

Rape in Antiquity

20 years on



22-23 of June, 2017

University of Roehampton, London

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PROGRAMME

22/06/2017

Duchesne 004, University of Roehampton

10:00 – 10:30 | REGISTRATION

10:30 – 11:00 |

WELCOMING SESSION

Violence, power and beyond: rape in antiquity 20 years on

SUSAN DEACY

University of Roehampton

11:00 – 12:15

Sex, violence and graphics: illustrating Helen

KAREN F. PIERCE

University of Cardiff

From sexual pursuit to rape: sexual violence in Athenian painted pottery

ROBIN OSBORNE

University of Cambridge

Fifty shades of rape: Images of pursuit and abduction in Athenian vase painting

VIKTORIA RÄUCHLE

Universität Wien



12:15 - 12:30 | TEA AND COFFEE

12:30 - 13:45

Sexual violence in the Hippocratic gynecology

HELLA SHPIERER

Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Women and rape in Greek philosophy

JAMES A. ARIETI

Hamden-Sydney College

Women's choices, women's suffering: consent and sexual violence in Greek law and in Greek literature

EDWARD M. HARRIS

Durham University

13:45 - 14:45 | LUNCH

14:45 - 16:00

The Hero of Temesa: ghosts, monsters and rape

DANIEL OGDEN

University of Exeter

Sexual rejection and the monstrous husband: Heracles in *Trachiniae*

FRANCESCA SPIEGEL

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin



A victim's tragedy? Sexual violence in Euripides' *Ion*

CORINNA BRUNINI-CRONIN

Durham University

16:00 - 16:15 | TEA AND COFFEE

16:15 - 17:30

Rape and consent in Roman law

DOUGLAS MATTHEW WONG

Columbia University

Myths of rape of maidens in association with the cults of Artemis:
sexual assault as a cover-story in myth-making

OLGA ZOLOTNIKOVA

Hellenic Open University

Rape, revenge and resurrection in Correr's *Progne*

JACQUELINE CLARKE

University of Adelaide

17:30 - 18:45

Meat, metamorphosis, and the male gaze: Ovid's Daphne in Han
Kang's *The Vegetarian*

HOLLY A. RANGER

Institute of Classical Studies



The rape of Boudicca and her daughters on screen

TONY KEEN

University of Roehampton

Rape, warfare, colonialism, revenge: Jane Holland's *Boudicca & Co*

MARGUERITE JOHNSON

University of Newcastle, Australia

CONFERENCE DINNER

23/06/2017

Duchesne 004, University of Roehampton

10:00 – 11:15

Retracing traumatic memories: rape narratives in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and Euripides' *Ion*

ERIKA L. WEIBERG

Florida State University

Rape, seduction, and new comedy: A re-examination of the evidence of Menander's *Samia*

THOMAS McCONNELL

University of Oxford



Sororophobia in Ovid's Corpus: Blame, Punishment, and Violence

MELISSA MARTURANO

The City University of New York

11:15 – 11:30 | TEA AND COFFEE

11:30 – 12:45

From rape to ritual pursuit scenes on red-figure pottery: the workshop of the Himera painter and the new figurative proposals from Magna Graecia and Sicily

MARCO SERINO

Università degli Studi di Torino

“Bestial” women as pursuers of men: the transgression of rules in rape

ANTHI DIPLA

Hellenic Open University
Open University of Cyprus

Καὶ σοί: sexual violence and apotropaic magic in satyr-hermaphrodite sculptures

BEN ANGELL

University of Oxford



12:45 - 14:00 | LUNCH

14:00 - 14:30

Poster Session

The consequences of avoiding the topic of rape in children's stories about Medusa

DOROTA BAZYL CZYK

Faculty of "Artes Liberales", University of Warsaw

Why Centaurs do not rape anymore? Looking for sexuality in contemporary children's and young adult culture inspired by Classical Antiquity

ANNA MIK

Faculty of "Artes Liberales", University of Warsaw

14:30 - 16:05

Leda on the Palatine: exploring the Roman Republican zeitgeist through rape

KATHRYN RILEY

University of Roehampton

Galla Placidia as 'Human Gold': consent and autonomy in the early fifth century west

VICTORIA LEONARD

Institute of Classical Studies

University of London



Against bishops' will? Dynamics of wartime rape in the fifth century west

ULRIIKA VIHERVALLI

University of Cardiff

The rape of a sanctimonialis: an historical overview through the texts of Augustine of Hippo

MARCELLO LUSVARGHI

Università di Bologna

16:05 – 16:20 | CLOSING SESSION

ABSTRACTS

Sex, violence and graphics: illustrating Helen

Karen F. Pierce
University of Cardiff

Helen is a mythological character whose relationships and interactions with men have been coloured by desire. The product of a divine rape herself, as a woman her story and character have been interpreted and manipulated with different agendas for different audiences. Seduction, persuasion, abduction, rape: Helen does not have a choice in what is done to her.

After setting the textual scene, this paper will look at the iconographic depictions of Helen, how she was pictorially represented to audiences at times of potential sexual violence; the abduction and persuasion by Paris, and the violent reclamation of Helen by Menelaus. After identifying relevant motifs I will then turn to the reception of Helen in the twentieth and twenty first centuries, particularly focussing on the visual depictions of graphic novels and comics.

There is no end to the retelling of the story of the Trojan War, and in recent decades alongside the illustrated versions for children we have seen the advent of the story in graphic novel form – sometimes aimed at a youthful audience, and sometimes aimed for a much more adult one. There has long been discussion about the depiction of women in graphic novels and comics, with a tendency towards the hypersexualisation of female characters. I shall be analysing some key examples, such as Eric Shanower's *Age of Bronze* series, and Roy Thomas and Miguel Angel Sepulveda's *Iliad* and *Trojan War*, to see how their portrayal of Helen, and other major female characters, is dealt with, and which aspects of the myths they focus on.

As the vase painters depicted scenes for which we sometimes have no surviving textual basis, so I am interested in whether graphic artists look to do the same, or whether the freedom to expand on the myths now comes within different mediums. Just as one 'reads' a Greek vase, 'reading' a panel in a graphic novel can lead to deeper meanings than appear on the surface.

In the twentieth and twenty first centuries Helen has more of a voice than she ever did, but does she have more of a choice?

From sexual pursuit to rape: sexual violence in Athenian painted pottery

Robin Osborne
University of Cambridge

Scenes of sexual pursuit appear on Athenian painted pots suddenly in early red-figure. Some sorts of pursuit scene prove popular for longer than others, but all fade from the repertoire by the third quarter of the fifth century. Late fifth-century red-figure painting features rather different sorts of scenes of sexual harassment. How are we to account for these changes in the iconography? This paper looks at the changes against the background of more general changes in red-figure iconography, and argues that the particular changes in images of sexual harassment over time should be seen as part of a wider changes of not simply Athenian but Greek sensibility.

Fifty shades of rape: images of pursuit and abduction in Athenian vase painting

Viktoria Rächle
Universität Wien

For the last 20 years, the book *Rape in Antiquity* has contributed to our understanding of sexual violence in the Greek and Roman world and thus significantly shaped the academic discourse on this crucial aspect of ancient societies. There is no better time than now to

launch a “remake”: For the last couples of years, the issue of rape and sexual violence has regained its popularity in media and social networks. Feminist Gighters sharp their pencils and get ready to march against the phallogocentric society again – e.g. by establishing “campus rape culture” as the biggest problem of our times, by stigmatizing the late Marlon Brando as a rapist in the 1972 movie “Last Tango in Paris” or by branding the 1944 song “Baby, it’s cold outside” as an agent for sexual assault. Rape is in the air.

Studying the history of rape is a political affair. Almost every contribution bears the stamp of its time and is at least partially affected by the author’s own attitudes towards the issue of sexual violence and gender relations. Eva Keuls was the first who programmatically claimed that all scenes of heterosexual pursuit and abduction had to be understood as a foreplay to rape, a metaphor for patriarchal oppression. Later authors (e.g. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, Andy Stewart, Karim Arafat, Brunella Germini) took a more moderate tone and/or interpreted the scenes from a new angle. Yet, they insisted on the idea that the images of pursuit and abduction reflected a violent and disrespectful attitude of men towards women.

I would like to propose a deliberately provocative antithesis: Understanding scenes of pursuit and abduction as metaphors for rape or sexual violence says much more about the interpreter and her/his attitude towards sexuality than about ancient imagery and society. In a world that doesn’t even have a proper word for “rape”, this concept does not help us to gain a better understanding of gender relations and sexuality, let alone the feelings of the involved parties. The experience of lust and desire is largely shaped by socialization and cultural expectations. In ancient times (and to some extent still today), men are expected to do the active part while women have to play hard to get. Socialized in this world view, women are likely to be attracted to strong, determined men who in turn prefer reluctant women they have to conquer.

