



IS PROUD TO PRESENT

OPENING THE  
ANCIENT WORLD

A VIRTUAL  
CONFERENCE

AUGUST 14 -  
AUGUST 15, 2022





# OPENING THE ANCIENT WORLD

## Who Has the Power: Leaders and Leadership in the Ancient World

A FREE, VIRTUAL CONFERENCE

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### CO-ORGANIZERS

DAVID DANZIG

ANH NGUYEN

AUSTIN BLACKMAN



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SASA's YouTube Channel ([Save Ancient Studies Alliance](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC...))

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SASA's Twitch ([@SaveAncientStudies](https://www.twitch.tv/SaveAncientStudies))

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# CONFERENCE GOALS

- I Present and support excellent scholarship by scholars around the world, who work outside academia, and researchers who have not followed the traditional tenure-track career path.
- II Foster discussion and action regarding public outreach and scholarly inclusiveness.
- III Hold a conference freely available to the public.
- IV Continue building a joint community of scholars including both those whose occupations are inside and outside academia.



## WHO ARE WE BRINGING TOGETHER?

What do we mean when we say we aim to bring together scholars around the world, who work outside academia, and researchers who have not followed the traditional tenure-track career path?

To us, this conference serves to bring together scholars who do not have the same opportunities to present their work and engage with scholars as those who went the traditional tenured track might. Some of the groups we sought to reach out to included:

- Completed a PhD and are now professionals in other fields
- Left PhD programs
- Contingent faculty
- Academics from marginalized groups
- Teachers, professors, and staff from all educational institutions
- Cultural resource management professionals
- Independent scholars

## HOW WE PROMOTED INCLUSIVITY

Any scholar of the Ancient World, broadly defined, was welcomed and encouraged to submit an academic paper proposal in the subject areas of Leaders and Leadership. In addition, all presenters were strongly encouraged to participate in at least one of the special sessions.

In this inclusive context, beyond the scholarly presentations, we will also host special sessions in which we aim to discuss a range of issues pertaining to the precarious situation of Ancient Studies. These discussions will broach the issues of how to develop outreach by Ancient Studies scholars, further inclusiveness, and reimagine scholarship as a lifelong pursuit within a diverse yet inclusive scholarly community.

Additionally, we have three Special Sessions that open up conference discussions to the public, allowing anyone interested to academically engage with Ancient Studies. Day 1's conversations are "Roundtable on Community Building" and "Storytelling by Inspirational Independent Scholars". Day 2's is "Workshop on Publishing Forums". These Special Sessions are intended as forums for those who are interested in proactively developing real solutions to these problems of diversity and inclusivity. We view them as working groups to convene and begin to outline practical steps for solutions that will be taken up via future collaborations to truly Open the Ancient World to all.

# THE ORGANIZERS

**DAVID DANZIG**  
 SASA Founder & Director  
 PhD, Ancient Near Eastern Historian



**ANH NGUYEN**  
 SASA Virtual Conference Team Leader  
 Doctor of Pharmacy  
 MA, Egyptology



**AUSTIN BLACKMAN**  
 SASA Independent Scholars &  
 Alumni Coordinator



# THE KEYNOTE SPEAKERS



**DR. AMANDA PODANY**  
 Professor Emeritus of History at California State  
 Polytechnic University, Pomona



**DR. SARAH ALLAN**  
 Burlington Northern Foundation Professor of Asian  
 Studies Emeritus, Dartmouth College



**DR. KARA COONEY**  
 Professor of Egyptology at UCLA and Chair of the  
 Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

# SESSIONS

## Community Leadership

Dr. Georgina Longley  
Bárbara Alexandre Aniceto  
Ronald Clark

## Paths to Leadership

Pratishtha Mukherjee  
Nicholas Mataya  
Babette Margolies

## Displays of Power

Catherine Nuckols-Wilde

## Resistance against Leaders

Dr. Aaron Higashi  
Jackson Reinhardt

## Reinterpretations of Leadership

Massimo De Sanctis Mangelli  
Bryan Kinzbrunner  
Dr. Priscila Scoville  
Jase Short



# SCHEDULE - DAY 1

## AUGUST 14, 2022

10:00 am - 10:15 am EDT	Introductions - <b>Dr. David Danzig and Dr. Anh Nguyen</b>
10:15 am - 11:45 am EDT	<b>Community Leadership</b> #OAWSessionCommunityLeadership <b>Dr. Georgina Longley</b>   The People and the Politeia: Good Government and a Willing Populace in ancient Greek political theory <b>Bárbara Alexandre Aniceto</b>   Did Greek women have a leading voice? A gender discussion on female roles in Classical Athens <b>Ronard Clark</b>   Power in Leading Flocks, Faith, and Family in the Early Christian Community
11:45 am - 12:30 pm EDT	<b>Keynote 1 - Dr. Amanda Podany   Looking for Leaders: The People Missing from Mesopotamian Royal Inscriptions 2500-1500 BCE</b> #OAWKeynotePodany
12:30 pm - 12:45 pm EDT	SASA Access Team Presentation - <b>Dr. John Haberstroh</b>
12:45 pm - 2:15 pm EDT	<b>Paths to Leadership</b> #OAWSessionPathstoLeadership <b>Pratishtha Mukherjee</b>   Administrative and Military Achievements of Chandragupta Maurya <b>Nicholas Mataya</b>   Holy Leadership in a Power Vacuum: Severinus of Noricum in Post-Roman Noricum <b>Babette Margolies</b>   Leadership in the Multicultural World of the Achaemenid Empire
2:15 pm - 2:30 pm EDT	SASA Archaeogaming Streaming Team Presentation - <b>Kate Minniti and Alex Vandewalle</b>
2:30 pm - 3:45 pm EDT	<b>Special Session 1 - Roundtable on Community Building</b> #OAWCommunityBuildingSession
3:45 pm - 4:00 pm EDT	SASA Ambassador Interview
4:00 pm - 4:45 pm EDT	<b>Keynote 2 - Dr. Sarah Allan   When Sky/Heaven was not moved: Redefining kingship in the Warring States period (475-222 BCE) China</b> #OAWKeynoteAllan
4:45 pm - 6:15 pm EDT	<b>Special Session 2 - Storytelling by Inspirational Independent Scholars</b> #OAWIndependentScholarStorytellingSession

