was actually meant to signify his role as a competent military figure. The philhellene and *Historia Augusta* theories do not accurately account for the political undertones of Roman portraiture, nor do they address the state of the empire and Hadrian's relationship with the senate when he came to power. For these reasons, Hadrian's beard in his depiction as Mars (Figure 1) is the primary concern, as its style suggests that it was created early in his reign, when he would have established his imperial portraiture, and also when he was personally on military campaign.

To grapple with the topic of Hadrian's features and their underlying meanings, it is imperative to understand what a Roman portrait is and what it was created for. The late Republican “veristic” style often deceives viewers into believing that Roman portraits existed to faithfully recreate the subject's physical features as accurately as possible. In contrast with other ancient works, Republican Roman portraiture appeared to be incredibly realistic. It is subsequently counter-intuitive then to understand that Roman portraits did not exist to be authentic recreations of the subject; rather, they were intended to transcend physical characteristics and send a message (or messages) to the viewer. Nodelman thus elegantly describes Roman portraiture as a “system of signs.” For the purposes of imperial artwork in particular, the most important characteristic of Roman portraiture is that these signs were most often used to convey political messages. For example, Augustus abandoned the veristic style altogether in favour of the characteristics of the Doryphoros, or “Spear Bearer” of Polykleitos, which is best displayed in the statue of Prima Porta. His intention to do so was likely in order to symbolize youthful energy (distancing himself from previous leadership styles) and denoting what he perceived to be the rebirth of the glorious classical age which the Spear Bearer originated from. Despite looking different on the surface, all Roman portraits shared some common semiotic themes. They were all created in order to describe more than just the physical features of the subject to the Roman viewer. The characteristics that were emphasized might change from portrait to portrait, but they all had a message to deliver. In the case of Augustus, he adapted a style of Greek sculpture that he believed helped convey his message. Certain Greek styles were expressive of specific qualities. An ambitious Republican figure may have implemented Hellenistic baroque features into his portrait not because he wanted to look like a Greek, but because it was understood that this sculptural style exaggerated features and expressed emotion vividly. Hölscher describes this as a “language of images,” and the phenomenon is observable well into the imperial period.

In official imperial artwork, and with only one arguable exception, Hadrian is not displayed in anything other than Roman imagery.

The only notable exception is his representation in nude as the god Mars (See figure 1). Equipped with an idea of the “language of images,” as well as the knowledge that this is not the first instance of an emperor's connection to divinity, this statue should come as no surprise. Here, Hadrian is depicted in the High Classical style in order to emphasize the values of *décor super verum* and appear god-like. Wearing a helmet and armed with sword and shield, he is very clearly Mars: the god of war, and one of the primary gods of the Roman pantheon. Beyond the style of the statue, there are no other Greek attributes. Mars and his military connotations are very traditional Roman ideas that not only symbolize his leadership status and military virtue, but also imply that he had a keen interest in displaying these characteristics in particular. Claudius' statue as Jupiter is an example that he could have chosen a different god, and not necessarily make a connection with Mars. Hadrian was not the first to implement Greek styles into his portraiture. Just as Augustus is not considered Greek for his adaptation of the Spear Bearer, Hadrian's use of Greek elements was not an overt display of Greek culture, but rather a continuation of Roman artistic trends that were intended to represent deeper character values in a semiotic manner. If the rest of Hadrian's statue is understood this way, then it is a logical presumption that his beard serves a similar purpose.

If one views Roman portraiture through a scope of political symbolism, the emerging problem with the philhellene theory is that there were few, if any political motivations for Hadrian to represent himself as a Greek figure; at least in the artwork that was intended for a Roman audience. By the end of the Republic and throughout the early imperial period, the Romans had to address the dichotomy of Greek culture and Roman tradition; an often-heated debate that began with Greek contact and was only exacerbated once the Romans established control of Greece. As a general rule (with expected exceptions), Romans considered themselves to be the statesman and soldiers. They were the ones “born to rule” and in direct contrast to the intellectual studies of the Greeks. An appreciation of education and philosophy was considered to be a strictly private affair and something that best remained within the home. This is not to say that Hadrian necessarily believed in these ideals. It is entirely possible that he longed for the cultural pursuits of a Greek in his private life. His long period of time spent in Greece certainly suggests this. Additionally, ever since Rome's contact with the Greek world during the Republican age, Greek culture and values had pervaded the homes of affluent Romans through slaves, tutors, and philosophers. However, Hadrian's portraiture, alongside the portraiture of essentially all emperors, were not created as inward facing celebrations of private life. They were meant to be distributed throughout the empire and it seems unlikely that any emperor would choose features that might be attributed with the ideas of *luxuria* and *otium* that were so closely linked to Greek culture in a Roman's mind during this period. Even learned individuals, such as Cicero and Seneca, preferred the appearance of a toga-clad statesman over the *himation* in the public sphere. Appreciation of Greek culture suggested retirement and leisure, and it was not long before Hadrian's reign that many considered

it to be deteriorating lawful and martial Roman traditions. One would assume, especially considering the circumstances of the empire when Hadrian came to power, that an emperor would much rather prefer, and to some extent be required, to appear as a man of action; to be a leader, statesman, and above all, a defender of the empire.