In this rationale, scenes of pursuit and abduction don’t seem to be euphemistic metaphors for rape but rather slightly exaggerated representations of desirable courtship. They are designed to satisfy the

romantic, sexual phantasies of men and women alike. We might come closer to the meaning of these images if we take a rather unpolitical, antifeminist perspective for a moment and go with the infinite wisdom of the internet instead: "A girl should be like a butterfly: Pretty to see, hard to catch".

Sexual violence in the Hippocratic gynecology

Hella Shpierer

Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

The notion of sexual violence is usually limited to forced sexual relations that is rape, but I would like to propose that the concept of sexual violence can be extended to other situations when one group in the society holds the power and exerts control over the body and the sexual behavior of another group.

In my opinion, in ancient Greece, the term 'sexual violence' can be applied to the sphere of medicine, which provides evidence of sexual coercion of women. In ancient Greek thought, female bodies were regarded as inferior to male bodies, this concept reflecting the subordinate social status of women. Therefore, it is not surprising that the same tendency appears in contemporary medical theory, particularly in the Hippocratic Corpus.

Among sixty treatises of the Hippocratic corpus, four texts focus exclusively on women's health. One of the main theories in all the four gynecological treatises is that regular sexual intercourse is beneficial to women's health. According to the Hippocratics, the optimal physical state for a woman was the state of pregnancy, accordingly, sexual intercourse was recommended as a healing method for a variety of medical conditions that women suffered from. As a result, the Hippocratics also warned women against sexual abstinence even during their menstrual cycle or after giving birth. This medical advice was given to women only, never to a male

patient, and the desirability of regular sexual activity is not even mentioned in other treatises in the Hippocratic Corpus.

In this paper I propose to examine passages from the gynecological treatises where sexual intercourse is recommended as a remedy from a variety of medical conditions and a method guaranteeing women's mental health. I will also discuss medical procedures applied by the Hippocratics to treat their female patients, which were quite different from treatments recommended to men. These 'special' methods were often intrusive and painful, and employed bizarre substances borrowed from magic and folk medicine. In many cases these treatments conveyed the idea of sexual intercourse, for example, the use of phallic symbols and animal genital parts as symbolic substitutions of penetration. Thus, actions and treatments forced by the Hippocratic theory and practice upon female patients can be interpreted as sexual violence.

Women and rape and in Greek philosophy

James A. Arieti
Hampden-Sydney College

In my paper at the 1994 Cardiff conference "Rape in Antiquity," I showed how the pattern of rapes in Livy, whereby the rapes preceding key developments in early Roman history—the founding of the city, the destruction of the monarchy and creation of the Republic, the introduction of formal dictatorship, and the abolition of the decemvirate—could be fitted into the philosophical system of Empedocles, such that the cyclic principles of *philia* and *eris*, love and strife (Venus and Mars, Rome's divine progenitors), would account for the dynamic and creative growth of Rome. In my paper for the 2017 conference, I propose to explore why, despite the gentle theology and ethics that philosophy developed from the Presocratics through the Stoics, the philosophers themselves were silent about the ubiquitous rape of women in warfare.

I shall argue that philosophy was not exempt from the apparently

true observation that people almost always comprehend the world with the same underlying assumptions as their general culture. In antiquity, what civilized people—that is, those who lived in cities and accepted private property as a fundamental ordering principle—apprehended when they considered women was their settled place as property, the particular importance of which was the production of heirs, the *arete* (and pecuniary value) of which was chastity, so that heirs would be unquestionably the biological and hence legitimate children of their fathers. As early as Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, the idea was current that fathers alone are parents, mothers being the soil for the growth of the father's seed. This notion, which Aeschylus places in both Apollo's and the virgin goddess Athena's speeches in the trial scene, is validated later in Aristotle and the medical writers, who believed that the male's semen alone contains a rational soul. Menstrual fluids (which Aristotle considers to be soulless "female semen"), like soil for plants, provide only the nutrients for growth (*Generation of Animals*). When ancient warriors pillaged a defeated city and raped the women, the purpose was to destroy property or to make it their own. As a key part of annihilating a people is to destroy its lines of inheritance, raping women was akin to burning courthouses and erasing the internal civic order. My contention is that in the worldview of ancient times the rape of a woman was an assault upon the property of the man who owned her whether he was her son, husband, brother, or father. Accordingly, it was an act of vandalism towards a proprietor, not an assault upon a fully rational autonomous creature deserving of respect.

In an attempt to discourage us zealously avid classics students from idealizing everything about the ancients, one of my college professors pointedly paraphrased the Greeks as speaking of "women and other cattle." Most ancient philosophers, even the most influential, were unable to free themselves from this view of women as property. My paper will examine the purported "science" that undergirded their belief.

Women's choices, women's suffering: consent and sexual violence in Greek law and in Greek literature

Edward M. Harris
Durham University

If one were to select a few pieces of evidence from the sources for life in ancient Greece, one might get the impression that a woman's consent did not count for much. Take, for instance, Greek marriage practices. From New Comedy we learn that the standard formula in a contract of marriage was "I give you this woman for the purpose (or the plowing) of legitimate children" (Men. *Pk.*1013-14; *Sam.* 897-901; *Dys.* 842-44). The amount of the dowry given by the father might also be settled at this time (Vérilhac and Vial 1998: 125-208). The agreement was between two men, the father or other male relative and the future husband. The woman was not one of the contracting parties; she was passed from the household of one man to that of another.

One of the laws about just homicide might give one the same impression. There were three main categories of homicide in Athenian law: deliberate homicide, homicide against one's will, and just homicide or homicide according to the law. The last category covered cases in which the killer had the right to use deadly force and could not be punished for causing death. One of the cases was that in which a man caught someone on top of his wife, sister, mother, daughter or concubine kept for the purpose of free children (Dem. 23.53-54). In a passage from Lysias' speech *Against Eratosthenes* (1.30-35) the speaker Euphiletus claims that this law applied only to seducers (*moichoi*) caught in this position, but this makes little sense (Harris 1990 = Harris 2006: 283-296). As the passage from Demosthenes' speech *Against Aristocrates* makes clear (and has been recognized by many scholars), the law applied both to men who used force and those who used persuasion. The woman's consent made no difference as far as the law was concerned. Whether the woman was willing or not,

her husband or male relative had the right to kill the man having sex with her.

This talk will examine the evidence showing that the impression given by these laws about women's consent is misleading. Other evidence shows that males in Athenian society in particular and Greek society in general took account of women's consent and did not view women merely as their property but as human beings capable of choice and rational thought. Many of the sources from the Classical and Hellenistic period also show that the male authors might depict the victims of sexual violence with sympathy and in a way that invited the audience to take pity on their suffering. The final part of the talk will examine several passages from tragedy (drawing on the thesis of Brunini-Cronin) and several works of art (the abduction of Persephone from Vergina and the abduction of Helen mosaic from Pella).

The Hero of Temesa: ghosts, monsters and rape

Daniel Ogden
University of Exeter

The paper seeks to contextualise the mysterious traditions relating to the Hero of Temesa (Paus. 6.6, etc.) from two principal perspectives. One reading of the rite described is that the ghost effectively rapes its annual virgin victim. This possibility is contextualised in the first instance against other ancient evidence for the notion of ghostly rape (or rape-attempts), including the attempted rape of Anthia by a ghost in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* (5.7), and then against the evidence for the broader ancient belief that ghosts could have sex with the living.

Another way of reading the rite described is that the ghost kills or even devours the victim that has been exposed to it. This possibility is contextualised against a number of ancient tales in which young and attractive people, male and female alike, are exposed in a vulnerable condition for powerful monsters to devour (Andromeda and Hesione and

their sea-monsters; Cleostratus [Paus. 9.26] and Alcyoneus [Ant. Lib. 8] and their dragons). But in this case we may ask to what extent the representations of such episodes in literature and art are, nonetheless, coloured by the imagery of rape.

Sexual rejection and the monstrous husband: Heracles in *Trachiniae*

Francesca Spiegel
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Much has been made of how, in the *Trachiniae*, Deianeira is Heracles' grass widow, the older woman whose charms are no longer strong enough to keep the carnal love burning. Scholars have debated in how far Deianeira's killing of Heracles by the lethal love charm was the purposeful act of a jilted lover. Jebb in the 19th century read Deianeira as a sweet and innocent, if ignorant, character. Later readers, among them Edith Hall, have argued that Deianeira had much more agency in the fatal disaster. Is she a sweet and forgiving, or an enraged and acrimonious jilted lover?

