

# H U M A N I T A S

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Fall 2008

Issue 1

## Come to Cleveland!

Enclosed with this edition of *Humanitas* you will find registration information for the OCC meeting this October 24 and 25 in Cleveland. The meeting will be held at the Hilton Garden Inn in downtown Cleveland, with the Friday afternoon and evening sessions at John Carroll University. If you're planning to attend the conference, please take note of the September 25 deadline for registration and for reserving a room at the hotel.

We're excited about this year's program. Friday's sessions will include papers from some veteran OCC contributors and a sampling of work from some of our newest scholars. We'll also learn about Vergil and interior decoration from Steven Tuck of Miami University of Ohio at our Vergilian Luncheon, and we'll hear about Cicero and the liberal arts from St. Olaf College Professor and Provost James May. Saturday's program will be devoted to pedagogical issues: first a panel on "College Credit in High School," with AP Latin expert John Sarkissian and a presentation on dual-enrollment programs from Jay Arns. We'll finish the program with a lunchtime discussion on strategies for recruiting students, including ways that high school and college faculty can work together on this issue.

If you choose to extend your visit in Cleve-

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land for another night, there are plenty of cultural offerings to enjoy. (The conference room rate should apply Saturday night, too.) The Cleveland Museum of Art's antiquities collections are currently closed as part of a major expansion project, but the other galleries that have re-opened are well worth a visit. The Cleveland Orchestra is performing Saturday night, and there are several events that weekend at Playhouse Square. Right downtown you will also find some perennial family favorites like the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and the Great Lakes Science Center.

Hope to see you in October!  
Gwen Compton-Engle  
OCC President

## Hotel Registration

The conference hotel is the Hilton Garden Inn Cleveland Downtown, 1100 Carnegie Avenue, Cleveland, OH 44115. The conference room rate is \$105.00 + taxes. Parking is \$15 per overnight vehicle. For reservations, call 216-658-6400 or visit [www.hiltongardeninn.com](http://www.hiltongardeninn.com). To be sure of getting a room at the conference rate, tell them that you are with the Ohio Classical Conference and place your reservation by **September 25, 2008**.

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## A Note from the (New) *Humanitas* Editor

When our departing editor, Neil Bernstein, notified me that he would be stepping down from his duties as editor of *Humanitas*, I agreed to step into the editor's position. Our hard-working secretary-treasurer Shannon Byrne continues to manage all the work of copying and mailing. I am extremely grateful for the well-organized set of materials left to me by Neil, and for the technical support of Jeff LaFavre at John Carroll University. Neil has left a legacy of high standards and efficiency for *Humanitas*.

This issue includes two papers from the October 2007 OCC meeting: Bob White's useful compilation of classical listserves, and Jarrod Lux's intriguing study of Remus, bean-hurling, and the living dead. I trust that you will enjoy both.

Please send any news items, announcements, papers, or pedagogical materials for inclusion in *Humanitas*. The next submission deadlines are Dec. 1 and April 1. If you have any thoughts about how *Humanitas* can continue to serve the needs of the OCC and its members, please feel free to contact me or give me your suggestions at the OCC meeting.

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# “*Commagistri Longinqui: Classical Listserves*”

▪ *Bob White, Shaker Heights High School, White\_r@shaker.org*

- **Classics-L**

Send a message to: [listserv@lsv.uky.edu](mailto:listserv@lsv.uky.edu). In the message put only the following: subscribe classics-1 firstname lastname

- **Latinteach**

<<http://nxport.com/mailman/listinfo/latinteach>>

- **Latin Study**

<<http://nxport.com/mailman/listinfo/latin-study>>

- **Explorator & AWOTV**

Explorator: Send a blank email message to: [Explorator-subscribe@yahoogroups.com](mailto:Explorator-subscribe@yahoogroups.com)

AWOTV: Send a blank email message to: [awotv-subscribe@yahoogroups.com](mailto:awotv-subscribe@yahoogroups.com)

- **FL-TEACH**

Send a message to: [LISTSERV@listserv.buffalo.edu](mailto:LISTSERV@listserv.buffalo.edu). In the message put only the following: SUBSCRIBE FLTEACH firstname lastname

- **OFLA**

Send a message to: [listserv@listserv.kent.edu](mailto:listserv@listserv.kent.edu). In the message put only the following: sub OFLA firstname lastname

- **Textbook Lists**

*Ecce Romani*: <<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/ecceromani/>>