The *Historia Augusta* is a collection of primary sources; some of which comment on Hadrian's image. In the relevant section, it is suggested that some contemporaries believed Hadrian wore a beard to cover up facial blemishes. It is reasonable to presume that this might have been a motive for Hadrian to grow one, but the theory carries little weight in the realm of portraiture. As has already been discussed, portraits were often not entirely accurate representations of the subject. The political message was far more important than the authenticity, and in the case of the statue of Hadrian as Mars, this is only amplified. While the *Historia Augusta* may not provide an uncontested explanation for Hadrian's beard, it reveals that there were opponents to Hadrian's reign that were searching for ways to undermine him. The source of Hadrian's beard may lie in addressing this opposition.

Though he is included among the so-called "Five Good Emperors" of the second century CE, Hadrian's rule was nonetheless scarred by the overshadowing of Trajan's reign, collision with the senate, and the existence of dangerous rivals. Hadrian's portraiture may have been the direct result of attempts to respond to this animosity. By becoming Trajan's successor, Hadrian was evidently compared to him. While Trajan practiced overt militaristic expansion, Hadrian adopted more subtle policies of defensiveness, preparedness, and consolidation. Cassius Dio valued the discipline that Hadrian displayed, and while he is famous for ordering defenses like the wall in Britannia, he was also said to have inspected them in detail as well. Hadrian's military endeavours should not be understated in maintaining the security of the empire. When Hadrian took power after Trajan's death, a number of provinces were in a near or open state of rebellion. Unfortunately, putting down revolts and maintaining civil order were simply not as glamorous as aggressive outward expansion. Even well after Hadrian's death, critics accused the abandonment of new territories as a "jealous belittlement of Trajan's achievements." Beginning with his questionable rise to power, Hadrian also seemed to be frequently at odds with the senate. He moved some jurisdiction away from Rome by breaking Italy up into smaller provinces and made some legal reforms that stripped the senators of some of their powers. The creation of this alternate bureaucracy disconnected from the senate was unsurprisingly said to have upset them and question his legitimacy. It has been suggested that some of Trajan's imperial council members were presented as potential rivals and possible claimants. They were portrayed as ardent supporters of Trajan's expansionist policy, likely making them more desirable leaders in the eyes of some dissenters. Hadrian's grasp on power was thus not as secure as his seat among the "Five Good Emperors" might suggest.

These circumstances suggest that one of Hadrian's primary concerns must have been exhibiting his military capabilities. The beard was an ideal feature to introduce into his portraiture because it had become closely linked to the soldiers of the armies. Opper considered the beard to be the "mark of the military man" during this period. Hadrian's portrayal with beard (a short beard, as opposed to the longer style of emperors like Marcus Aurelius) could have served to emphasize his affiliation with the army by using a

symbol that would have been immediately recognizable by both contemporary soldiers and those who were in contact with them.

Symbolism was a crucial component of Roman portraiture and delivering a message to the viewer was the primary purpose. The portraits of prominent figures and leaders prior to Hadrian suggest that these messages were most often of a political nature and that Greek styles were principally used to further explain these messages through recognition. Through popular trends, the beard had become closely related to soldiery in the second century. An integral reason why Hadrian might have felt it was necessary to include this overt militaristic symbolism in his portraiture was as a response to the developing senatorial opinion of his rule and more subtle military policies. It is unlikely that Hadrian's beard in general, but specifically in his statue as Mars, was used to deliver a philhellene message to Roman citizens because this was simply not a political consideration at the time. The chief concern of Hadrian at this time was most likely portraying himself as a competent and successful military figure.

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FIGURES



Figure 1: Statue of Hadrian as Mars. From: Carole Raddato, *Statue of Hadrian as Mars, the Roman god of war, from Italy, AD 117–125, Capitoline Museums*, 2014, Photograph, 3153 × 4928px, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/caroleimage/12878398075/>

COSMIC HIERARCHY AND THE CARNIVALESQUE

Descents Into Animality in the Hebrew Bible

KIENAN BURRAGE

According to the cosmic hierarchy of the Hebrew Bible, humanity occupied a position above all other created beings, yet below divine and angelic beings. Within the cultural context of the Ancient Near East, authors sought to depict humanity temporary descending into animality, a carnivalesque state within God's cosmic hierarchy. In order to reinstate the original power structure with greater stability, authors of the Books of Jonah and Daniel implemented a temporary de-stabilization, or reversal, of hierarchical power structures. Applying this literary concept to two narratives of the Hebrew Bible illuminated the purposes of these biblical narratives. Within these narratives, a character's descent into animality signified the reversal of God's created order, thus abandoning their position as beings created in the image of God. These narratives provided an explicit understanding of the human-animal hierarchy and humanity's capacity to function outside of created order. This essay will contend the characters of Jonah and Daniel literarily and culturally functioned within a fundamentally Biblical principle. Approaching these narratives with the lens of carnivalesque theory enabled an understanding of these texts not only as distinct cultural narratives, but also as determinants of the installation and solidification of the Biblical cosmic hierarchy.