I will argue that Heracles' rejection of Deianeira goes back further than the moment in which Deianeira became less youthful. Long before Deianeira became older, already as a young girl, Deianeira found Heracles repulsive. In the beginning of the play, Deianeira tells the group of unmarried maidens that she did not want to marry Heracles at all, but that he overpowered her and defeated her other suitors. Heracles was always teetering on the borderline between man and monster, and in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, it is through Deianeira's speeches that the monstrous qualities come into the foreground. Deianeira portrays Heracles as a husband who is not at all caring, one who uses brute force to impregnate her, and engages in marital rape right from the start. Deianeira's sexual rejection of Heracles is thus mirrored by Heracles' sexual rejection of Deianeira, by the time that Heracles is with Iole.

I will use comparison with the fragments of the play *Tereus* to compare and contrast or clarify certain points or erotic dynamics and their "monstrosity", if you will. Ultimately, this paper will show that there are dynamics of sexual rejection in both directions. Instead of zooming in, like many have done, on the death of Heracles or the agency of Deianeira in his death, I will zoom in on the intimations of marital rape in Deianeira's speech and focus on how it is through Deianeira that we begin to see Heracles in all his monstrosity, more and more.

A victim's tragedy? Sexual violence in Euripides' *Ion*

Corinna Brunini-Cronin
Durham University

Sexual violence is a major theme within this play: The background to the plot is Apollo's forcible sexual encounter with the Athenian princess, Creusa, which engendered the play's eponymous character. Most previous studies on this play give little heed to the issue of Creusa's assault by Apollo; a number even claim that it was a consensual encounter (in particular A. P. Burnett and M. Lefkowitz). Those that do acknowledge the sexual assault often ignore the end of the play and Creusa's reconciliation with Apollo, and argue that Euripides' portrayal is part of an agenda aimed at undermining the gods. This paper seeks to demonstrate that the encounter is portrayed as non-consensual, that sexual violence is an issue which is central to the play, and that this would have been understood by the original audience.

In *Ion*, Euripides pays much attention to the pain and trauma of sexual violence upon the victim, and represents her situation sensitively and sympathetically. Other characters also treat Creusa and her experience with great sympathy. At the end of the play we are left with a sense that the experience of sexual violence and its consequences were recognised as traumatic and potentially shaming for a woman on a personal level (not just for her male relatives, *contra* Omitowoju). However, we are also presented

with a situation in which the intention of the sexual aggressor and his treatment of the victim afterwards (if positive) were not only important in judging whether a prosecutable offence had been committed (following Harris), but were imagined to be vital in the victim coming to terms with the event and its consequences.

Rape and consent in Roman law

Douglas Matthew Wong
Columbia University

The topic of Roman women and sexuality owes much to two seminal works published within the era of “second-wave feminism”: Sarah Pomeroy’s *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves* (1976) and Amy Richlin’s *The Garden of Priapus* (1983). While the importance and revolutionary aspect of these publications cannot be understated, by no means are these works comprehensive. In reviews of Pomeroy’s book, she has been criticized for the lack of material and focus on post-Hellenistic attitudes (namely Roman)¹, and Richlin’s work focuses exclusively on the genre of Comedy and Satire. Indeed, in a cursory overview of Pomeroy’s work, out of the ten chapters, only three concern women in Rome; interestingly enough, Elaine Fantham stresses in her review of Pomeroy’s work a need for further research “...to consider the material in a different setting, taking the social and legal position of women as part of a course on civil status and class-structure.”² Conveniently, it is the exact goal of this paper to address and answer some of the very concerns Fantham raises, specifically the role of consent within Roman sexual legislation.

In more recent publications, a valuable resource is that of *Rape in Antiquity*, a collaborative effort produced from “Violence and Power: an international symposium on rape in antiquity” held at the University of Wales College of Cardiff in 1994. While the contributors and editors focus

¹ J.P.V.D. Balsdon, “Review: Women,” *The Classical Review*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1977), 207-208

² Elaine Fantham, “Review: Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves,” *Phoenix*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (1976), 80-84

exclusively on the phenomenon of rape (which Pomeroy and Richlin do not treat comprehensively), this publication too lacks substantial analysis in the realities of rape. As one reviewer points out, “There is much work to be done on the cultural construction of volition, violation, permission, and personhood as well as basic terminology of rape and its epistemology...”, thus clearly indicating a need for a more comprehensive study of rape in the wider societal setting.³ Other studies devote themselves to an analysis of rape and sexual violence within Latin literature, specifically with a focus on Livy, Ovid, and Martial to name only a few.⁴ While insightful and necessary in a discussion of such a topic, each authors' highly stylized accounts create problems in an accurate representation of rape within Roman society. Reliance upon literary accounts is not entirely useful as it is difficult to determine whether the representations found in these works mirror a lived reality. The *topos* of wartime rape and sexual violence, for example, further muddles the accuracy of these literary accounts, as does the theme of forced sexual encounters found in elegiac poetry.

And yet the legal side of rape too is shrouded in obscurity – court records are sparse and only famous orations in specific cases remain today. As it will be shown, the Digest is the most reliable source for Roman legislation. The incomplete picture painted by the Roman sources leaves one with many holes, and thus it is necessary to look not only at the Roman sources, but also examine the Greek evidence to fully comprehend rape and sexual violence within the larger Roman context. This paper aims at examining the relevant Greek and Roman legal texts concerning rape and sexual violence in conjunction with the key concept of consent, as well as the role of consent within the broader social framework of power dynamics. It is the hope that with the inclusion of the legal concept of consent alongside legislation of the Lex Iulia de adulteriis and the broader social framework of Rome and the surrounding Greek world, a clearer understanding of the ancient attitudes of rape – in the way we know it today – comes more into focus.

³ James Davidson, “Review: Reassuring the Patriarchy,” *The Classical Review*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (2000), 534

⁴ cf. Amy Richlin, “Reading Ovid’s Rapes” in *Arguments with Silence*, Michigan (2014); James Arrieti, “Rape and Livy’s view of Roman history,” in eds. Deacy and Pierce, *Rape in Antiquity*, London (1997); J.P. Sullivan, *Martial: The Unexpected Classic*, Cambridge (1991).

Myths of rape of maidens in association with the cults of Artemis: sexual assault as a cover-story in myth-making

Olga A. Zolotnikova
Hellenic Open University

Ancient authors mention a number of cases of rape of maidens, which took place in association with certain cults of Artemis or religious festivals held in honour of the goddess. In some of such cases a group of men allegedly raped a group of goddess' female attendants (as, for example, in the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis at Taygetos or at the festival of Artemis Brauronia in Attica), while in other a virgin priestess of the goddess was said to have been raped by a local king or noble man (as in the sanctuary of Artemis Hymnia in Arcadia). Tradition placed those events in the early historic period context. However, it seems that the myths describing the cases of sexual violence in relation to Artemis' female attendants were supposed to cover the rituals of sacred marriage and various licentious rituals, which were held in association with some cults of Artemis in early historic time. The paper intends to present as complete as possible the references to the cases of rape of young females in the sanctuaries of Artemis or at her festivals, to classify those cases, to determine the true core in the myths describing such events, and to trace the role of sexual violence motif in myth-making.

Rape, revenge and resurrection in Correr's *Progne*

Jacqueline Clarke
University of Adelaide

The myth of the rape of Philomela (or Philomena) was enormously influential during the Middle Ages and Renaissance and was often retold in literature; for instance, the tale was related by Chrétien de Troyes in the twelfth century and made an appearance in the fourteenth century *Ovid moralisé*, in Boccaccio's *Genealogie Deorum Gentilium* and in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*. My paper will examine one particular Renaissance literary reception of it: Gregorio Correr's neo-Latin tragedy *Progne*, which he composed in Mantua ca. 1429.

Correr stated in his introduction to this tragedy that it 'imitates Seneca's *Thyestes*' (*imitator in hac tragoedia Senecam in Thieste*) but rather than using the myth of Atreus and Thyestes for his play, he chose to adapt the Philomena myth, placing Procne in the role of the avenger Atreus and equating Tereus with Thyestes. In utilising this myth, he altered what is sometimes termed 'a tragedy with no women' (Littlewood 1997) into one which largely focuses upon female protagonists, making rape (rather than seduction of a wife and usurpation of a kingdom) the emotional centre of his work and the driving motivation for revenge. But, although Correr seems to have based his account of this myth largely on the one by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* (with a few embellishments influenced by Boccaccio), he chose to omit the scene in which Philomena weaves a tapestry depicting the rape to communicate her outrage to her sister; instead, he substituted a scene in which Procne hears of the rape from Philomena's attendant Pistus who has managed to escape Tereus' sword.