*Cambridge Latin*: <<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/CambridgeLatin/>>

- **AP-Latin; IB-Latin**

AP-Latin: <[http://lyris.collegeboard.com/read/all\\_forums/subscribe?name=ap-latin](http://lyris.collegeboard.com/read/all_forums/subscribe?name=ap-latin)>

IB-Latin: <<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/IBLatin/>>

- **Latin Best-Practices**

<<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/latin-best-practices/>>

- **WCC (Women’s Classical Caucus) & LCC (Lambda Classical Caucus)**

WCC: Contact Ruby Blondell: [blondell@u.washington.edu](mailto:blondell@u.washington.edu)

LCC: <[http://lambdacc.org/mailman/listinfo/members\\_lambdacc.org](http://lambdacc.org/mailman/listinfo/members_lambdacc.org)>

- **Reviews**

*BMCR-L*: <<http://newmailman.brynmawr.edu/mailman/listinfo/bmcr-l>>

*Classical Journal*: <mailto:CJ-ONLINE-subscribe-request@LISTS.UMN.EDU>

### Latin Language Lists

Grex Latine Loquentium: <http://www.alcuius.net/GLL/subnotatio.htm>

- **Further Resources**

<http://www.tlg.uci.edu/index/listservs.html>

[http://omega.cohums.ohio-state.edu/mailling\\_lists/](http://omega.cohums.ohio-state.edu/mailling_lists/)

### Excerpts from Listserve Postings . .

#### From Latinteach

*What*: Summer Latin Workshop at Dickinson College

*When*: July 13- 19, 2008

*Where*: Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, USA

*Application Deadline*: May 1, 2007

*Tuition*: \$300 (due June 4, 2007)

Daily schedule will involve group translation and discussion of the entire extant works of Catullus. Tuition includes housing (single or double accommodations in college-owned houses), all meals, and access to Dickinson facilities, including library and gym. Participants are responsible for their own travel and book expenses.

Faculty: Christopher Francese, Associate Professor of Classics, Dickinson College; Meghan Reedy, Visiting Assistant Professor of Classical Studies, Dickinson College.

*Act 48*: The Dickinson Department of Classical Studies is an approved provider of professional development opportunities under *Pennsylvania Act 48*. Those who complete the workshop will receive approximately 35 hours of *Act 48* credit.

For more information, or to apply, please contact Mrs. Barbara McDonald: [mcdonalb@dickinson.edu](mailto:mcdonalb@dickinson.edu)

#### From BMCR-L

Peter Jones, *Reading Ovid: Stories from the Metamorphoses*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Pp. X, 272. ISBN 978-0-521-61332-3. \$25.99 (pb). ISBN 978-0-521-84901-2. \$85.00 (hb). Reviewed by Betty Rose Nagle, Indiana University ([nagle@indiana.edu](mailto:nagle@indiana.edu)). Word count: 2608.

Is reviewing a textbook without having used it in the classroom like writing about a new car model after only looking at it in the showroom? If so, I can't wait to take Peter Jones' *Reading Ovid* out for a spin. Designed for "post-beginners," it assumes only that its intended audience will have completed an introductory course based on a text such as Wheelock or Jones' own *Reading Latin*, both of which are cited as grammar references.

*Reading Ovid* would be appropriate, therefore, for the many US college students who begin Latin with Wheelock. Sophisticated as well as user-friendly, it would also be ideal for gradu-

ate students who have come to Latin late but whose work requires a knowledge of the Metamorphoses, e.g., those interested in Spanish Baroque literature. It is not an exaggeration for the blurb to claim that “No other intermediate text is so carefully designed to make reading Ovid a pleasure.”

### **From EcceRomani:**

Salvete Omnes!

I was just at the Prentice Hall FL page on their website and saw a survey re *Ecce*. The URL is [http://www.phschool.com/foreign\\_languages/](http://www.phschool.com/foreign_languages/) and the announcement reads:

Teachers: Please give us your feedback on *ECCE ROMANI!* We want to hear from you! Prentice Hall is looking for ideas to update *ECCE ROMANI*. Let us know your thoughts by filling out a short online survey.

It would be great if a lot of folks could complete it, so that the next edition of the book really incorporates the ideas and methodologies that we have been discussing on this list over the years. I did the survey and it took about ten minutes. It asks for feedback and ideas on everything from the Teacher Manual, to the Test Generator, to the Audio CDs and more. There is unlimited room for comments. It looks as though they want student feedback also...