The authors of Daniel, Jonah, and Genesis approached humanity's place within God's cosmic hierarchy as tenuous and vulnerable. Humanity's place, one above animals and below the angelic and divine powers, was protected and maintained by both cultural variants and the Biblical writers. The Hebrew Bible sought to accomplish this in various ways, including through depictions of humans who have fallen from their 'rightful' place and have violently descended into animality. Hinged upon the history of the Ancient Near East, descents into animality temporarily inverted the human-animal power structure in order to justify the cultural and religious understandings of a cosmic hierarchical order. In other words, the authors of the Hebrew Bible sought to emphasize the divine maintenance of a pre-existing cosmic hierarchy. Beginning in the Book of Genesis, God responded quickly and decisively to the people building a centralized tower with "its top in the sky, to make a name for [themselves]," (Gen. 11:4). God's reaction to humanity's prideful ambitions demonstrated that the people of Babel attempted to overreach and supersede their place within creation's hierarchy. Such an act of functioning outside the cosmic hierarchy resulted in divine intervention, to which God ensured that humanity could not supersede its place within the hierarchy through "confound[ing] their speech," (Genesis: 11:7).

According to Kenneth Craig, applied to the Biblical tradition, carnivalesque theory revealed certain literary continuity and a widespread attempt to maintain human hierarchies through temporary inversions¹. Maintaining the divinely established hierarchy was to "undermine the time-honoured hierarchy of patriarchal order and

evoke an image of the world, reminiscent of a carnival."² According to Nehama Aschkenasy, animality, rupturing and superseding the patriarchal order, shifted the purpose of hierarchical order from the dominance of the divine, to the subservient actions of humanity.³ As controlled and brief descents into disorder, temporary ruptures in the cosmic hierarchy occurred in order that normative hierarchies could be reinstated with increased stability. The inversion of power structures was thus temporary, ultimately solidifying the original hierarchy.

According to the Book of Jonah, "the LORD provided a huge fish to swallow Jonah; and Jonah remained in the fish's belly three days and three nights," (Jonah 2:1). The narrative depicted Jonah's descent into animality and subsequent reemergence. Within a carnivalesque reading, the three days Jonah spent within the belly of a fish illustrated the ways in which the divine ensures that humanity retains its place within the cosmic hierarchy. For the Biblical writers, Jonah's descent into animality served to assert God's power and dominion over the nation of Israel and the whole of creation. God, untethered to a specific geographic region, exercised his dominion over the chaotic and inhospitable. According to Mera Flaumenhaft, "Jonah uses words that echo the beginning of Genesis. The "great fish" might be one of the "great sea monsters" that God made on the fifth day ... in a reversal of natural hierarchy, an animal swallows a man."⁴ This inversion of hierarchy was crucial to the didactic purpose of Jonah's narrative, however, the subsequent reversion to the normative hierarchy, with Jonah reclaiming his place as human, was equally crucial. Due to the temporary nature of this cosmic inversion, the biblical narrative did not undermine the natural hierarchy. Instead, Jonah's descent was fundamentally carnivalesque to establish Jonah's place within the cosmic order.

As the king of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar made a prideful boast and was cursed to descend into animality for seven years. According to the Biblical understanding, Nebuchadnezzar's transgression was a prideful act against the God of the cosmic order.⁵ Standing on a rooftop, he exclaimed: "there is a great Babylon, which I have built by my vast power to be a royal residence for the glory of my majesty," (Dan. 6:27). For the Biblical writer, the divine retribution was to be swift and decisive:

the words were still on the king's lips, when a voice fell from heaven ... you are being driven away from men, and your habitation is to be with the beasts of the field. You are to be fed like grass like cattle, and seven seasons will pass over

1 Kenneth M. Craig, "Reading Esther: A Case for the Literary Carnivalesque," *Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation*, 1st ed., (Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 192.

2 Milena Kirova, "Eyes Wide Open: A Case of Symbolic Reversal in the Biblical Narrative," *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*, vol. 24, no. 3, (2010): 85-98.

3 Nehama Aschkenasy, "Reading Ruth through a Bakhtinian Lens: The Carnivalesque in a Biblical Tale," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 126, no. 3, (2007): 437-453.