The device of the tapestry, probably an innovation of Sophocles (Dobrov 1999, 113), became a key feature of the myth's later iterations, including the other Medieval and Renaissance accounts. Feminist scholarship has interpreted it as Philomena's way of finding an alternate

form of expression after Tereus' brutal attempt to silence her through rape and mutilation (Klindienst, 1984).

My paper will address the implications of Correr's omission of this important feature of the myth, analysing its effect upon the dynamics of Philomena's relationship with her avenger Procne. I will argue that Correr's substitution of a messenger for the 'tapestry scene' is not merely because this conforms with the aesthetics of tragedy as Chevalier observes (2006, 68) but because it helps to transfer the agency in the story almost entirely to Procne, turning Philomena into a voiceless 'shade' whose rape is equated with a form of death but who is subsequently brought back by her sister's rage and terrible act of vengeance upon her husband. I will also analyse these changes in the light of certain Christian elements in Correr's reception of the myth and will show how the motif of resurrection permeates the play with the ultimate resurrection occurring at the end. Not only is Philomena 'resurrected' by the sisters' blood sacrifice but Itys the son is resurrected inside his father with the final meal suggestive of a horrifically distorted form of Christian communion.

Meat, metamorphosis, and the male gaze: Ovid's Daphne in Han Kang's *The Vegetarian*

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The Roman poet Ovid was conspicuous by his absence from the volume *Rape in Antiquity*, a surprising silence given his frequent literary presentation of sexual violence (there are over fifty acts of rape in *Metamorphoses* alone). This may have in part been due to the problems that Ovid poses to feminist classical scholars searching for the experiences of real ancient women in their attempts to 're-appropriate the text'; as Phyllis Culham contended in 1985, if feminist praxis fundamentally clashes with the work of (masculinist) classical philology, male-authored texts ought best be abandoned. 'The Case of Ovid' epitomized the inevitable implication of readers in acts of gendered sexual violence depicted in ancient works,

and thus suggested that to write about Ovid may be to replicate the sexual violence of the text.

Feminist classical scholars have employed a range of feminist reading practices to read ‘against the grain’ in ways which attempt to free the reader from complicity in the sexually violent acts she reads by recovering the written woman’s subjectivity; yet I am concerned that this may only be an intellectual trick that merely evades the correlative link between real and representational forms of sexual violence. Furthermore, such a resisting reading strategy requires a significant academic framework to enable the reader to ‘read like a woman’; an untrained general reader without access to an academic framework may indeed find Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* to be a ‘handbook on rape’. So, if there can be no feminist readings of Ovid’s rapes, can there be feminist rewritings?

In this paper, I will discuss the refiguration of Ovid’s Daphne in *The Vegetarian* (2015), a recently-translated work from South Korea by the classically-educated Han Kang; it is a story about meat and the male gaze, and chronicles a woman’s devastating slide into depression and her increasingly disturbing fantasy of escape by metamorphosing into a tree, first renouncing meat, and eventually refusing all sustenance except sunlight. As the first instance of attempted rape in *Metamorphoses*, the tale of Daphne introduces two themes that recur throughout the rest of the epic poem: sexual violence, and woman-as-art. In Ovid, the rape of the woman is averted by Daphne’s plea to ‘change me’ and her metamorphosis into a tree (although Apollo nevertheless plucks her leaves); but in *The Vegetarian*, Han Kang forces her reader to acknowledge the rape—it occurs multiple times throughout the novel—and takes Apollo’s obsession with Daphne-as-tree to its disturbing endpoint: the artist brother-in-law finally realizes his fetishistic obsession of possessing the plant-like Yeong-hye after painting her body with obscene flowers. Just as the leaves of Daphne’s hair become the leaves of Ovid’s paper, so Yeong-hye literally becomes the man’s violated canvas.

I will argue that Han Kang’s novel stages the act of reception and problematizes the implication of the reader in the violence depicted in the novel by narrating the story from different characters’ points of view; via her three narrators, she variously makes explicit the devastating links

between art, representations of sexual violence, and actual violence, the links between objectification, war, and the pathologized body, or, sympathetically reframes and mediates the violence through the eyes of the protagonist's empathetic sister. I will explore how Han Kang rewrites the Ovidian themes of sexual violence, language, and consent, and the themes' metafictional interrelation with the methods of self-justification employed by her characters and readers alike to rationalize their implication in violence—both within and without the novel.

In conclusion, by drawing a brief parallel with Marie Darrieussecq's *Pig Tales*—which similarly explores the patriarchal consumption of female flesh in its Ovidian narrative of a woman metamorphosing into a pig—I will suggest that while Daphne's subjectivity in *The Vegetarian* may remain ultimately unknowable (we still do not hear her side of the story), the redeployment of ancient literature to contemporary political ends may work in some ways to counteract the violence of the original.

The rape of Boudicca and her daughters on screen

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Perhaps one of the more famous rapes in antiquity, at least as far as the British are concerned, is the violation of the daughters of Queen Boudicca (and simultaneous flogging of the Queen herself) in the wake of the death of their father, King Prasutagus of the Iceni, as described in Tacitus' *Annals* (14.31). This, for Tacitus, is a key factor in causing the ensuing revolt of the Iceni against Rome, and, often in exaggerated form (for instance, making Boudicca a witness to the rape of her daughters), it has become a firm part of the legend of the Iceni Queen, as enshrined in the statue group by Thomas Thornycroft that sits on the Victoria Embankment at Westminster. This is despite the fact that our other main account of the revolt, Cassius Dio (*Histories* 62.1-12), omits this incident entirely, at least in the form of his text that we have.

This paper examines the presentation of the rape on screen in the twentieth century. The focus of the treatment is three texts that use, in one way or another, the Boudicca story. The 1967 movie *The Viking Queen* has a fictional plotline which borrows liberally from the historical accounts. In the place of Boudicca and her daughters there are three sisters, but the flogging and rape still take place. The 1978 TV series *Warrior Queen* was made for children, and so the rapes occur off-screen; nevertheless, they are referred to. The 1998 TV movie *Boudica: Warrior Queen* drew criticism at the time for the prolonged nature of the rape scene. *The Viking Queen* has been discussed by Alison Futrell in *Screening Love and Sex in the Ancient World*; the other texts are less written about. Other versions of Boudicca will be addressed when relevant.

An assessment will be made of what these texts can tell us about late twentieth-century attitudes towards rape in antiquity, and towards the depiction of rape on screen. Points to be discussed include the sexualisation of Boudicca's flogging, through the use of nudity and the iconography of BDSM, and how the rape scene is used to crystallize the narratives of conquest and occupation that are inherent in the majority of Roman Britain movies and tv shows, and to engage with the dichotomy inherent in the Boudicca story between British identification with Boudicca as a brave rebel defying continental invasion and a British sense of themselves as inheritors of the legacy of Rome.

Rape, warfare, colonialism, revenge: Jane Holland's *Boudicca & Co*

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Boudicca, the ancient Icenian Queen who led her people against the Roman invasion of Britain in AD 60/61, is an integral symbol in the collective English psyche. Her story, taught to children in schools and inscribed on the Norfolk landscape, is imparted via the interpretive lens of

humiliation, exploitation and colonisation. Themes of freedom and resistance are also promoted when telling her story.

Boudicca is filmed, sculpted, painted and sung. She is even a gaming star.

Forever colonised in most representations, first by Rome, then by artists and geeks, she is often badly acted and badly 'executed.' But not by Jane Holland. Under Holland's poetic spell, she is, at times, truthfully repellent – a sexual brute who has been brutalised sexually; a flawed, violent, psychopathic, recalcitrant victim-of-war and one of war's great victimisers.

Holland's Boudicca is embedded in a collection called *Boudicca & Co*, released in 2006.⁵ Therein, she moves about the pages, sometimes barely contained, telling her graphic story after the earlier voices telling new tales of the Green Man, Gawain, Stone Henge and less sublime topics such as road trips, anal sex and cannabis.

The series takes the form of autobiography (from the perspective of Boudicca who narrates the story of her own life from birth to death) as well as biography (from the perspective of Holland who writes the narrative of Boudicca's life from birth to death). Holland thereby plays with the *fiction* that is poetry as well as the *truth* that is poetry, unconsciously or consciously making fiction twice as true as fact.⁶

This study examines Holland's violated and violating Boudicca through the lens of fiction (poetry) as a truthful representation of rape, warfare, colonialism and revenge. It explores these topics in dialogue with the obligation of scholars to interrogate them more forcefully in research on topics involving the reception(s) of classical sexual violence. It therefore aims to stimulate debate and new points of view pertaining to approaches to writing on classical reception and rape.