So flag this email and don't forget to go to the survey when you have a chance...once school calms down (ha!)

### **From FLTEACH:**

Recently there have been some posts about using iPods some way in the classroom. You might want to check out the latest version (2.0) of Quiz Press at <http://www.solrobots.com/quizpress/index.html>. (Disclaimer: I have no connection with this company, other than that of an admirer of its products ;-)

It's available for both MAC and PC, has loads of features. Its greatest asset, IMHO, is the company's constant attention to updates, adding new features, and its response to users who request features. It has a price, but again IMO, extremely reasonable for what it offers and in view of the fact that registered users receive a number of upgrades without cost. You can try it out free.

### **From AP-Latin:**

At 8:11 AM -0400 11/08/07, Robert T. White wrote:

I'm just wondering if there are any (other) AP teachers on the list who have submitted a syllabus for Vergil or Latin Lit and not yet received any indication if it's been approved or not...

Robert, it took over two months for my reply to come in and they've failed me in five areas, all of which mystify me. I'll only quote the first:

At 3:08 PM -0400 01/08/07, AP Course Audit wrote:

The course is structured to enable students to complete the entire required reading list (as delineated in the AP Latin Course Description.) Syllabus lacks resource materials necessary to meet curricular requirement.

Now, they DON'T say that we're not reading the whole list, but that we lack resources to do it despite inclusion in my syllabus of:

- 1) No less than three required texts designed for the AP classes and including the entirety of the Cat/Cic readings
- 2) Seven ancillary texts covering the readings and then some (e.g., another AP Catullus text and two more commentaries/texts on the whole of the Catullan corpus)
- 3) A week-by-week listing of required readings.

### From Explorator:

Ancient Greece and Rome (and Classics)

*A major Roman villa found in Macerata:*

<<http://www.bymarche.it/notizia.asp?id=12684>><http://www.bymarche.it/notizia.asp?id=12684> (Italian)

*A trickle of reports about finds in Varna:*

<[http://www.novinite.com/view\\_news.php?id=86435](http://www.novinite.com/view_news.php?id=86435)>[http://www.novinite.com/view\\_news.php?id=86435](http://www.novinite.com/view_news.php?id=86435)

<[http://international.ibox.bg/news/id\\_1786222044](http://international.ibox.bg/news/id_1786222044)>[http://international.ibox.bg/news/id\\_1786222044](http://international.ibox.bg/news/id_1786222044)

*Short feature on the Pantheon:*

<<http://www.theartnewspaper.com/article.asp?id=6296>><http://www.theartnewspaper.com/article.asp?id=6296>

*The Greeks and Romans liked spooky stories:*

<<http://www.physorg.com/news111859786.html>><http://www.physorg.com/news111859786.html>

*Trajan's Market is open to the public again:*

<<http://tinyurl.com/28csbk>><http://tinyurl.com/28csbk> (ANSA)

*Even more coverage of the Greeks' lack of math:*

<<http://abcnews.go.com/Technology/story?id=3738174&page=1>><http://abcnews.go.com/Technology/story?id=3738174&page=1>

## Remember the OCC website!

Check <http://www.xavier.edu/OCC> for announcements, a calendar of events, scholarship forms, a directory of members' e-mail addresses, archived issues of *Humanitas*, and more. Items to be posted on the website should be sent to webmaster Jeff Kolo at [koloj@mail.mcsoh.org](mailto:koloj@mail.mcsoh.org).

## “What are *Lemures*?”

▪Jarrod Lux, St. Henry District High School, KY, [quid\\_enim@hotmail.com](mailto:quid_enim@hotmail.com)

According to Ovid’s *Fasti* 5.419-492, the Romans celebrated the *Lemuria*, a festival for the dead originally established to honor Remus. During the days of the festival, temples were closed, government ceased, and marriages were not permitted.<sup>1</sup> The dead, called *lemures*, ran amuck and haunted houses. One needed protection from these creatures, and belief in them lasted long past Ovid’s time as indicated by their mention in the *Carmina Epigraphica* of the 8<sup>th</sup> century in which one makes the *signum crucis* to ward them off. They have even made their way as far as the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Lavateri’s manuscript *De Spectris, Lemuribus, Variisque Praesagitionibus* of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> In the *Fasti* Remus appeared to Faustulus and Acca asking that they beseech Romulus to establish a festival in his honor:

hunc vos per lacrimas, per vestra alimenta rogate  
ut celebrem nostro signet honore diem.