# SCHEDULE - DAY 2

## AUGUST 15, 2022

10:15 am - 10:45 am EDT	<b>Displays of Power</b> #OAWSessionDisplaysofPower <b>Catherine Nuckols-Wilde</b>   The Spoils of War and the Privileges of Rulers: Maya Full-Figure Glyphs as Signs of Privilege and Dominion
10:45 am - 11:15 am EDT	SASA Live Events Team Presentation - <b>Lauren Kubosh</b> SASA Research Team Presentation - <b>Dr. Valeria Zubieta</b>
11:15 am EDT - 12:00 pm EDT	Keynote 3 - <b>TBD</b>
12:00 pm - 1:00 pm EDT	<b>Resistance Against Leaders</b> #OAWSessionResistanceAgainstLeaders <b>Dr. Aaron Higashi</b>   Everyday Resistance in Ezra 10 <b>Jackson Reinhardt</b>   "That ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil." Divine Viceregency and the Armor of God in Ephesians
1:00 pm - 2:15 pm EDT	<b>Special Session 3 - Workshop on Publishing Forums</b> #OAWPublishingForum
2:15 pm - 2:30 pm EDT	SASA Ambassador Interview
2:30 pm - 3:15 pm EDT	<b>Keynote 4 - Dr. Kara Cooney   The Good Kings: Absolute Power in Ancient Egypt &amp; the Modern World</b> #OAWKeynoteCooney
3:15 pm - 5:15 pm EDT	<b>Reinterpretations of Leadership</b> #OAWSessionReinterpretationsofLeadership <b>Massimo De Sanctis Mangelli</b>   Finding Refuge with the Enemy: Implications of the "Giving King" in Herodotus <b>Bryan Kinzbrunner</b>   Are they Divine or are they Human? Reading the Biblical characters through the eyes of the Talmudic Rabbis <b>Dr. Priscila Scoville</b>   How connected was the Ancient Near East during the Amarna Age? <b>Jase Short</b>   The Open Maw of the God-King: the Tragedy of Kronos and its Status as Political Critique in Antiquity
5:15 pm - 6:15 pm EDT	<b>Social Hour</b>



## WHAT ARE THE HASHTAGS?

Share your thoughts about each conference event on Twitter with these hashtags and follow the discussion live on SASA's Twitter feed! For general thoughts on the conference, use the hashtag #OAWconference!



## WHERE IS THE CONFERENCE STREAMED?

### SASA's Website and Social Media Channels:

- Website ([saveancientstudies.org/virtual-conference](https://saveancientstudies.org/virtual-conference))
- YouTube Channel (Save Ancient Studies Alliance)
- Facebook (@SaveAncientStudies)
- Twitch (@SaveAncientStudies)

### Our Partners' Social Media Channels:

- Digital Hammurabi
- World History Encyclopedia
- Voices of Ancient Egypt
- World of Antiquity
- Per-Hay Studio
- World History Encyclopedia @whencyclopedia
- By Jove Theatre Company @ByJoveTheatre



CAN'T MAKE IT? DON'T WORRY!

Unless otherwise requested, the entire conference will remain on YouTube! That means you can see what you missed or go back and review a presentation at any time!





# ABOUT THE SPECIAL SESSIONS

Please join us and bring your ideas so we can pool our efforts and make real change. The Special Sessions will be livestreamed, though only participants in the Zoom meeting will be able to engage in the discussion. Therefore, pre-registration is necessary to participate.

Please note that the discussions will be livestreamed on our platforms. If you do not want to participate or do not want to be included in the broadcast then you can still follow the discussion!

## 1 Special Session One - Roundtable on Community Building

This Roundtable will consist of a presentation by SASA's Independent Scholar Working Group, which was first created after last year's virtual conference and has met regularly over the past year. We will present our achievements, including the creation of SASA's "Let's Get Published" Work-in-Progress Forum and our work on developing resources for Ancient Studies independent scholars. This will be followed by an open forum to discuss salient topics related to reimagining Ancient Studies scholarship and community as a passion, rather than necessarily a vocation.

Topics include:

- How to reach & engage more Independent Scholars to connect with SASA?
- How do we support independent scholars better?
- What are the specific barriers for Independent Scholars?
- How to foster integration between Independent Scholars and academia.

### STILL WANT TO SIGN UP?

- Sign up [here](#) for Special Session One!
- Sign up [here](#) for Special Session Two!
- Sign up [here](#) for Special Session Three!