⁵ Jane Holland, *Boudicca & Co*. (Cambridge: Salt, 2006).

⁶ Keith Oatley, 'Why Fiction May Be Twice as True as Fact: Fiction as Cognitive and Emotional Simulation,' *Review of General Psychology* 3.2 (1999): 101-117.

Retracing traumatic memories: rape narratives in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and Euripides' *Ion*

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Since the publication of *Rape in Antiquity* (ed. Deacy and Pierce 1997) twenty years ago, the number of studies devoted to this under-explored topic has grown. Special attention has been paid to issues of consent (Omitowoju 2002, Harris 2004, Rabinowitz 2011, James 2014), and scholars of Menander, in particular, have made significant progress toward understanding how and why Menander's plays feature so many rapes (Lape 2004, Gardner 2013, Glazebrook 2015). Inspired by the groundbreaking work of the original volume, this paper takes an interdisciplinary approach to rape in antiquity by considering what trauma theory, exemplified by the work of feminist psychiatrist Judith Herman (1992) and literary theorist Cathy Caruth (1996), can add to current discussions of rape in antiquity.

Recent work on combat trauma, inspired by Jonathan Shay's books *Achilles in Vietnam* (1994) and *Odysseus in America* (2002), has shown that ancient Greek epic and tragedy depict the lasting psychological effects of combat on veterans (Meineck and Konstan 2014, Caston and Weineck 2016). This paper argues that Greek tragedy also depicts the lasting psychological effects of sexual violence on victims of rape. Recent research on trauma and its long-term effects on memory and storytelling provide a more nuanced perspective through which to view the speeches and actions of victims of sexual violence in two tragedies: Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and Euripides' *Ion*. Each play gives a survivor of sexual assault a lengthy narrative song. These narratives provide case studies for exploring the applicability of modern trauma theory to depictions of rape in tragedy.

Cassandra in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* exemplifies the survivor whose memories intrude into the present without narrative context and whose stories of past, present, and future trauma fail to convince her listeners. In a sung *kommos*, Cassandra describes the past trauma she has

experienced, in addition to the trauma of the house of Atreus, which is passed on from generation to generation. Her descriptions include vivid sensations and images (e.g. the sounds of babies crying and the smell of their roasted flesh, 1096-1097), but they lack a cohesive narrative context. Traumatic memories often lack narrative context, as they intrude into the survivor's present with vivid images and sensations (Herman 1992, 38). Despite the vividness of her words, Cassandra cannot convince her listeners to believe her account of what happened or will happen. Cassandra ascribes this curse to her betrayal of Apollo, yet such a curse is familiar to many modern survivors of rape and other types of violence, whose stories are disbelieved. Herman (1992, 8) writes that bystanders, who witness an act of violence or to whom violence is later reported, often choose to look the other way because the perpetrator has greater power to define reality than his victim does.

Similarly, Creousa's vivid memories of her rape by Apollo in Euripides' *Ion* are triggered by the physical space of her rapist's house, the temple of Apollo. She bursts into tears when she sees his shrine (241-243), claiming that she "retraced an old memory" (249-250). At *Ion*'s innocent questioning, her mind immediately travels back to the cave where she was raped (284- 288). Memories of the assault spontaneously haunt Creousa, similarly to the intrusive, repetitive memories of victims of rape who suffer from PTSD (DSM-V, Caruth 1996). Unlike Cassandra, Creousa is too ashamed to tell her story of trauma at first, but she begins to speak out over the course of the play, as her shame is replaced with anger and the desire for revenge against the husband and god whom she believes betrayed her. Creousa's monody (859-922), in which she at last details her experience of rape, contains vivid images, colors, and sounds like Cassandra's, but in its successful narrative account also spurs on a revenge plot that disrupts Apollo's plans and reunites Creousa with her long-lost son. Creousa's ability to tell the story of her assault empowers her to alter the course of events predetermined by Apollo. She demonstrates how important control of one's own story is for recovering from sexual violence (Herman 1992). An understanding of trauma informed by trauma theory offers a new lens through which to view these depictions of rape victims and their memories, narratives, and actions in Greek tragedy.

Rape, seduction, and New Comedy: A re-examination of the evidence of Menander's *Samia*

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In *Rape In Antiquity*, Karen Pierce authored an excellent look into how New Comedy dealt with rape, concluding that ‘it was a man’s world’, where no sympathy came from the male voice towards victims of rape, and that rapes ‘are generally no more than catalysts in plots’.⁷ In this paper, I would like to try to contribute to this picture, by lending further evidence to the claim that New Comedy was concerned not with rape as such but a production of a *nothos*, and the problem which this creates for the community. I will do this by using Menander’s *Samia* as a test case, arguing that it is ambiguous whether Plangon was raped, and that critics are perhaps too eager to see rape in cases such as these.

Pierce in fact argued precisely this; that ‘this scenario [in *Samia*] sounds more like seduction than rape’, but also says that it would not be surprising if it turned out to be rape, and lists some reasons for this, namely: the context, the fact that Moschion might have been drunk, and that seduction would reduce Plangon’s respectability more than rape.⁸ In the history of this question, the vast majority of scholars have assumed without argument that this is a case of rape.⁹ A Cambridge “Green and Yellow” edition of the play has since appeared, authored by Sommerstein, and he takes a strong position that this is rape, offering two main arguments for this. The first is that ‘there is no clear case in New Comedy of the consensual seduction of a woman known to be of citizen status: such a woman would have shown herself to be of bad character, unfit to be the wife or mother of

⁷ Pierce (2002), 179.

⁸ *ibid.*, 167.

⁹ Arnott (1981), 226; Cole (1984), 107; Cohen (1990), 148n.3; Goldberg (1980), 94-5; Harris (2004), 45; James (2014), 36n.8; Scafuro (1997), 197n.12; Leisner-Jensen (2002), 190; Robson (2015), 315; Rosivach (1998), 13; Sommerstein (2014), 13; Wiles (2005), 47; Zagagi (1994), 115.

a citizen, and unfit to participate in civic religion'.¹⁰ The second is that the various references to the sexual encounter without exception treat Plangon as 'purely a victim and not a consenting participant'.¹¹ In this paper, I would like to argue against these two claims, and hopefully shed some light on rape, pre-marital sex, and attitudes towards them in Athens and New Comedy.

I will suggest firstly that the initial argument is flawed in that it applies the punishment for *moicheia*, as described by Aeschines and Apollodorus, falsely to cases of premarital sex. I will do this through a re-examination of the evidence for fathers punishing their daughters for pre-marital sex, and that although this does qualify as *moicheia*, the punishment set out here would not necessarily have been enforced or expected. I shall also examine the context of the sexual encounter, and argue that there are plenty of reasons to see it as potentially consensual. I will also address the singular reference to Moschion having 'committed an injustice' against Plangon. I compare a very similar case and use of language in Menander's *Georgos*, and argue that the context of these remarks allows for a different interpretation of the words used. Essentially, the 'injustice' in question is getting a girl pregnant and then not marrying her (both the former and latter act were conceived as principally in the man's control, and therefore he would be at fault).

From this basis, I will add to Pierce's conclusions about the plot constructions of New Comedy, and how it deals with issues such as rape and pre-marital sex. I will also discuss how criticism has dealt with this particular problem perhaps wrongly, being too eager to see rape when it may not be there, and leave a place of objectivity as a result.

¹⁰ Sommerstein (2013), 33 n.97.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 33 n.97.

Sororophobia in Ovid's corpus: blame, punishment, and violence

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Ovid, one of our most prolific ancient authors, is also one of our most prolific authors on sexualized violence and rape. Following in the tradition of three decades of important feminist and scholarly inquiry into his portrayals of sexual abuse, I will explore how Ovid, particularly in the *Metamorphoses* (*Met.*) and the *Fasti*, represents the violent aftermath of sexual abuse and the subsequent blame, punishment, and torture his victims receive at the hands of female goddesses and female members of their communities and families. While in Ovid the acts of rape are brief and sometimes absurdly compressed, the poet generously depicts what happens to women after their abuse and who is responsible for their continuing trauma.