Ask this through tears and your alms

1 Ov. *F.* 5.485-88. The reason for this is that the *Lemuria* was designated *dies nefasti* and *dies religiosi* in the Roman calendar. The *Lemuria* is recorded in the *Fasti Antiatas Maiores*, the oldest calendar of the Republic to survive. For more information on the calendar, see Scullard pp. 41-48, Boyle & Woodard xxxii-xxxv, and Sidgwick 10-12.

2 I found the reference to the *Carmina Epigraphica* in the *TLL*. I discovered a picture of Lavateri’s manuscript while researching demonology in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

that he mark a day of celebration for our honor.  
(Ov. *F.* 5.473-74)

Other than the story of its inception, Remus plays no part in the rest of Ovid’s explanation of the *Lemuria*. Ovid instead recounts the ancient ritual to expel the *lemures* from the house. The ritual is a primitive one, containing sections that seem more magical than religious. The most famous of these is the part in which the *pater familias* tosses the beans over his shoulder and the final exorcism *manes exite paterni*:

vertitur et nigras accipit ante fabas,  
aversusque iacit; sed dum iacit, ‘haec ego mitto,  
his’ inquit ‘redimo meque meosque fabis.’  
Hoc novies dicit nec respicit: umbra putatur  
colligere et nullo terga vidente sequi.

He takes the black beans and throws them without turning around; but while he throws them, he says,

‘With these beans I redeem me and my own.’  
He says this nine times and does not look back: the ghost is thought

to collect and to follow close behind without anyone seeing. (Ov. *F.* 5.436-440)

cum dixit novies ‘manes exite paterni’  
respicit, et pure sacra peracta putat.

When he has said nine times, ‘leave, ghosts of my fathers,’

he looks back, and he thinks the rites have been completed properly. (Ov. *F.* 5.443-4)

No one so far has put forth an explanation for the bean hurling that everyone accepts. The final exorcism has caused much debate as to whether or not *manes* and *lemures* are synonymous and if not, how are the *lemures* different from the *manes paterni*?<sup>3</sup> The relationship between Remus and these strange ghostly entities is never linked for us by Ovid because it was unnecessary – those in Ovid’s time would have known such a connection. In order to work out the unknown link, this paper, therefore, seeks to identify what *lemures* were and attempts an explanation for their relationship with Remus.

The term *lemures* does not appear very often in ancient literature. The earliest mention of *lemures* is found in Horace’s *Epistles* where he describes them as nocturnal and only talks about them because belief in them is absurd:

Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,  
nocturnes lemures portentaque Thessala rides?

Do you laugh at dreams, magical terrors, miracles,  
fortune-tellers,

<sup>3</sup> Fowler felt that the *lemures* were a horde of demons left over in civilized Rome from a primitive culture, pp. 106-109. Frazer trusted Ovid, claiming the *lemures* were the family dead, p. 424. Thaniel remarks that writing about *lemures* and *larvae* was a taboo since they are not found in higher poetry, p. 187.

nightly ghosts and Thessalian portents?  
(Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.208-09)

Similarly, Persius calls *lemures* black, adding them to a large list of ridiculous superstitions:

tum nigri lemures ovoque pericula rupto,  
tum grandes galli et cum sistro lusca sacerdos  
incussere deos infantis corpora, si non  
praedictum ter mane caput gustaveris ali.

Then [there are] the black ghosts and the dangers from a broken egg,

And then [don’t forget] those huge priests of Cybele and that one-eyed priestess with her rattle shoving divinities into your swollen bodies, unless

you’ve tasted of the prescribed three heads of garlic in the morning. (Per. *Sat.* 5.185-188)

A scholiast on Persius indicates that the *lemures* are a type of *manes* which the Greeks call daemons and possess or are used for the purpose of divination:

Lemures deos manes dicit, quos Graeci daemonas  
vocant quasi umbras quondam habentes divinitatem;  
Lemuria autem dicuntur dies, quando manes placantur.