## 2 Special Session Two - Storytelling by Inspirational Independent Scholars

This session will reimagine scholarship as a lifelong pursuit within a diverse yet inclusive scholarly community. The goal of this panel is to demonstrate how to pivot into other careers, both alternative academic (alt-ac) and other professions altogether, following the completion of a postgraduate degree in Ancient Studies while still pursuing scholarship as an independent scholar.

This workshop will have mini-presentations from various independent scholars, who will discuss their career paths.

Topics include:

- Skills from Ancient Studies that were transferable to their current career/job.
- Balancing independent research with the demands of daily life, family, and a separate professional career.
- Advice regarding transitioning from academic scholarship to independent scholarship.

## 3 Special Session Three - Workshop on Publishing Forums

This session is a forum to provide guidance to a diverse community of Ancient Studies independent scholars and researchers who are interested in publishing their research in a variety of outlets.

There will be mini-presentations from editors from different platforms, who will share advice on how independent scholars and other researchers can navigate the publishing world.

Topics include:

- What type of work fits which publishing medium
- Submission guidelines
- The peer-review process
- Copyright rules
- Tips on what makes a submission stand out
- How researchers not affiliated with institutions can be published

[www.saveancientstudies.org/virtual-conference](http://www.saveancientstudies.org/virtual-conference)

# THE KEYNOTES - DAY ONE



**Dr. Amanda Podany**

**Looking for Leaders: The People Missing from Mesopotamian Royal Inscriptions 2500-1500 BCE**

It's well known that the kings didn't rule alone in Mesopotamia. This talk will look at the sources we depend on for our understanding of leadership, especially royal inscriptions, administrative texts, and letters. These documents were written for differing reasons and they tell differing stories. Case studies will reveal queens, priestesses, and officials whose leadership roles can be explored in letters and administrative texts, but who were never mentioned in the kings' inscriptions.



**Dr. Sarah Allan**

**When Sky/Heaven was not moved: Redefining kingship in Warring States period (475-222 BCE) China**

From around 1000 BCE, not long after the Zhou dynasty (c1050 – 222 BCE) conquered the Shang (c1600-1050 BCE), political rule by a single lineage was justified in terms of a changing "Mandate of Heaven." In order to justify their rule and gain the acceptance of the populace, the Zhou claimed that there was a previous dynasty to the Shang, called the Xia, and that the last ruler of that dynasty was personally evil, so the ultimate power, Tian (Sky/Heaven), had appointed a new ruler. Now, the last Shang ruler was also evil, so they had received a new mandate. Ideologically, this political expedience had two effects: (1) Kingship was thereafter associated with good behavior as well as heredity; (2) Dynastic rule was regarded as time-limited. In the eighth century, Zhou power had declined so much that the king was forced to move his capital westward and by the fifth century, the individual states began to war with one another. This created an ideological crisis. Civil War was endemic, the Zhou rulers were bad, but the mandate had not changed. This was the setting for the rise of new political philosophies that defined kingship in terms of the ruler's responsibility to care for the people and the changing



# DAY TWO



**Dr. Kara Cooney**

**The Good Kings: Absolute Power in Ancient Egypt & the Modern World**

In a new era when democracies around the world are threatened or crumbling, in this lecture Egyptologist and best-selling author Kara Cooney turns to five ancient Egyptian pharaohs--Khufu, Senwosret III, Akenhaten, Ramses II, and Taharqa--to understand why many so often give up power to the few, and what it can mean for our future. The pharaohs and their process of divine kingship can tell us a lot about the world's politics, past and present. Every animal-headed god, every monumental temple, every pyramid, every tomb, offers extraordinary insight into a culture that combined deeply held religious beliefs with uniquely human schemes to justify a system in which one ruled over many.

From Khufu, the man who built the Great Pyramid at Giza as testament to his authoritarian reign, and Taharqa, the last true pharaoh who worked to make Egypt great again, Cooney offers insights into understanding how power was earned, controlled, and manipulated in ancient times. In mining the past, we can better understand the reason why societies have so willingly chosen a dictator over democracy, time and time again.



# THE ABSTRACTS - DAY ONE

SESSION ONE: COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP  
10:15 AM - 11:45 AM EDT



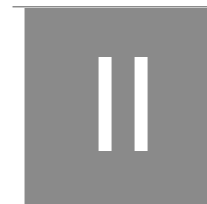
The People and the Politeia: Good Government and a Willing Populace in ancient Greek political theory | **Dr. Georgina Longley**

In this paper I shall explore the key role the people of a city or state play in a *politeia* in Greek political philosophy, focusing especially on Plato, Aristotle, and Polybius.

*Politeiai* does not include only the ruling element of a community, it refers to the whole community, its nature, and different aspects, such as the military, religion or education as shaped by the character of the ruling elements, as I seek to show in this paper. This is important, because a *politeia* is not a static entity, but a dynamic one composed of a government (*politeuma*) who lead, the people who are led, and the areas in which they conduct and experience their daily lives. What kind a *politeia* is, as examination of three key Greek political thinkers will show, can only be partially understood by looking at the composition of the organs of government.

As Greek political philosophy evolved, the classification of the different types of government expanded and crystallised into good versus bad *politeiai*. A *politeia* was not simply defined according to the number of the ruling element: the One, the Few, the Many, or the mixed type. In this paper, I will demonstrate how the relationship between ruler and ruled was crucial in assigning the *politeia* to the good or bad column. If those governed by the ruling element felt neglected and came to resent a tyrannical ruling element, the withdrawal of their support confirmed the decline of a *politeia* from a good type to a bad type.