4 Mera J. Flaumenhaft, "The Story of Jonah," *The Review of Politics*, vol. 76, no. 1, (2014): 9.

5 Dominique Charpin, Jane Marie Todd, *Writing, Law, and Kingship in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 1.

you until you come to know that the Most High is sovereign over the realm of man and He gives it to whom He wishes (Daniel. 6:30).

God, using animalistic penance, punished the king of Babylon for superseding his place within the cosmic order where “he was driven away from men, he ate grass like cattle, and his body was drenched with the dew of heaven until his hair grew like eagle’s feathers and his nails like the talons of birds,” (Daniel: 6:30).

According to Christopher Hays, “everything but the most technical recent commentaries simply omit comment on the details of Nebuchadnezzar’s affliction.”⁶ Within the context of the Ancient Near East, Hays contended, “The type of animal imagery found in this passage frequently symbolized those who were afflicted by divine powers,” however, “animal imagery was firmly associated with underworld figures by the first half of the first millennium BCE, and this is especially true of the animals that are used to portray Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 4:30.”⁷ According to Hays, “ancient Mesopotamians expressed their suffering as a descent into hell.”⁸ Nebuchadnezzar’s punishment was a symbolic descent into the realm of the dead, yet several Babylonian sources that constitute “clear evidence that a primal earthly status could result from the curse of a deity.”⁹ For the Biblical writers, clear apocalyptic symbolism was intended for the oxen and eagles of Nebuchadnezzar’s animalistic state; however, his temporary descent into animality cursed both the present and future condition of Babylon.

Within the carnivalesque, ethical considerations were subjected to both women and feminized men. According to Thomas Cason, the nature of Nebuchadnezzar’s affliction could be understood “through the lens of a male punishment ritual,” one that resulted in a feminizing curse enacted through a divine source.¹⁰ Sexual degradation, “as a means to establish the hierarchical division between initiator and initiated,” marked Nebuchadnezzar as a feminized character who was punished for superseding the cosmic hierarchy.¹¹ Cason claimed, “The images found in Daniel 4.30 symbolized the dramatic collapse of Nebuchadnezzar’s masculinity as he is made aware of his subordinate place in the universe.”¹² Further, “Nebuchadnezzar’s compulsory embodiment of an animalized existence impacts his masculine identification in the narrative.”¹³ Divinely displaced, Nebuchadnezzar embodied “characteristics of those associated with the realm of the Other—the female, the animal, the un-male ... which he will carry back with him when he returns from his ritual punishment.”¹⁴ Nebuchadnezzar’s acquisition of long hair and fingernails, “through the lens of a male punishment ritual, illuminated the gendered dimensions of his follicular extensions.”¹⁵ As a clear affront to his masculinity, Nebuchadnezzar’s acquisition of female attributes signified “his inferior status to that

of his more masculine overlord.”¹⁶ As a suppression of his identity, his change of character signified a descent into the realm of the Other. Through a carnivalesque inversion of the cosmic hierarchy, God transformed “Nebuchadnezzar into a king who recognizes his place in the hierarchical order of the universe.”¹⁷

Temporary descents into animality, a carnivalesque realm of the Other within God’s cosmic hierarchy, were temporary. In order to justify and solidify the original power structure with greater stability, authors of the Books of Jonah and Daniel implemented a temporary de-stabilization, or reversal, of hierarchical power structures. Within these narratives, a character’s descent into animality signified the reversal of God’s created order. These narratives provided an explicit understanding of the human-animal hierarchy and humanity’s inability to function outside of created order. Approaching these narratives with the lens of carnivalesque theory enabled an understanding of these texts not only as distinct cultural narratives, but also as determinants of the installation and solidification of the Biblical cosmic hierarchy. Carnivalesque theory demonstrated that these texts were concerned with the ethical solidification of divine hierarchy. Temporary ruptures in the cosmic hierarchy did not undermine the natural order; instead, they solidified the structure after the normative hierarchy was re-established. Carnivalesque theory, applied to both the narratives of Jonah and Daniel, contrasted the effects of hierarchical order. Nebuchadnezzar’s descent into the realm of the Other is fully embodied, while Jonah emerged as a vessel of God’s dominion. According to both narratives, God punished human hubris through a temporary displacement within the cosmic hierarchy.

6 Christopher B. Hays, “Chirps from the Dust: The Affliction of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 4:30 in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* no. 126, vol. 2 (2007): 305.

7 *Ibid.*, 305 & 313.

8 *Ibid.*, 322.

9 Hector Avalos, “Nebuchadnezzar’s Affliction: New Mesopotamian Parallels for Daniel 4,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* vol. 133 no. 3, (2014): 498.