Juno, for example, is associated with a long list of crimes against other women: the goddess enacts physical and psychological violence against Jupiter's rape victims through punitive transformation, displacement, and even death. Callisto (*Met.* 2; *Fasti* 2), Semele (*Met.* 3), Latona (*Met.* 6), and Alcmene (*Met.* 9) all face her *saeva ira*. Diana and Minerva participate in similar behavior against Callisto and Medusa (*Met.* 4). Goddesses terrorize nymphs and mortals, turning their bodies into animals and more in the wake of their rapes by male gods, and yet never subject the gods to the same violence. Mortal women are not immune to such retributive violence and they, too, enact blame against victims, such as Clytie against her sister, Leucothoe (*Met.* 4), Lavinia against Anna Perenna (*Fasti* 3), and Deianeira against Iole (*Heroides* 9; *Met.* 9).

These misogynistic acts by women against other women manifest the phenomenon of sororophobia, a type of internalized misogyny (Irigaray 1977, Dworkin 1983 and Szymanski, et al. 2009). The term sororophobia was a term coined by Helena Michie (1992) to describe

misogyny from women perpetrated against women, especially for what are perceived to be sexual transgressions (most widely explored in the works of the novelist, Margaret Atwood) (Suzuki 2007). While sororophobia indicates that women are complicit in misogyny, Ovid's exploration of it never labels its true source: patriarchy. At a fundamental level, patriarchy socializes sororophobia in women for men's benefit. The oppression of women through rape cannot be maintained without the participation of both genders. Sororophobia obfuscates the origins and weapons of that oppression by displacing the final responsibility for its violence onto women.

Ovid's focus on sororophobia exonerates male sexual abusers of any blame for their violence. The poet luxuriates in the lead-up to rape and its violent aftermath through transformation (or whatever sort of violence follows), *but* he rarely shows us the violence of the act of rape itself, as Richlin (1992) and Segal (1998) have demonstrated. In doing so, he displaces the violence of the literal rape onto the transformation, and by having so many women punitively transform or terrorize other women, Ovid locates the blame for that violence in other women, rather than in the men who began it. The women's violence, in effect, becomes analogous to rape.

Scholars before me, such as Nagle (1984), Janan (2009), and McAuley (2012) have analyzed the characteristics and implications of Juno's anger against other women (although not through the framework of sororophobia). Her *ira* against Jupiter's lesser divine or mortal rape victims and her seeming unwillingness or incapacity to punish her husband dominates the *Met.* Juno's sororophobia transpires within a context of never-ending punishment of both mortals and lesser divinities by the Olympian gods in the epic as Ovid explores the fraught, harmful nature of hierarchies and power. But I will draw more attention to instances of mortal women punishing other mortal women for the sexual abuse they have experienced, such as Clytie and Deianeira. And I will offer analysis of women resisting sororophobia, such as Procne, the sister of Philomela and rape victim of Tereus (*Met.* 6), Lara, the water nymph who defends her sister, Juturna, from Jupiter's aggression (*Fasti* 2), and Echo, famous for her vain pursuit of Narcissus, who loses her voice after she helps fellow nymphs

escape Juno's violence (*Met.* 3). These anti-sororophobic women are swiftly punished within the text for their resistance to male violence (a misogynist feature of Ovid's narration), but even the sororophobic women do not escape unscathed, their contributions to the maintenance of patriarchy insufficient to protect them from harm.

From rape to ritual pursuit scenes on red-figure pottery: the workshop of the Himera Painter and the new figurative proposals from Magna Graecia and Sicily

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Pursuit scenes of female figures by male characters on red-figure pottery underwent important iconographic revisions during the last quarter of the fifth Century BC. The traditional subject of abduction was in fact revisited from a more explicitly ritual and non-violent standpoint.

A paradigmatic case is that of a scene on a calyx krater realized by the workshop of the Himera Painter (420-409 BC), where the craftsman represented an unusual ritual pursuit performed at the rhythm of music. A systematic analysis of the figurative repertoire of western workshops shows that this iconographic "composition" – which recalls Attic tradition but is stripped of any iconic sign that suggests a violent interpretation of the scene – is also attested on numerous vases made in Magna Graecia.

Thus, a common figurative vocabulary, able to rework a traditional iconographic theme in a new and original way, probably existed in the West. From the violent abduction, which characterizes the Attic products in the first half of the Fifth Century BC, we reach the works by the Himera Painter workshop and the other contemporary craftsmen who chose to represent a "simulated", erotic and ritual pursuit on their vases: a revisited iconography that was born and grew right inside the early workshops of Magna Graecia and Sicily during the second half of the Fifth Century BC.

“Bestial” women as pursuers of men; the transgression of rules in rape

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A very popular series of scenes in the vase-painting of Classical Athens depicts ephebes, on the model of Theseus, the emblematic hero of Athenian democracy, pursuing women as if they were wild animals and abducting them, as a prelude to actual rape. These images may be proven to express prominent social notions about the “bestial” nature of women who can only be assimilated into civil life through “rape” and marriage. Paradoxically, contemporary scenes of Eos, the divine personification of Dawn, pursuing and abducting a youth, either a schoolboy or a young hunter, gain even more emphatic popularity.

Eos is comparable to other mythical winged figures in pursuit of men, popular in the same period, such as the Sphinx, or Eros himself. All theories explaining the popularity of the theme from its presumable use as a parable for death may be revised. Conversely, Eos’ pursuits of youths can be shown, through thorough iconographic analysis, to be coined on the same model as ephebe rape scenes. In literature Eros is portrayed as an overwhelming agent, as dangerous as death. Eos’ affiliations with these wild, winged pursuing figures bring forward her untamed and dangerous nature, with regard to her sexuality.

In Eos’ and maybe even Sphinx’s case, the hunter becomes the prey of a wild woman, who has transgressed the control limits set by the social system. Besides Eos’ sex, the age factor makes this rape even more unthinkable and places it well into the realm of irrational: a mature woman after an ephebe, a future citizen, portrayed in basic engagements of pre-civil life: hunting and education. He is brutally removed from this environment, just as a woman is normally prematurely removed from the circle of her friends and childish games, by a mature man. Through this inversion of roles in rape, Eos is therefore promoted as the ultimate model of what a woman should not be. Female sexuality is fearsome; it should be

monitored, controlled and only under special circumstances acknowledged and manipulated.

Καὶ σοί: sexual violence and apotropaic magic in satyr-hermaphrodite sculptures

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This paper examines numerous depictions of sexual assaults on hermaphrodites by satyrs, mainly in the medium of sculpture. I argue that in these, although the satyr is the initial assailant, the hermaphrodite is in fact in control of the situation – and now threatens rape against the satyr. This is most obvious in the images of large seated hermaphrodites eagerly displaying their erections toward smaller satyrs, but I argue that it is true across the entire collection of depictions. Just as the sculptures often trick the viewer with the phallic reveal, the viewer's realisation that the assailant is in fact the assailed produces a double-take. Many scholars write of this as primarily humorous, but I argue that the nature of the sexual violence in these scenes also serves an apotropaic function (and laughter, indeed, is also a weapon against the evil eye).

Ajootian, focusing primarily on the 'sleeping hermaphrodite' sculpture, has argued that the ancient popularity of hermaphrodite figures is attributable to an apotropaic function: their penises, though often small, are *surprising* to the evil eye. What Ajootian and other scholars do not discuss is the possible connections between the sexually violent imagery and an apotropaic function. The hermaphrodites' penises are not merely apotropaic in themselves; the threat of being used to rape the satyrs perfectly embodies the *καὶ σύ/καὶ σοί/et tu/et tibi* threat often written on apotropaic images. The very violence which is threatened against the hermaphrodite is turned against the satyr, just as apotropaic images aim to reflect harm against *phthoneroi*.

Furthermore, the role of the phallus in apotropaic imagery more broadly is as a threat literally to bugger the evil eye, and indeed many

images exist of the eye directly threatened by a phallus. Sexual violence is thus central to apotropaic magic, in a way which mirrors the frequent threats in Greco-Roman literature to rape those who would question the author's masculinity and strength.

Apotropaic imagery is a fascinating topic which is rarely discussed, despite being an excellent reminder of how different the Greco-Roman world was to ours. These hermaphrodite figures also raise interesting questions about their differing receptions in Hellenistic and Roman culture, considering the Romans' abhorrence for real-world hermaphrodites in contrast to Greek toleration.

Leda on the Palatine: exploring the Roman Republican zeitgeist through rape

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The first artistic representation of rape in Rome appears to have been a statue of Leda and the Swan-Jupiter found on the Palatine Hill, dating from the first century BC. Some 20 other surviving copies of this Greek masterpiece, dated to 360BC and attributed to Timotheos, attest to its potential popularity. Using this object, in this paper I explore why a rape scene might have appealed to the urban rich of the Palatine, and argue that the Leda myth had special resonance for the Roman elite at the time of Augustus.