Finally, I shall consider how this applies in our current setting. We have witnessed this often in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and I shall demonstrate that this important strand of Greek political theory concerning popular power, whatever the government, remains true today.



Did Greek women have a leading voice? A gender discussion on female roles in Classical Athens | **Bárbara Alexandre Aniceto**

The Greek historiography from the 19th century until the mid-20th did not consider female bodies and sexualities as genuine subjects of analysis. It was so mainly due to its exclusive association with the reproduction of heirs and legitimate children. From my point of view, these analyses narrowed down the interpretative possibilities offered by textual evidence from the Athenian classical period, such as the Hippocratic and Aristophanic ones. A close reading of *Lysistrata* (411 BC), *Thesmophoriazusae* (411 BC) and *Assemblywomen* (392 BC), staged in the context of the Peloponnesian War and subsequent defeat of Athens (404 BC), suggests that the legitimate wife was represented as a key factor in the operation Athenian city. With the citizenship law, established by Pericles in the middle of the fifth century BC (450 BC), women became a critical element in the definition of citizenship alongside men, thus contributing to the maintenance of the classical democratic logic. Hippocratic treatises, on the other hand, depict women who were aware of their bodies potentialities and who shared a common knowledge regarding the physiological processes experienced by the female body, such as menstruation and the conception of children. In my research, I aim to connect medical and comic testimony in order to show that married women could in fact have had a much more significant impact on society than we might have thought. Moreover, I argue that they were capable of perceiving the close connection among their bodily wisdom, the sexual reproduction and their civic status and could have used this social combination to their advantage along with the polis' by subverting the meaning of bearing a child.



Power in Leading Flocks, Faith, and Family in the Early Christian Community | **Ronald Clark**

Leadership in the early Christian community was an important component to the growth of this newer movement. Paul and Barnabas quickly appointed elders in these small gatherings as they moved on to begin new churches in other cities. These leaders not only provided protection and guidance (*presbyter* and bishop) but they proved to be actively involved in their own families. Much like the *Bayit 'Ab* of the Jewish community and *Pater Familia* of the Greco Roman culture, these leaders were expected to "lead" their families and be caring and loving within their own households. Paul's use of *prohistemi* rather than *oikonomos*, for elders, his comparisons to loving fathers rather than harsh pedagogues, and challenge to spousal support reflect this movement's emphasis on caring and nurturing patterns for leadership. These leaders exhibited a power dynamic through nurturing and loving relationships with others under their care.

As a minister working with domestic abuse, elder and church planter development, and families, the early church's emphasis on these patterns for leadership continue to provide guidance in our modern context. Faith community leaders struggle to not only provide support to couples, families, and individuals exposed to dysfunctional family of origin patterns while modeling a healthy family in their own homes. With rising rates of addiction to pornography, unhealthy sexual behaviors, and increased anxiety among younger generations, leaders in faith communities have a tremendous opportunity to model healthy family relationships both in their home and faith communities. This, in an American culture that continues to value power over others as a sign of authority, expresses a counter-cultural dynamic of leadership.

## IV

Administrative and Military Achievements of Chandragupta Maurya |  
Pratishtha Mukherjee

The present paper explores the military and administrative achievements of the founder and the first emperor of ancient India Chandragupta Maurya during the early centuries i.e., from 321 BCE- 297 BCE. The origin story of Chandragupta is quite ambiguous but after meeting with Kautilya, the history of ancient India changed drastically. The Mauryan empire flourished at Pataliputra (present Patna, Bihar) after upsurging the Nanda dynasty. Chandragupta was trained under the guidance of Kautilya in śāstra (military art) and Śāstra (rituals) along with other subjects such as politics and management which made him an extraordinary ruler. Under his kingship foreign alliances were made such as with the Seleucid empire, art and architecture started developing. The paper will try to highlight the significant role played by Chandragupta and his achievements. This paper tries to highlight the accomplishments of the Mauryan ruler Chandragupta who was not born as a king but with the help of Kautilya he became the first emperor of Ancient India. Early historic Archaeology is a substantial part because it brings out the complexities of the societies and their understanding in various aspects. Being an archaeologist, I specialize in this subject and have worked / am working on the early historic development of art and their development and patronage received by the ruling dynasties.

## V

Holy Leadership in a Power Vacuum: Severinus of Noricum in Post-Roman Noricum | Nicholas Mataya

An unlikely man stepped into the power vacuum left by the withdrawal of the Romans from the province of Noricum in the fifth century. This man, known to history as Severinus of Noricum, was the province's local holy man. While he founded several monasteries after his arrival in Noricum "from the East," he was never named bishop of a city, nor did he have an true authority. Severinus, however, organized the evacuation of Roman Noricans from Noricum, led the remnants of the provincial army, and negotiated on behalf of the Noricans with several barbarian leaders, including a young Odoacer. His success as a leader in Noricum has led several modern scholars to posit that Severinus was actually a deposed Roman emperor or former consul. Severinus' leadership is clearly contrasted with the several barbarian leaders he encounters and the Roman military leadership that Severinus works with on occasion. This presentation will discuss Severinus' background, his actions and leadership in Noricum, and will contrast his leadership with the various other people in command that Severinus encounters.



## VI

Leadership in the Multicultural World of the Achaemenid Empire |  
Babette Margolies

Multicultural societies have existed for millennia. However, today's world leaders seem to struggle with the notion of leadership in a multicultural world. Their definitions of multiculturalism take many forms based upon the way they integrate diverse cultures into a single society. Where did this dilemma of leadership originate? When we embark on an historical journey, we discover that ancient civilizations adapted to multicultural realities in a variety of ways. So, how did ancient ruler's deal with multi-ethnic populations in their midst?