10 Thomas Cason, “Confessions of an Impotent Potentate: Reading Daniel 4 through the Lens of Ritual Punishment Theory,” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 39, no. 1, vol. 1, (2014): 79.

11 *Ibid.*, 79.

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Ibid.*

14 *Ibid.*, 88.

15 *Ibid.*, 93.

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*

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NOT JUST ABOUT SLAVERY

Another Look at Paul's Epistle to Philemon

TIANA VINCENT

INTRODUCTION

Despite being the shortest letter from Paul the Apostle, the Epistle to Philemon leaves readers scratching their heads in wonder. Similar to most of Paul's letters, readers only have one side of the story: Paul's. Yet, this letter includes another main character, Onesimus, who is both at the forefront and in the background of this letter. How do Philemon, Onesimus, and Paul connect with each other in this letter? Why are they placed together, frozen in time? Interpretations for this letter have varied over the years and scholars and readers may never know the true message embedded between Philemon and Paul. This essay aims to provide a fresh outlook on Paul's letter to Philemon, where Paul requests that Philemon accept Onesimus not only as a brother in Christ but as Paul's new proxy in his house-church. To take it further, Paul asks Philemon for Onesimus's acceptance as Philemon's partner in the house-church. The letter, in a larger sense, exemplifies aspects of the church and the gospel community, while challenging social norms in its ancient Roman context. This paper will examine the epistle's brief background and the multiple methods of understanding the letter's context. Afterwards, the paper will focus on an exegesis of the letter's body by using a combination of two approaches to read Philemon's letter. To conclude, this discussion will turn towards the bigger picture and how the effects of the letter embark on the greater, gospel community and early-Christian movement.

BACKGROUND

History of the Letter

Unlike the letters to the Romans and Corinthians, Philemon's epistle is short and sweet. Around 55/57 CE, Paul was in prison, continuing to write letters, particularly the letters to the Philippians and the letter to Philemon. The letter addresses Philemon as Paul's friend and coworker (patron of the house-church) (1:1), and Onesimus is later noted as Philemon's slave. Paul also addresses the letter to two church members, Apphia and Archippus, and to the house-church overall. Although the letter to Philemon does not explicitly state what prison Paul is in, there is some belief that he was in his Roman imprisonment.¹ However, Rome was approximately two thousand kilometres away from the city of Colossae, where Philemon's house-church is.² The coincidental placement of Onesimus and Paul in the same prison is intriguing, given the necessary travelling and time, and deserves an attempted explanation. Like Paul's other letters, they are all comparable to contemporary puzzles and codes in which you need a framework, and a sane state of mind, to read and understand.

Previous Theories of Approach

The letter to Philemon can be read in many frameworks to understand how Onesimus's position fits with Paul, and where Paul stands between Philemon and Onesimus. Thus, several hypotheses of the letter's contents have formed to help understand Paul's

request to Philemon. Many interpretations have formed over time but there are four main theories: the runaway theory, the intercession hypothesis, the embassy theory, and the apprentice hypothesis. The runaway theory, the oldest and most challenged, assumes that Onesimus had run away from Philemon for committing some sort of crime and went to prison, and either was near Paul or in the same cell as Paul. Afterwards, Paul baptized him and sent Onesimus back to Philemon with the letter for Onesimus's forgiveness.³ With this theory, many scholars draw parallels with Pliny the Younger's epistle to Sabinianus, where Pliny writes to Sabinianus to forgive his former freedman and to accept his crimes as foolish after Pliny gave the freedman a proper scolding and warning.⁴ Parallel to Paul's letter, this theory and its comparison to Pliny's letter creates more problems than answers. To start, the tones of each letter differ greatly: Paul uses tones of kinship, rather than "scolding" and "warnings," and lacks mentioning not only Onesimus's crimes but of Onesimus running away in general.⁵ The lack of evidence for this theory has proven challenging to use when reading the letter, and modern scholarship has strayed away from it.

Responding to the runaway hypothesis is the intercession theory. This theory claims that Onesimus did run away from Philemon but ran directly to Paul to mediate the misdeed or crime.⁶ Regarding Roman law, this theory is problematic. In Roman law, slave runaways were subject to punishment and seen as fugitives. Using this theory, the likelihood of Onesimus as a fugitive (*servus fugitivus*) is possible, but Onesimus fleeing to Paul makes him more of a delinquent (*erro*) than a criminal "runaway" or fugitive.⁷ As if prison was not enough on Paul's plate, if Onesimus had been a criminal fugitive, this could add onto Paul's arrest. In Roman society, Paul is bound by law to give up a criminal slave, instead of housing a fugitive. Again, we can use Pliny's letter of the freedman to Sabinianus as a marker, and note that the tones of scolding and persuasion in Pliny's letter are not for a slave, but for a freedman. Similar to Pliny, Paul writes on behalf of Onesimus but the letter has no rebuke to Onesimus.⁸ Something as bad as this would need to be mentioned somehow in the letter to Philemon, and the lack of language and tone on the law or the repercussions emphasizes that this theory may not be best suited to read the letter. The intercession and runaway theories have many similarities towards each other, with minor varieties, but lacking in supporting evidence, making them difficult to use as a way to interpret the letter.