One calls the *lemures* the gods below, which the Greeks call daemons, a type of the dead once having divination; the days however are called *Lemuria* since the dead are appeased. (Schol. on Persius)

Varro and Nonius Marcellus both discuss the hurling of beans, but nothing more:



in sacris fabam iactant noctu ac dicunt se lemures  
domo extra ianuam eicere

At night they hurl the bean during the rites and they  
expel the ghosts from the house outside the doorway  
(Varro frg. Non. p. 135, 16)

ad lemures: larvae nocturnae et terrificationes imagi-  
num et bestiarum

for *lemures*: These are the nightly, terrifying creatures  
– ghostly humans and beasts (Nonius)

Apuleius is probably the most confusing of the  
ancient authors, claiming that the *lemures* are  
the souls of the dead in general. If these souls  
are honored, they become *lares familiares*; if  
not they become *larvae*. *Manes* is the term  
then for the souls about which we are uncer-  
tain:

est et secundo significatu species daemonum animus  
humanus emeritis stipendiis vitae corpore suo abi-  
urans; hunc vetere Latina lingua reperio lemurem dic-  
titatem; ex hisce ergo lemurebus qui posteriorum suo-  
rum curam sortitus placato et quieto numine domum  
possidet, lar dicitur familiaris; qui vero ob adversa vi-  
tae merita nullis (bonis) sedibus incerta vagatione ceu  
quodam exilio punitur, inane tericulamentum bonis  
hominibus, ceterum malis noxium, id genus plerique  
larvas perhibent. Cum vero incertum est, quae cuique  
eorum sortitio evenerit, utrum lar sit an larva, nomine  
manem deum nuncupant: scilicet et honoris gratia dei  
vocabulum additum est.

A second type of daemon is the human spirit forsak-  
ing the earned wages of life and its body; this truly I  
discover has been called *lemur*; out of these *lemures*,  
therefore, are those who, having had concern of their  
future, possess a home with peaceful and quiet divin-  
ity. These are called *lares familiares*. Then there are  
those who, on account of their obtuse affairs in life,  
are punished with no (stable) abode and aimless wan-  
dering like some kind of exile. These are empty terrors  
to good men but harmful to bad men. A plethora [of  
experts] name this kind subcategory *larvae*. When  
truly it is unknown what is the result of fate for each  
person, that is, whether one be a *lar* or a *larva*, they  
call these *di manes*: indeed for the sake of the honor of  
the god this vocabulary has been put forth. (Apul. *De  
Deo Socratis* 15)

Apuleius' definition does not seem to coin-  
cide with what we know. *Manes* seems to be  
the term for the dead in general, not *lemures*.  
Rose, however, points out that *manes* is not  
prevalent until the Augustan period.<sup>4</sup> Mar-  
tianus Capella seems to follow Apuleius but  
adds another twist by saying the *lemures* turn  
into *lares*, *larvae*, and *manias*:

appellati lemures postea et in lares et in larvas ac  
manias conversi.

Those called *lemures* afterwards are turned into *lares*  
or *larvae* or *maniae* (Mart. Cap. 2.162)

Space does not permit me to discuss the con-  
nection of *Mania* to *Remus*. For that I will  
point you to Wiseman, Littlewood, and Taylor

<sup>4</sup> Rose 129.

(especially) in the bibliography.

One modern scholar, F.A. Wright, follows Nonius in believing that *lemures* were synonymous with *larvae*. He thinks, furthermore, that the *larvae*, the *lemures*, and the *lares* belong to the same group of evil spirits. The idea that they were evil is left over from Etruscan religion. Over time the *lares* became more benevolent while the *lemures* and *larvae* were left behind in the realm of evil.<sup>5</sup> While this is a nice theory, we simply do not know enough about Etruscan or other Italic peoples nor their languages to make any accurate assertions. Furthermore, no one has ever compiled the Italic beliefs on the afterlife in the same way Rohde has done for Greece to help us straighten things out.

Porphyrio, writing on Horace, labels *lemures* as *aoroi* – those who died before their time. Acro takes it a step further by calling them *biothanatoi*, a subtype of *aorai*:

umbras vagantes hominum ante diem mortuorum et  
ideo metuendas

[*Lemures*] are the wandering shades of those who died before their time and who ought to be feared. (Porph. Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.208-209)

umbras terribiles biothanatorum

terrible shades of those who died brutally before their time (Acro)

While most *aorai* died horrible deaths, the

<sup>5</sup> Wright 156.