This presentation will explore this question, as well as, political, social, economic, and religious ideologies, royal iconography, and monument building through the eyes of the rulers of the Achaemenid Empire, considered by some researchers to be the first empire in history to attempt to "consciously unify" the diverse population of lands that stretched from the Mediterranean, in the west, to the Indus Valley in the east, making it the largest empire of its time (550-320 BCE). Written records were scarce, even in the first millennium. Until recently, much of our knowledge of the Achaemenids has come from Herodotus and other Ancient Greek writers. However, thanks to relatively recent discoveries made during archaeological excavations of Ancient Near East sites, the history of Kings and Kingship in the Achaemenid Empire of Persia can be explored. Detailed evidence of leadership views and interpretations of ideals like "trust and order" and "honoring the past" as displayed on the reliefs and inscriptions on the walls of Achaemenid Royal Residences and Tombs, found in the cuneiform writings of the Fortification and Treasury Tablets, as well as, some sculptural and letter evidence from the Provinces, known as satrapies, have now been extensively described by archaeologists, historians, and writers such as Margaret Cool Root, Wouter Henkelman, Ernst Herzfeld, Erich Schmidt, and many others who have researched the world of Ancient Persia. It is their perspectives which will be shared via this presentation.

END OF DAY ONE



# THE ABSTRACTS - DAY TWO

SESSION THREE: DISPLAYS OF POWER  
10:15 AM - 10:45 AM EDT

## VII

The Spoils of War and the Privileges of Rulers: Maya Full-Figure Glyphs as Signs of Privilege and Dominion | **Catherine Nuckols-Wilde**

In the 8th century CE, scribes at the Late Classic Maya site of Quiriguá began carving monumental inscriptions of a unique, full-figure style: instead of the usual signs composed of abstract elements and the disembodied heads of supernaturals, animals, and humans, these inscriptions used signs that took on entire bodies that reclined, gestured, and called out, all while functioning as linguistic signs. The present study analyzes this phenomenon at Quiriguá as related to a pivotal point in history in which the site's ruler rose up against his superior at the nearby (and much larger) site of Copán, capturing and beheading the powerful ruler, after which Quiriguá began to create full-figure monumental texts. Current theories proposed by Mayanist scholars have suggested that Quiriguá's defeat of Copán provided the necessary political and economic viability to create these full-figure signs, and that Copán's later re-use of full-figure signs signify the site's reassertion of dominance. I agree with these perspectives, but call attention to the fact that Quiriguá did not begin using full-figure glyphs until Copán began using them again, thus complicating the narrative of full-figure inscriptions as a spoil of war. By layering figural and contextual perspectives over the previous epigraphic ones, I argue that full-figures were not solely spoils of war that Quiriguá flaunted after its defeat of Copán, but visual representations of the site's dominance, used in an attempt to remind Copán of its defeat as the former attempted to rally.

SESSION FOUR: RESISTANCE AGAINST LEADERS  
12:00 PM - 1:00 PM EDT

## VIII

Everyday Resistance in Ezra 10 | **Dr. Aaron Higashi**

Gale Yee has proposed a method for recovering the agency of marginalized groups in biblical narratives and this paper aims to apply that method to the assembly of Ezra 10 and the so-called intermarriage crisis that they face. Yee directs us to the work of cultural anthropologist James Scott and his model of "everyday resistance," which Scott developed while observing the lives of Malaysian farmers in the 70s as technological innovations led to mass unemployment. Scott observed that while the villagers did not engage in traditional resistance, public and hierarchically organized resistance that worked towards structural change, the villagers did engage in everyday resistance, subtle acts of foot-dragging, false compliance, theft, slander, and gossip, that benefited individual villagers by keeping small amounts of material goods for themselves while bolstering their morale and class consciousness. In this presentation, the assembly of Ezra 10 will be examined through the lens of Scott's model of everyday resistance. In particular, the assembly's response to Ezra's command that the assembly dissolve their interethnic marriages will be read as an act of everyday resistance that seeks to resist the divorce imperative through foot-dragging, false compliance, and subtle assertions of the assembly's own, unique self-conception. By appropriating partial control over the divorce proceeding through everyday resistance, the assembly of Ezra 10 provides an historically interesting and philosophically provocative answer to the question of "Who has the power?" in this dramatic biblical scene.

The history of scholarship on Ezra 10 has been focused on Ezra's role in the intermarriage crisis, often characterize him as a genius leader who brings necessary reforms to Persian Yehud and the Second Temple community. Scholars across a spectrum of interpretive approaches ignore the assembly's role in the event, a tendency this presentation attempts to counterbalance.