Embassy and Apprentice Theories

Newer to the scene are two theories that are becoming widespread in scholarship. Rather than viewing Onesimus in a negative light

3 Albert J. Harrill, *Slaves in the New Testament*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2006, 6-7.

4 *Ibid.*, 7.

5 Translation taken from Harill, using Eduard Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon: A Commentary on the Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 196-97: Epistulae 9.21 and 9.24.

6 *Ibid.*, 7.

7 *Ibid.*, 8.

8 Pieter G. R. de Villiers, "Moral Language in Philemon," in *Moral Language in the New Testament: The Interrelatedness of Language and Ethics in Early Christian Writings*, ed. Ruben Zimmermann et al (Itd. 2010), 257.

1 Ronald F. Hock, "The Letter of Paul to Philemon," in *The HarperCollins Study Bible Fully Revised and Updated: New Revised Standard Version, with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books, Student Version*, ed. Harold W. Attridge et al. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2006), 2032.

2 *Ibid.*

by committing a crime or running away, scholars are choosing to view Onesimus with more positive perspectives. Harrill presents to us the embassy apprentice theory. Embassy (also known as dispatched) theory assumes that Philemon sent Onesimus to Paul as a means of financial aid while Paul was in prison.⁹ This is similar to the letter to Philippians, where Paul acknowledged Epaphroditus, who was sent to him by the congregation at Philippi (Phil. 2:25). This theory can explain why there is not a rebuke on Paul's part for Onesimus's actions,¹⁰ and the love language that Paul uses. However, it does not explain everything in the letter, such as Paul stating that Philemon charge any of Onesimus's wrongdoings to Paul's account (Phlm. 1:18). This statement leaves room to suggest that Onesimus is not completely without blemish, however there are not enough details mentioned to explicitly implicate Onesimus in a crime. The theory still leaves some ambiguity on certain parts of the letter that are crucial to understanding its context.

Harrill then suggests a new framework: the apprentice theory. Harrill suggests that Paul is asking Philemon to allow Onesimus to be a new apprentice for Paul's service in the gospel.¹¹ We see this with the type of language used in the letter—despite it being a language of love, there are terms of business and “partnership” between Philemon and Paul.¹² Harrill argues that Paul uses stock formulas of apprentice contracts, which Paul would be familiar with from his weaving industry, and applies them to his own cause with the gospel.¹³ Evidence of this are in phrases Paul uses such as “useless” into “useful”, and “doing service.”¹⁴ Nonetheless, the legal aspects of this letter do not explain or give a backstory on how Onesimus and Paul ended up together in prison, or even Onesimus's stance.

For this paper, I want to synthesize the embassy and the apprentice theories together. Both theories have a better fit in the tone and language used in the letter. The apprentice theory lacks a backstory, which is given by the embassy theory, while the embassy theory does not have a driving force for why the letter was even written. In this case, Philemon sent his slave, Onesimus to Paul as means of financial aid while Paul was in prison. During his mission, Onesimus was taken under Paul's teachings and sent back to Philemon with Paul's request to be an apprentice under the gospel. I want to tweak the apprentice theory slightly; Harrill presumes that Paul is “asking” Philemon to accept Onesimus in this position, when it may be better to say that Paul is telling, nearly commanding, Philemon to accept Paul's request, leaving little room for Philemon's concerns. However, it is important to note that combining the two theories cannot solve everything. It does not necessarily answer why Paul could claim Onesimus as a brother in the flesh to Philemon (1:16) or Onesimus's wrongdoings charged to Paul. Though, the combining of these theories tells us that Philemon sent Onesimus to Paul in prison as financial aid. Later, Paul (possibly) converted Onesimus and hoped to have him in his service for the gospel and return to Philemon with this letter and Paul's wish for their partnership in spreading the gospel.