*biothanatoi* died the most brutal, disturbing deaths of all. These included death in war, executed criminals, unavenged murdered victims, and suicides. These liminal creatures found no rest in death because they could neither enter the afterlife nor regain full animation in their own bodies to continue life as it was. These spirits terrorized the world, haunting and killing others to create more of themselves in a vain attempt to either live again or to ensure that no one else had the chance to live. Rohde tells us that they “bring pollution and disaster upon all who meet them or fall into their hands; they send evil dreams, nightmares, nocturnal apparitions, madness and epilepsy.”<sup>6</sup> Many *biothanatoi* found themselves enslaved by magi to perform the bidding of their incantations.

In sum, the ancient authors provide little definitive evidence. For certain the *lemures* are dark or nightly. They could be equivalent to *larvae*, but *lemures* seem to be spirits of the dead, not merely underworld creatures. There is a strong association between them and Greek nature of *biothanatoi* suggesting they are either one and the same or that they share similar properties.

Ovid tells us that the Lemuria was set up in honor of Remus, but the *r* softened to an *l* in order to make it Lemuria. That is, the festival was once called the Remoria and *remores* roamed the houses:

Romulus obsequitur, lucemque Remuria dicit  
illam, qua positis iusta feruntur avis.

<sup>6</sup> Rohde 298.

aspera mutata est in lenem tempore longo  
 littera, quae toto nomine prima fuit;  
 mox etiam lemures animas dixere silentum

Romulus agreed, and he calls that day the *Remuria*,  
 on which funeral honors are given to our buried forefathers.

After a long time the rough letter,  
 which was the first in the entire name, was  
 changed into a lighter one;  
 soon they also called the *lemures* the souls of the silent ones (Ov. *F.* 5.479-483)

It is interesting to note, however, that no author mentions the *lemures* when discussing the *Remoria*. Instead, they focus only on Remus' death. On the other hand, authors who write about the *lemures* rarely speak of Remus or a festival called *Remoria*. Both Dionysius and Plutarch say that the *Remoria* was the burial place of Remus, but no author, save Ovid, claims it was a festival.<sup>7</sup> This coupled with the fact that Ovid never directly calls Remus one of the *lemures* but rather uses the terms *umbra* and *imago* should give one pause. He also does not use *manes*, the most common word for ghost, to describe Remus, although this could be a misnomer. The critical apparatus offers an alternate reading in which Remus refers to himself as one of the *manes* (*in mea fata* could be *manibus ille*). So the line would now read "He gave what he could - tears to

7 Romulus, having buried Remus and his foster-fathers in *Remoria*, began to build the city (Plu. *Rom.* 11.1). Romulus buried Remus in *Remoria* (D.H. 1.87.3).

the *manes*."<sup>8</sup> If we ignore the alternate reading, we find that Ovid never states what *kind* of ghost Remus is but rather uses ghostly terminology to do this indirectly. Remus' description and behavior fits those who have died brutally, such as Vergil's Hector.<sup>9</sup> From his curse of Celer, furthermore, we know that Remus exists in the underworld instead of being rescued by Mars and taken to the heavens to undergo apotheosis. This is very strange, since it is evident from other stories, such as the tale of Zeus and Semele, that it is not a power beyond the reach of the gods. It seems to me, moreover, that the fact that a character whose name means "swift" killing someone suggests death before one's time. The fact that Celer kills him with a spade and that the wall was too low or the trench not deep enough further implies a chthonic connection between Remus and the underworld. Using ghost story imagery, Ovid has painted a picture of Remus the *biothanatos*.

But the connection is deeper and more twisted than this – Remus is a unique *biothanatos*. Remus, according to Ennius, offered himself to the gods below before the episode on the Aventine: *Remus se devotet*.<sup>10</sup> Later, Florus claimed that Remus was the first victim of Rome and that his blood consecrated the new city:

prima certe victima fuit munitionemque urbis novae sanguine suo consecravit.

8 "quod potuit, lacrimas in mea fata dedit" into "quod potuit, lacrimas manibus ille dedit" (Ov. *F.* 5.472)

9 Ver. *A.* 2.272-73.

10 The quote from Ennius is in Wiseman.

He certainly was the first victim and he consecrated the establishment of the new city with his own blood. (Florus 1.1.7-8)

These clues provide the information necessary to understand the missing link. Not only was Remus seen as a criminal but also as a human sacrifice. In the ancient world human sacrifices were viewed in two ways – murder and expiation. Like any other sacrifices they were performed in order to bring order to chaos or purity to uncleanness. Human sacrifices, however, were more potent than animal sacrifices. Livy says that the Romans did not like to perform them but did in drastic times.<sup>11</sup> He who performed the sacrifice was often the combination of a priest and king, but was seen as murderer, even though it was generally understood that everyone in the city was responsible because he acted on behalf of people. The victim was often an enemy, such as a prisoner of war, who didn't conform to the rules. Human sacrifices were automatically chthonic sacrifices, condemning the soul to the existence of the *biothanatoi* in which it finds little peace or appeasement. The spirit of the one sacrificed will haunt the community unless rites are performed regularly to give it the peace it seeks.