## IX

“That ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.” Divine Viceregency and the Armor of God in Ephesians | **Jackson Reinhardt**

The Epistle to the Ephesians has a troubled legacy within both New Testament historical-textual and imperial criticism. There is now a near-universal scholarly consensus that Ephesians is not the work of Paul of Tarsus, but from the hand of a later author writing within a post-Pauline, or even “non-Pauline” tradition. This authorial question derives not only from textual and theological differences between traditions, but highly distinct sociopolitical orientations of Paul and the author of Ephesians. Indeed, the political character of Ephesians is decidedly more accommodating, if not supportive, to the structures and systems of oppressive imperial power — embodied within the contemporaneous Roman empire — than the apostle who wrote that those proclaiming “peace and security’...[will face] sudden destruction” during the end of the age (1 Thes. 5:3). The evidence utilized by scholars in demarcating Ephesians as imperial-accommodationist literature typically focused on the hierarchical and patriarchal “Household codes” (Eph. 5:22-6:9), which mimic Roman elite familial relations. However, I argue that the Epistle to the Ephesians, by rhetorically clothing Christ in the conceptual language of Greco-Roman and Second Temple Jewish royal ideology, accommodates to the worldview of Roman imperialism. This accommodation simultaneously denudes the imminent politicized eschatology of Pauline Christianity, as well as supernaturalizes any active forces which are in opposition to the gospel and God’s kingdom. Comparative evidence for this position stems from contemporaneous political theology, as it appeared in texts, inscriptions, and visual edifices (i.e., monuments, coins, mosaics). This paper, additionally, hopes to demonstrate the immediacy by which the early Jesus followers capitaluated and imbricated with the prevailing notions of Roman power, coercion, and political ordering, providing pertinent information to contemporary readers of the text as they deal with the lasting realities of empire and colonialism.



## SESSION FIVE: REINTERPRETATIONS OF LEADERSHIP

3:15 PM - 5:15 PM EDT

## X

Finding Refuge with the Enemy: Implications of the “Giving King” in Herodotus | **Massimo De Sanctis Mangelli**

This paper questions the prevailing view that Darius I, king of the Persians between 522 and 486 b.C.E., is presented as the prototype of the “just ruler” in Herodotus’ book VI. This book does present us with a number of occasions in which Darius is significantly, and unexpectedly, generous towards Greeks he has just captured. These passages can be analyzed together as a narrative pattern of the kind studied by Henry Immerwahr in *Form and Thought in Herodotus*, a technique which is mostly employed by Herodotus to give political meaning to his narrative. Episodes of this sort in the *Histories* have generally been interpreted as reflecting an oriental narrative centered around the munificence of the Great King. However, I demonstrate that here Herodotus is overlapping this oriental ideology of the “giving king” with a specifically Greek narrative with much richer, and more sinister, implications. In fact, if we consider these passages in terms of their likely reception by a Greek audience contemporary to Herodotus, the picture we get is more nuanced. The Greeks that Darius spares are also incorporated into Persian life, often in situations close to the emperor. Therefore, by partially shifting our focus from the king himself to the Greeks, it becomes clear that Herodotus is hinting at the relevance of Greeks in Persia, a theme which runs throughout the *Histories*. More specifically, I argue that Darius’ magnificent leadership became a vehicle for Herodotus to invite his Greek audience to think about the threat Persia was posing to the Greek world, specifically through the incorporation of Greeks into its borders. Through the trajectory of specific characters and groups of people, Herodotus investigates the act of Medizing, which he connects with the possibility for a life of luxury and/or political relevance under a seemingly benevolent king.

## XI

Are they Divine or are they Human? Reading the Biblical characters through the eyes of the Talmudic Rabbis | **Bryan Kinzbrunner**

There are a series of troubling and complicated passages in BT Shabbat 55b-56a attributed to Rabbi Shmuel son of Nachmani claiming “whoever claims so and so sinned is making a mistake.” While it is often dismissed as a lone opinion in the Talmudic corpus, if we examine this section and other passages, there is a fundamental debate about leadership and how to view the flawed characters of the Bible. Are these characters supposed to be divine-like, lacking in sin, nearly perfect beings? Or are they human beings, flawed, imperfect or worse? Or perhaps these characters, these leaders “perfect” beings that we must understand as being bethe ancient world, the chariot was a status symbol. Are the rabbis influenced by offering the biblical characters as a comparison and/or contrast to the surrounding divine pantheons of Greece/Rome? Is the debate another example of offering distinction between these other leaders and the burgeoning Christian world rising up around them, with its own grappling with Jesus as “divine?” Through a close reading of select Talmudic passages, this presentation hopes to offer an approach to thinking about leadership then and now.



## XII

How connected was the Ancient Near East during the Amarna Age? |  
Dr. Priscila Scoville

This presentation is based on my recently finished PhD thesis, in which I analyse, through interdisciplinary research, the Diplomatic System of Amarna. My research merges History, Egyptology, Assyriology and the Digital Humanities, by using the methodology of the Social Network Analysis (SNA), in contrast to the context and the rhetoric of the correspondence. Many scholars have already discussed the importance of the Amarna Letters and their characteristics. Extensive debates have been done about two essential concepts: reciprocity and fraternity (or brotherhood). My analysis aims to comprehend how this diplomacy worked and to what extent was it effective; i.e., was there really equality among the Great Kings? How do they express it and see themselves? Despite the existence of different understandings at the individual and collective level, the Amarna System was able to maintain a balance of powers in the Ancient Near East – even when the kings did not understand themselves as equals. My approach with the SNA allows us to visualize the connections during the Amarna Age, by creating a network map. The software used in the process also gives us new pragmatical and numerical information to evaluate the centrality and density of the Amarna System. It makes it possible to have both qualitative and quantitative data to investigate the correspondences.

## XIII

The Open Maw of the God-King: the Tragedy of Kronos and its Status as  
Political Critique in Antiquity | Jase Short

ἤδη μὲν γὰρ κληῖρον ἔδασσάμεθ', ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ ἀρπάζων ἐφόρεις μέγα κυδαίνων  
βασιλῆας δωροφάγους, οἳ τήνδε δίκην ἐθέλουσι δίκασσαι.