In particular, I argue that the Leda myth was especially useful to Romans as a conduit to exploring socio-political issues and themes, including changing gender relations, restrictions on marriage and foreign policy. Furthermore, the Leda myth, in my view, is especially flexible as a representation of Rome's foundation myths, which gained popularity throughout the first century BC.

Galla Placidia as 'Human Gold': consent and autonomy in the early fifth century west

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This paper re-examines the role of marriage as an act of coercion, a display of triumphal hegemony, and a lived reality for the imperial princess Galla Placidia (AD 388-450), daughter of Theodosius I and sister of Honorius and Arcadius. Placidia was taken in marriage by the Visigothic leader Athaulf as long as six years after she was captured during the Sack of Rome in AD 410. The marriage symbolised the catastrophic political failure of the western government, and was not an event to be universally celebrated. And yet contemporary responses perceived the marriage in heavily providential and idealistic terms, overlaid with an emphatically positive significance. The vision of Gothic-Romano harmony embodied in the marriage and imagined by writers was quickly shattered; Athaulf and Placidia's child died a year after his birth, Athaulf was murdered, and Placidia was returned. The conjugal union of Roman princess and barbarian king was a dramatic and somewhat fantastical narrative, relayed through sources that have been derided and dismissed as unreliable, and are undeniably fragmentary, laconic or partisan. The intrinsic nature of the sources and their ideological agendas mean that the lived experience of Galla Placidia is necessarily repressed, leaving us with a peculiarly one-sided and sterilised narrative.

The dominant discourse of eliding the negative and transforming the capture and forced marriage of Placidia into an idealised narrative has far-reaching implications. If the historical narrative becomes standardised and idealised the reality of Placidia's experience is suppressed, her resistance is repressed, and her status as a victim is concealed. Placidia's lack of consent and the violence perpetrated against her in her abduction, her forced marriage, and the sexual violence she was in all likelihood subjected to, are deliberately obscured within a narrative of compliance and harmony. Correspondingly the modern critical assumption that

Placidia did consent to marriage with Athaulf is made almost universally. Hagith Sivan has, however, conjectured that Placidia would have been ‘a reluctant, if not battered, bride’, and it is highly unlikely that Placidia would have desired to marry the leader of the Roman enemy and the perpetrator ultimately, if not directly, responsible for her violent kidnap from Rome and prolonged captivity.

The pioneering work of Kathy L. Gaca on ravaging warfare in antiquity allows us to see beyond the androcentric paradigm of warfare by foregrounding the treatment of women and girls in military conflict. Gaca’s research illuminates the female battery and exploitation of Placidia within an environment of perilous martial conflict and hostility. Placidia was powerless, voiceless, and unable to resist the agency of those around her, either Athaulf and the Visigoths, the barbarian Singeric who ‘returned’ her, or her brother Honorius. The violence integral to the disregard of Placidia’s consent to marriage, as well as her pregnancy and childbirth, is deliberately obscured by ancient writers. This established trend has continued in modern criticism, where the undeniably difficult questions of consent and rape within the early biography of Placidia remain unasked. This paper has two objectives: firstly, it will begin to unpick the partial narratives of the capture and marriage of Placidia as presented by ancient writers; and secondly, it will seek to find a more balanced and informed understanding of Placidia’s experience as a ‘spear-won bride’, a victim of war-ravaging whose lack of freedom did not allow her independent conjugal choice but whose role as a barbarian wife had a powerful symbolic importance in the later Roman period.

Against bishops' will?

Dynamics of wartime rape in the fifth century west

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This paper discusses wartime rape in the fifth century West, examining shifts in its perceptions by contemporaries, and the duality of the issue at hand: the rape of holy virgins was abhorred, yet the rape of regular women was mostly ignored in textual evidence. The paper will identify patterns of rape: the identities of the victims and rapists, the raped women's fates and clerical perceptions of them. Central to this discussion is how we may rationalise textual evidence on wartime rape to approach the realities of sexual violence. To this end, the overemphasis on holy virgins as victims is misleading, though from AD 406 onwards Western bishops re-narrated 'the raped (holy) woman', re-negotiating her place and authority in the religious community (Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 1.16, 2.2, Ep. 111; Leo the Great, Ep. 12). This is reflective of the traumatic effect that the rape of holy virgins had on communities, yet at the same time, the rape of non-holy women, testified in the sources, is largely overlooked and does not appear to be problematic for Christian authors. To further appreciate the realities behind rape, I will consider psychological theories on wartime rape in relation to the fifth century AD.

In recent years, Kathy L. Gaca's work on wartime rape has done much to replace women into narratives of ancient warfare, arguing against androcentric interpretations of war, and demonstrating that systematic sexual violence against girls and women was an integral part of warfare. I will argue that this applies to the fifth century AD likewise, and will discuss Gaca's argument that women being kidnapped or carried away in the wake of pillaging and raiding should also be interpreted as evidence of rape. While problematic in fifth century sources, this avenue is worth pursuing as it offers a more comprehensive and, I will argue, realistic depiction on the dynamics of wartime rape. Ultimately, the paper questions the extent

to which rape and its transformative effects on fifth century society and culture can be studied in light of contradictory and apparently reluctant evidence to discuss its realities. I will conclude, however, that sexual violence was newly problematised in the fifth century West, where the raped holy virgin needed to be salvaged, while the raped non-holy woman remained, as often before, as collateral damage.

The rape of a sanctimonialis: an historical overview through the texts of Augustine of Hippo

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The aim of the paper is the critical analysis of some of Augustine letters (Ep. 9*, 13*, 14*, 15*, 35) which describe cases of coercion and rape of *sanctimoniales*. A *sanctimonialis* was a woman who had made a vow of perpetual virginity in front of a bishop or, in some particular cases, in front of a priest as it was set by the canons of the African Church: in these canons was also established a minimum age, twenty-five years old, which fixed the moment when a woman was allowed to make the oath (CCSL 149, 13 (Council of Carthage - 390 A.D.); CCSL 149, 227 (Council of Carthage - 418 A.D.); Ferrand. *Canon*. 30, 91, 121). The *sanctimoniales* were present in the Catholics community, in the Donatists one and even among the *circumcelliones* (Aug. *Ep.* 35. 2; *C. Ep. Parm.* II, 3, 6; *C. Gaudentium* I, 36, 46). Usually their office was to pray and sing hymns (Aug. *Civ. Dei.* 22, 8; *Ep.* 23, 3; *Ps. Aug. Sobr.* in PL 40, 1105-12), but in some cases they also provided help for the instruction and baptism of the peasant women: in these cases, according to L. Dossey (*Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa*, 2010, pp. 191-192), they could be considered similar to deacons. In the book *The Early Church* (1982, p. 614) W. H. C. Frend suggested that the *sanctimoniales* had a very important role within the Donatist Church. The sources show that, differently from Catholics, the Donatists considered that the *sanctimoniales* had the ability to make predictions (PLS 1, 179). Instead

the fact that some of these *sanctimoniales* were wandering with the *circumcelliones* in rural areas was often used by polemicists as a reason for denial of the ascetic pretensions of the *circumcelliones* themselves, who were accused of sexual promiscuity.

In the North African area the *sanctimoniales*, both Catholic and Donatist, were not closed in monasteries: some lived with their family (Aug. *Ep.* 13 *, 2;), others earned their living doing some small jobs within the estates (Aug. *Ep.* 15 *, 3), while still others roamed with *circumcelliones*. The obvious problem, as indicated clearly by L. Dossey (p. 192) was to protect the virginity of these unmarried women, unprotected from the walls and boundaries of a monastery and belonging to a lower social status.

The imperial laws punishing the rape of nuns were so severe that in the fourth century A.D., just make an elopement with a consecrated virgin, although there was the intention of marry her, could lead to the death penalty (CTh. 9, 25, 1; CTh. 9, 25, 2). It will be therefore of great interest to analyze the behavior of Augustine in relation to these crimes clarifying his position regarding the application of the imperial laws. Furthermore it will be necessary to analyze the differences of opinion expressed by the Bishop of Hippo about these rapes paying particular attention to the identity of the rapist and the victim of the *stuprum*, to their social condition and to their Church. It will be considered finally the consequences of rape especially in relation to the *sanctimoniales* practice of ritual suicide (V. Neri (*I marginali nell'occidente tardoantico. Poveri, "infames" e criminali nella nascente società cristiana*, 1998, p. 177, n. 193) points out that the practice of ritual suicide could be directed to the cancellation of shame for pregnancy).

OTHER ABSTRACTS

(The following abstracts were submitted to the call for papers, and accepted. However, due to various reasons, the speakers did not have the opportunity to attend the conference.)