THE LETTER

Formal Analysis of vv. 8-11

Like most of Paul's authentic letters, Philemon exhibits the same format: a greeting, thanksgiving, body, an exhortation, and a conclusion. For the purpose of this paper, I will be concentrating on verses 8 to 22, which make up the body of the letter. We must note that in v. 1, Paul addresses Philemon as a co-worker, already setting up a specific tone for the letter, one of business; in this conversation, Philemon is Paul's colleague on equal ground with each other. This changes later as Paul's power dynamic becomes a form of persuasion.¹⁵ In v. 9, Paul claims that while he could “command” Philemon, he appeals with love instead, indicating that Christian communities should be living in accordance with certain values.¹⁶ This continues in verses 10 and 11: in v. 10, Paul declares himself a father to Onesimus (even though Philemon is Onesimus's master!) and in v. 11, Paul implies his power and capabilities of making Onesimus useful, after being useless before. Paul's assertion as a father over Onesimus, owned by Philemon, is a bold move. In its Roman context, this takes place in a society where fathers, *paterfamilias*, had abundant authority (*patria potestas*) and could exercise it over the members of a home, later becoming applicable to house-churches (as they took place in a patron's house).¹⁷ In the Roman household (*domus*), children had higher statuses over slaves, not only because they were family but because they too contributed to the household. Slaves did play an active role in the household, but they were still of lower standing compared to the family.¹⁸ Paul claiming himself a “father” over his “child,” Onesimus, elevates Onesimus no longer as a slave, but as a child, a significant contributor to this *domus*. Paul is no longer persuading Philemon to accept Onesimus under Paul's conditions, rather, he is challenging Philemon's power as a *paterfamilias* under the guise of the gospel. Paul is not only subverting Philemon's authority as the *paterfamilias* but this subtle power move overcomes any “slavish role Onesimus may have served under Philemon's household.”¹⁹ Even in v. 16, Paul calls Philemon and Onesimus “brothers,” which was often a term used to place members on equal grounds with each other.²⁰ While Paul writes as if he is staking a claim on Onesimus, it is likely an attempt to place the authority into Paul's hands, rather than Philemon's, forcing to put the gospel forefront, above the Roman societal norms.

Formal Analysis of vv. 12-16

We find Paul's request, or confession in this section of the letter: Paul wanted to keep Onesimus in his service but thought better of it and chose to send him back to Philemon to continue Paul's gospel outside of the prison. It is in v. 13 where Paul admits that he wanted Onesimus to stay but chooses to send him back (“my own heart, back to you” (1:12, NSRV)). In sending him back, Paul notes that while Onesimus was of good service in prison, he would be of better service in “your place”—directed at Philemon—during Paul's imprisonment. Could this be Paul delegating Onesimus into Philemon's church ministry?²¹ “In your place” as meaning Phile-

9 Ibid., 11.

10 Ibid., 13.

11 Ibid., 14.

12 Ibid., 14.

13 Ibid., 15.

14 Ibid.

15 Norman R. Petersen, *Rediscovering Paul, Philemon and the Sociology of Paul's Narrative World*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 106.

16 De Villiers, “Moral Language,” 257.

17 Chris Frilingos, ““For my Child, Onesimus”: Paul and Domestic Power in Philemon.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 119, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 96.

18 Ibid., 95.

19 Ibid., 101.

20 Petersen, *Rediscovering Paul*, 103.

21 Allen Dwight Callahan, “Paul's Epistle to Philemon: Toward an Alternative

mon's place in the church, or his place geographically in Colossae. Given that Onesimus came from Colossae, this may not mean geographically. "Service to me in your place" alters the reading of the entire letter— with the tones of business and partnership, we can take this as meaning that Onesimus is to work in Paul's service with Philemon, as a business partner. This could also be read as Onesimus replacing Paul as a proxy or emissary in Philemon's church.²² It is important to point out that in this main section of the letter there are no mentions of crimes, Onesimus running away, or manumission. Instead, it discusses service— to Paul and to the gospel. Nonetheless, whether this "service" is being an emissary for the apostle or a promotion within the church is still unclear. It is clear that Paul wishes for Philemon's consent, respecting that even though Paul has greater authority, it is still Philemon's house.

Formal Analysis of vv. 17, 21 and 22

As the letter trails into his goodbyes, Paul emphasizes his relation with Onesimus in v. 17, where Paul tells Philemon that "if you [Philemon] consider me your partner, welcome him [Onesimus] as you would welcome me" (NRSV). Though we know that Roman households had slaves with active roles and influences, placing one's social status²³ on the same strata with a Roman slave could be seen as radical in its ancient context. Earlier, Paul called himself "father" and takes up the position of a paterfamilias, and places Onesimus's importance on the same level as Paul, all directed not only to Philemon but to the entire house-church. As we move to v. 21, we note that Paul uses the term "obedience," a term that emphasizes submission to a higher authority,²⁴ within words of kindness and praise. In v. 22, it is as if Paul is adding more salt to the wound by using the phrase, "one more thing," to tell Philemon to prepare a guest room for him, probably so that Paul can make sure his deeds are done once he's out of prison. In the end, the letter is redirected to his addressees, not just Philemon, integrating the issue again into a collective setting.²⁵ Perhaps, Paul is hoping for more than just a bed and breakfast.