For by this time we'd already divided our lot, and you kept snatching and carrying off  
more giving honor to those gift-devouring kings who see fit to make this their verdict.

-Hesiod Works and Days 35-40

καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέπινε μέγας Κρόνος, ὡς τις ἕκαστος νηδύος ἐξ ἱερῆς μητρὸς πρὸς  
γούναθ' ἴκοιτο, τὰ φρονέων, ἵνα μὴ τις ἀγαυῶν Οὐρανιῶνων ἄλλος ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν  
ἔχοι βασιληίδα τιμήν.

And these great Kronos swallowed down, just as soon as each reached their mother's  
knees from her sacred womb, his stratagem was this, that none besides himself of the  
august celestials should have kingly honors among the undying.

-Hesiod Theogony 459-463

Francisco Goya's *Saturn Devouring His Son* infamously depicts the titan Kronos as a lanky horror cowering in darkness, his maw bloodied, his eyes wide in surprise as a torch casts illumination on his deeds. The earliest point of transmission for this mythic motif is Hesiod, but it is well known that Hesiod's Succession myth draws from Near Eastern sources, including the Hurro-Hittite Song of *Kumarbi*, the Mesopotamian *Enuma elis*, and perhaps Philo-Sanchuniathon's account refers to a Phoenician variant. This imagery of the god devouring his offspring so as to head off challenges to his throne resonates with the "gift-devouring kings" of the *Works and Days* and forms an image of kingship which I argue has been largely ignored, devalued, or dismissed by scholars of antiquity who focus instead on accounts of the greatness and justice of political rulers. A kind of political critique is contained in this motif, one which suggests alternative readings latent in Hesiod's account of the triumph of Zeus and carry a salient message of moral protest against kingly authority. Greek classicists such as Bremmer, Burkert, and West have drawn connections to the broader Near East and interrogated the relationship of the motif to other accounts of cannibalism, such as the myth of Tantalus' banquet. The association of the "clever" or "cunning" god who by guile or arrogance violated the taboo on eating human (and god) flesh with this critique of kingly politics is notably expanded in the work of the Greek tragedians, particularly Sophocles's Theban plays. In this paper, I argue that this motif is a kind of cultural cipher that escaped its original telling to become a major inspiration for those who suffered at the hands of political cruelty.

END OF DAY TWO



# ABOUT THE PRESENTERS

## KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

# 1

### Dr. Amanda Podany

Amanda Podany is Professor Emeritus of History at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. She specializes in the study of Syria and Mesopotamia in the Middle and Late Bronze Age, with a particular focus on chronology and social history, and is the author of the forthcoming book *Weavers, Scribes, and Kings: A New History of the Ancient Near East* (Oxford University Press, 2022). She has authored several other books and many articles, and is the instructor in a series of 24 video and audio lectures for Wondrium/The Great Courses called *Ancient Mesopotamia: Life in the Cradle of Civilization*.

# 2

### Dr. Kara Cooney

Kara Cooney is a professor of Egyptology at UCLA and Chair of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures. Specializing in social history, gender studies, and economies in the ancient world, she received her Ph.D. in Egyptology from Johns Hopkins University. In 2005, she was co-curator of Tutankhamun and the Golden Age of the Pharaohs at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Her popular books include *The Woman Who Would Be King: Hatshepsut's Rise to Power in Ancient Egypt*, *When Women Ruled the World: Six Queens of Egypt*, and *The Good Kings: Absolute Power in Ancient Egypt and the Modern World*. Her books *Recycling for Death: A Social History of Ancient Egypt through Coffins of Dynasties Nineteen to Twenty-two* from American University in Cairo Press and *Ancient Egyptian Society: Challenging Assumptions, Exploring Approaches* from Routledge are forthcoming.



# 3

### Dr. Sarah Allan

Sarah Allan is Burlington Northern Foundation Professor of Asian Studies Emeritus, Dartmouth College. She is also the editor of *Early China*, and the Chair of the Society for the Study of Early China. Her BA is from UCLA and her MA and PhD, from the University of California at Berkeley

Allan specializes in the study of China before about 100 BCE, especially the history of thought. She generally uses a multi-disciplinary approach that combines received Chinese texts, material culture from archaeological excavations, and unearthed inscriptions and manuscripts.

Allan's most recent book is *Buried Ideas: Legends of Abdication and Ideal Government in Early Chinese Bamboo-Slip Manuscripts* (SUNY Press, 2015). Her other single-author books include: *The Heir and the Sage: Dynastic Legend in Early China* (CMC, 1981, revised edition 2016), *The Shape of the Turtle: Myth, Art, and Cosmos in Early China* (SUNY, 1991), and *The Way of Water and Sprouts of Virtue* (SUNY, 1995). These books have all been published in Chinese translation, in the series, "Collected Works of Sarah Allan" (Ai Lan wenji 艾兰文集). She is currently working on a book on Chinese art in the early Bronze Age.





## PRESENTERS

### 1 Dr. Georgina Longley

Georgina Longley lives in Kent, England and, after teaching at university and in school, she now combines her research and writing on Classics with freelance tutoring. She also keeps a Classics blog and creates Classics memes on Instagram. She holds a doctorate from the University of Oxford in Ancient History and her thesis focused on Greek Historian Polybius. She maintains a keen interest in ancient political theory and its applicability to the twenty-first century, about which she will be speaking today.