Real rape in Rome: why nobody would talk about it

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This paper aims at investigating the potential causes of the dearth of mentions of rape in Latin literature, and especially the long period of almost total silence during the first centuries AD. Depictions of rape - understood here as non consensual sexual contact - are to be found in the writings of Terence and Ovid; the latter, as well as Livy, narrate stories of mythological, divine rapes such as that of Proserpina and Europa, as well as foundational rapes such as that of the Sabines and Lucretia. In the texts of the imperial period, rape is treated comically/satirically by Apuleius and the author of the *Priapea* who present it as a form of punishment. Eventually, Augustine mentions it as a source of torment. Rape is thus mainly depicted through the theatrical, mythological, legendary, satirical, comical and elegiac lens, and is under-represented as an event of everyday life and barely described as a real occurrence. The reality of rape is absent from most literary genres, and almost non-existent in the texts from the end of the Republic to Augustine. Both Terence and Augustine address rape as a form of violence and consider female suffering, but in between, authors treat the issue with a twist that removes rape from any historical, realistic context.

This paper will examine why Romans of the imperial era would not write about rape, and why the cultural and legal contexts of the period would have been obstacles to talking about it publicly. To do so, it will address the issues of the specificities and literary filters of the genres of the texts which reached us, as well as the individual bias and literary aim of each author. It will then explore the potentiality of occurrence of hidden cases of rape in such situations as arranged marriages, or relationships between two partners of different generations, between a free person and a slave, and between an adult and a child. Last, taking into account the possibility that occurrences of adultery mentioned in the texts might in fact

be cases of rape, this paper will address the issues raised by the context of a male-dominated culture, by the historical advent of the Augustan law on adultery, and with the help of anthropology, evolutionary biology, and affective neuroscience it will hypothesize reasons why neither men nor women had any advantage in making a real occurrence of rape known.

The *optio raptae* in Latin Declamation between literature law and society

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Declamation as a genre implies a mix of history, law and literature and the public speeches and exercitations performed by rhetorical teachers and scholars were very popular in Rome during the second Imperial age. Indeed declamations are scholastic exercises, preparatory to forensic and political activities, in which students are asked to improvise speeches, taking the side of one party in a certain fictional legal dispute between two contenders. The more the controversy is complicated and tough, the more the students have to train in order to sharpen their eloquence and intellectual faculties. Often social issues, intriguing problems and paradoxical situations offer in rhetorical schools the appropriate subject to elaborate complex controversies, which were also fascinating for students due to their attention to harsh and out of a novel events. Therefore declamation proves to be extremely suitable to describe cultural and social phenomenon and rape represented an extremely stimulating matter for rhetoricians, as far as Juvenal's verses make a hit *haec alii sex/ uel plures uno conclamant ore sophistae/ et ueras agitant lites raptore relicto;/ fusa uenena silent, malus ingratus que maritus/ et quae iam ueteres sanant mortaria caecos* (7, 165-168). Actually, a very interesting declamatory law is attested in various declamations: the *optio raptae*, a girl who is raped by a man has the opportunity in front of the law of choosing between the

death of her aggressor and the marriage with him without any commitment in terms of dowry. The most frequent form for this law in Latin is *Rapta raptoris aut mortem aut indotatas nuptias optet* and it is well documented in Latin declamatory anthologies, such as Seneca the Elder's *Oratorum et rhetorum sententiae, divisiones, colores* (3,5; 7, 8; 8,6 with a slightly difference in 2,3 in which the choice is up to the father), Pseudo-Quintilian's *Declamationes Minores* (247, 251,259, 262, 270, 276, 280, 286, 301, 309, 343, 368) and Calpurnius Flaccus's collection (51). The roots of this kind of law are clearly Greek, as the law presence in Hermogenes (Περὶ στάσεων 2, 15) recommends. Consequently, the analysis of the most significant passages dealing with *optio raptae* looks truly promising, in particular a comment from a philological and historical point of view of selected sections can illuminate the peculiarity of declamatory narrative, the way of conceiving women conditions and rape in antiquity, the expectation of the audience and the potential juridical competence of rhetoricians. At the end of the comment, we are also going to have also the instruments to draw a profile of the *optio raptae* from a juridical point of view, in order to make observation about its consistence in ancient juridical system.

Rape, Apotheosis, and Politics in *Metamorphoses* 14 and 15

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Sexual violence is a key plot device in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Present in 52 out of 104 tales, sexual violence accounts for half of the poem. The last amatory tale, Vertumnus and Pomona, occurs in Book 14 and contains an attempted rape; however, Pomona is won over by Vertumnus' beauty before he is able to accomplish his rape. As Ovid transitions from Greek themes to Roman at the end of the poem, tales involving love and sexual violence slowly give way to historical stories devoid of sex, and metamorphosis in conjunction with rape is replaced with a flurry of apotheoses. While other tales of apotheosis are scattered

throughout the poem, the great concentration in books fourteen and fifteen sets these apart from the others, especially since all of the men being apotheosized are members of the Julio-Claudian line. I argue that two of the three male apotheoses that occur in the last two books are modeled after the rapes of the earlier books and should be interpreted in the context of Ovid's many rape scenes in his epic.

There are similarities in the diction used to describe the apotheoses of Romulus and Caesar and the rape of Proserpina. For instance, at 14.818, in the apotheosis of Julius Caesar, Ovid uses *rapina* to mean 'deification', and at 5.492, in the rape of Proserpina, and at 10.28, when Orpheus is talking to Hades about Hades' most famous deeds Ovid uses *rapina* to mean 'rape/forceful snatching.' Similar language of snatching also occurs in the deification of Romulus, in which forms of *rapio* are used twice.

I then compare the apotheoses of Romulus and Caesar to that of Aeneas, the only other Augustan apotheosis in the poem. By contrasting the diction of snatching from the apotheoses of Romulus and Caesar to the diction of purification found in the deification of Aeneas, I show that the later apotheoses were intentionally crafted to have the undertones of sexual violence, as the apotheosis of Aeneas does not have any of these elements.

Finally, I claim that by turning apotheosis into rape, Ovid potentially demeans Augustus and his family, since the men being deified, Romulus and Caesar, are both related to him (and it is suggested that Augustus himself will be deified when he dies). Depicting apotheosis as rape both emasculates the "victim" and suggests incest. Since each of these apotheoses is enacted by a divine relative, these rapes might point to the rumours that Octavian became Julius Caesar's heir due to sexual favours. They might also pick up on the metaphorical use of incest in poets like Catullus (Skinner 1979, 1982) to suggest the Augustan family is keeping Roman political power to themselves.

Divine possession as rape: the consultation of Pythia in Lucan's *Bellum civile*

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At the beginning of *Bellum civile*'s fifth book (lines 64-236) Lucan writes a peculiar episode which takes place at the Delphi's sanctuary: the Roman governor Appius Claudius Pulcher wants to consult the oracle about the outcome of the civil war.

The sanctuary appears desolate, closed for a long time: until the arrive of Appius, the Pythia Phemonoe is living her existence peacefully and *secura*, in her *locus amoenus*, the sacred *nemus* close to the Castalian spring. But now she is forced to enter into the temple in order to receive the divine *spiritus* of Apollo in her intimate; she is reluctant, terrified: she does not want to be possessed by the god, because she knows that the oracular ritual usually end with the death of the priestess herself.

During the consultation, Apollo appears as a *spiritus* and he makes the Pythia frenzy and shocked. The anger of the god and the "menadic" behaviour of the priestess make the entire scene frenetic and dramatic. Lucan describes it as a scene of rape and violence, using specific verbal forms, words, circumstances, inspired by the topic description of *raptum* in Latin poetry (e.g. the presence of the *nemus*, from wich Phemonoe is forced to go out, recalls the scenes of rape in ovidian myths of Dafne, Callisto, and Io, that take place in a *locus amoenus*).

According to the ancient tradition the ability of divination is actually a pain instead of a divine present, especially for women (we can consider the archetypal figure of the priestess Cassandra), for whom the possession by the god is not just a moment of frenzy and mental chaos, but also a violent sexual love, as if the god raped them.

Lucan is not the only one who assimilates the moment of consultation with sexual union between the priestess and Apollo: the anonymous author of the work *On the Sublime* describes the Pythia as ἐγκύμων

“pregnant with”, “full of” the divine spirit of Apollo. We can find a similar description in a *scholium* on Aristophanes’ *Plutus*, where the priestess is defined *πληρουμένη*, a concept similar to the latin *plena deo*.

In conclusion, the aim of my paper is to explain how Lucan describes this peculiar scene, and why he depicts Apollo as an angry and violent god, who arrives to kill the Pythia at the end of the ritual.



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