In the case of Remus, scholars such as Littlewood are quick to point out that Romulus must “give the order” and pay his respects to demonstrate Roman duty and piety.<sup>12</sup> They have even suggested that Romulus' consent to

Remus' request is a part of that piety, but they overlook both Romulus as the priest-king of a human sacrifice and also the intensity of Remus' fate. Not only is Remus denied the happy apotheosis granted to Romulus, but he is also bound never to acquire any peace. Remus had no choice – he had to request a festival in his honor because only the offerings at such an occasion could now appease him. Had Romulus not consented, Remus would have become a “royal terror” on Rome, not something unheard of since Ovid tells us that the dead did rebel once against Rome when the sacrifices and rites were neglected during the Parentalia, the festival in honor of the dead in February.<sup>13</sup>

Remus as the first *Romanus pater* to give his life for Rome is the first of Rome's heroes to die. As a sacrifice, Remus now acts as the guardian of the city, similar to the way heroes guarded cities in Greece. The evidence provided by Porphyrio may support this line of thinking. He claims that the *lemures* are *remulans* or little Remuses and that the Lemuria was the Parentalia before February was added to the calendar:

et putant lemures esse dictos quasi remulos a Remo, cuius occisi umbras frater Romulus cum placare vellet, Lemuria instituit, id est Parentalia

They think *lemures* were called *remulans* as if from Remus; since his brother Romulus wished to appease his murdered ghost, he established the *Lemuria*, that is the *Parentalia* (Porph. Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.208-209)

<sup>11</sup> Liv. 22.57.6.

<sup>12</sup> Littlewood 917.

<sup>13</sup> Ov. *F.* 2.547-54

I interpret *remulans* to be other Romans who have been sacrificed for the greater glory of Rome. Obviously these are not necessarily ritualistic sacrifices, but exemplars of Roman *virtus*, who have given their lives to ensure the continuance of Rome and therefore have died before their time. They would include famous individuals such as Lucretia and Metellus Celer.<sup>14</sup> I would also include, however, soldiers, especially since Rome staked its existence on the power of its military. The style of Roman funerals, with their recitation of the ancestral stories in addition to the story of the deceased, would support this line of thought. This would mean that the *lemures* are a type of *manes* (as the scholiast of Persius suggests), making the final exorcism (*manes exite paterni*) no longer a problem. The beans used in the ritual, furthermore, could then be seen as a way to offer a chance of life to these heroes instead of merely a way to distract dark spirits. Knowing that he may one day be one of these types of spirits, the *pater familias* includes himself in the exhortation: *With these beans I buy back me and my own*. Without the beans, moreover, his and his family's lives are forfeit because the *pater* and his family would indirectly remain murderers.

To put this all together, the Remoria was never a festival. It was something commemorating Remus' death, probably his grave, while the Lemuria was probably a leftover Italic festival possibly to honor those who died

<sup>14</sup> I use Metellus because Cicero in the *Pro Caelio* wants us to believe that he died before his time on account of the Clytemnestra-like Clodia.

before their time. At some point in Roman history (possibly 296 BCE, to steal Wiseman's date) the story of Remus' sacrifice was grafted onto the Lemuria. At this point *lemures* were seen not just as those who died before their time, but also as familial dead sacrificed along with Remus to ensure the safety of Rome. Their existence was explained as similar to *bioathanatoi* for two reasons: 1) to remind Romans of the unique brutality of their deaths to inspire courage and 2) to ensure the Romans would continue offering sacrifice to them. The attachment of *bioathanatoi* to their description either created or furthered a negative perspective too: their dark, vindictive portrayal, leading to their synthesis with demons in the Christian period.

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OCC member Mary Jo Behrensmeyer in front of the Great Pyramids of Giza in summer 2007 on a Fulbright scholarship to Egypt and Israel. Mary Jo gave a presentation about her trip at the 2007 OCC meeting.

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