THE BIG PICTURE: PAUL'S ESCHATOLOGY AND COMMUNITY

Paul & Slavery

In following Paul's eschatology, the apocalypse is coming tomorrow... or at least any day now (Paul needed learn how to schedule events). In 1 Corinthians 7:21, written in 54 CE before Philemon's letter,²⁶ Paul writes that slaves need not worry about their social standing because when the Lord comes, they will all be free anyway, but does it matter if they are called on by God through Paul? According to Paul, each person is to lead the life that the Lord has assigned, which is God's calling. Could you possibly be assigned as a slave who was to later become a partner in running a house-church? Unfortunately, Paul does not concern himself explicitly with that specific scenario. In a reading of 1 Cor. 7:18, Paul's use of the word "call" is meant as conversion.²⁷ Would Paul have con-

sidered Onesimus 27 a slave during his imprisonment when the two got together and when Onesimus was likely baptized? Even outside of prison, it was not unusual for slaves to adhere to different religious communities, though they maintained their slave status (and probably did not have a Pauline apostle).²⁸ Moving to 7:22, we find that Paul's theology states that those who are slaves are freedmen under the Lord, so in Paul's eyes, Onesimus is a freedman, allowing him to serve and spread the gospel before the end of time. Could this be why there is no explicit mention of manumission in Philemon's letter? In a society where slavery is key to the economy, slavery (although an expensive instrument to a master), was a necessary feature.²⁹ Though freeing slaves was not a foreign concept to the Romans, and was done frequently, in this passage, Paul is not seeking freedom for all slaves— this idea would be radical in all senses. Romans often allowed slaves to become freedmen to then be tied into their master's patronage, so being out of slavery was not a radical concept. However, Paul freeing Onesimus, despite Onesimus being under Philemon's patronage, makes this situation all the more unique. Given what Paul has written on slavery in 1 Corinthians, Onesimus could have been a special case to Paul, or there are more complexities on Paul's views on slavery and the Lord than we know.

One Last Push in Spreading the Gospel

Paul's letter to Philemon is peculiar. It does not emphasize any theological foundation and is more personal, so what is the Christian audience supposed to take away from it? After analyzing different parts of the letter's body, Philemon's letter is one way of supporting Paul's ideas of communities and the spreading of the gospel. For the communal aspect, Paul addressing this letter to an entire house-church is one way to emphasize community. What could have easily been a private matter between Paul, slave and master was publicized to the church. This could be because having Onesimus in a higher position of power in the church benefits the entire community. In a larger sense, Onesimus's change from slave to a partner in the church benefits the bigger community at large: the gospel and the small, early Christian movement. Regarding Paul's eschatology, Onesimus's conversion fits well— the end is coming soon, and everybody should be converted to become part of this second coming. Whether you're a slave, a master, or an average-Gaius, Paul wants everyone to be accepted in God and participate in the second coming (unless you're a drunkard or prostitute (1 Cor. 5:11). De Villiers writes that as Paul is writing to Philemon, his address is not to a single, particular conflict: it seeks to defend the integrity and continuation of his gospel.³⁰

CONCLUSION

The Epistle to Philemon is often overlooked but it is not any less interesting compared to Paul's other letters. If anything, the letter to Philemon keeps readers on edge because we may never truly find out what Paul was requesting. This paper sought to discuss a new route to look at this letter: Paul was not asking Philemon to forgive Onesimus from running away or for a crime. By synthesizing the embassy and apprentice theories, we find that Paul is requesting Philemon for Onesimus's acceptance as a brother in Christ and a possible new apprentice in the Gospel. This request leads to a power imbalance under Roman societal norms, particularly with a paterfamilias and the household, but also points to a greater effect

Argumentum." The Harvard Theological Review 86, no.4 (October 1993): 375.

22 Ibid., 373.

23 Frilingos, "Paul and Domestic Power," 95.

24 Oxford English Dictionary Online, s.v. "Obedience," accessed December 7, 2018, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/obedience>.

25 De Villiers, "Moral Language," 256.

26 Victor Paul Furnish, "First Corinthians" in The HarperCollins Study Bible Fully Revised and Updated: New Revised Standard Version, with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books, ed. Harold W. Attridge et al. (San Francisco: HarperCollins Publishers, 2006), 1932.

27 Ibid., 1941. Footnote for 7:18.

28 Barth and Blanke, Philemon, 15.

29 Ibid., 10.

30 De Villiers, "Moral Language," 271.

upon the growing gospel community at large. Though, not all of Paul's letters are so easy to crack—there are still a few parts of the letter that become outliers: Paul calling Philemon and Onesimus brothers “in the flesh,” (1:16, NSRV) implying that they are two estranged blood brothers,³¹ and the wrongdoings being charged to Paul, mentioned in v. 18. Despite all these twists and turns, it is my hope that we do not overlook the letter to Philemon, instead, embracing its complexities and confusion for endless discussions, which I hope will continue on.

³¹ Callahan, “Philemon,” 371.

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