### Bárbara Alexandre Aniceto

Bárbara Alexandre Aniceto has always been passionate about History. She has a deep desire to understand women's roles, throughout historical ages and mostly on Ancient Greek age. As a result of this passion, she decided to work with research and teaching, once she recognized the importance of both. She is looking forward to sharing her work at SASA Virtual Conference and to learning from the academic exchanges.

# 2

### 3 Ronald Clark

Ron Clark is the Executive Director for Kairos Church Planting Support. He has been in ministry for over 35 years and has planted two churches and developed leaders throughout the country. He is an adjunct instructor for George Fox University and Portland Seminary and is co-chair of the Pacific Northwest Society of Biblical Literature's "World of Early Christianity and New Testament Scriptures" section. He has authored books and articles concerning Intimate Partner Violence and Theology, Biblical studies and ministry, and Marriage and Family Ministry. Ron has an MDiv and D.Min from Harding School of Theology in Memphis, TN.

He and his wife Lori planted Agape Church of Christ in downtown Portland in 2007 and lead ministries with various state, county, and local government agencies addressing houselessness, prostitution, abuse, trafficking, and developing healthy marriages. Ron and Lori have been married since 1987 and have three sons.



## 4 Pratihtha Mukherjee

Pratihtha Mukherjee is presently pursuing her PhD in Archaeology and Ancient History from the MS University of Baroda. She has done her Masters in Archaeology and Heritage Management from Guru Gobind Singh Indraprastha University, New Delhi. She has explored the sites of Hastinapur, Bhirrana, Mathura and participated at the excavations of Vejalka (Indus valley Locale, Gujarat), Purana Qila (New Delhi), Nani Rayan (Kutch, Gujarat). She has also worked with governmental organizations such as National Museum and National Monuments Authority for various projects. She specializes in ancient art and architecture; iconographical studies and early historical archaeology and has published articles in the same. This paper is an outcome of her interest.

## Nicholas Mataya

Nicholas Mataya is a Latin teacher in San Antonio, Texas. He holds a B.A. from Louisiana State University and an M.A. from Villanova University. He also studied, though unfortunately, did not complete a PhD at Swansea University in Wales, U.K.. He also holds a certificate in classics from Central European University in Budapest. He is married and has two wonderful young daughters.

## 5

## 6 Babette Margolies

Babette Margolis is a retired Elementary School Mathematics Educator, having graduated from Penn State University with a Bachelor Degree in Elementary Education and later receiving her Master of Science Degree from Western Maryland College (now McDaniel College). She served on the Maryland Council of Mathematics Board in the position of Historian. Her research journey has taken her into the realm of Ancient History. After retirement, she took several Archaeology and Ancient Near East Art History and Culture courses at Montgomery College's Lifelong Learning Institute. It was there that she met a Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, Ancient Near East Researcher. In 2016, she began collaborating on a project to understand Dr. Carl Nylander's "System of Mason's Marks and Sculptor's Marks" found on column bases and on reliefs at the Achaemenid Empire's (ceremonial) capital of Persepolis. Other research has focused on cultural aspects of multiple Ancient Near East Civilizations, including Jewish Food and Culture - the origins of bread making and other Jewish traditions. Other endeavors have encompassed volunteer work at the National Museum of Natural History, as well as, other Smithsonian Museums, and volunteer efforts for the Aspen Hill (MD) Library Advisory Board and Garden Club. In her free time, she enjoys gardening, exercising, traveling, and getting together with her family.

## Catherine Nuckols-Wilde

Catherine Nuckols-Wilde is a PhD candidate in Art History and Latin American Studies at Tulane University. As an epigrapher and art historian, she investigates the ancient art and writing of the ancient Maya. She is particularly interested in the ways in which the Maya conceived of these two categories as extensions of each other. In her dissertation, she examines Maya full-figure glyphs as a clear intersection of the visual and textual.

In addition to her academic work, Catherine is also the founder of Mesoamerican Studies Online, a blog and podcast that aims to share current scholarship on Ancient Mesoamerica with the general public.

## 7



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## Dr. Aaron Higashi

Aaron Higashi is currently an adjunct faculty member in the College of Theology at Grand Canyon University. He studied philosophy in undergrad and took an interest in the relationship between ethics and biblical interpretation. He recently completed his PhD in the Bible, Culture, and Hermeneutics program at Chicago Theological Seminary where he focused on Persian period texts of the Hebrew Bible, the interpretive method of ideological criticism, and the theology and ethics of Womanist thinkers. His wife is a pediatrician and he has three young daughters. He is in an interfaith marriage and has worked in religious education in both Christian and Jewish contexts in addition to my university teaching. He is currently looking to adapt his dissertation on the intermarriage crisis of Ezra 10 for publication in the form of a book and several articles. He also enjoys fiction writing, Jiu Jitsu, and spending time with his very busy family.

## Jackson Reinhardt

Jackson Reinhardt is an independent scholar, podcast host, and freelance writer, specializing in biblical theology. Not only has he published in a variety of peer-reviewed publications in patristics, biblical studies, and religious history, but he has been a longtime ally of SASA and was former intern for the organization.

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## Massimo De Sanctis Mangelli

Massimo De Sanctis Mangelli is a Ph.D. student in Classical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. In the past, he worked with tragic fragments, and published an interpretation of a fragment from Aeschylus' Edonians. Recently, he has been dealing with the application of political theory to Greek tragedy in the analysis of the tragic tyrant. Other interests of Massimo include power and power dynamics in Herodotus and the memory of the Roman Republic in the Early Roman Empire.

## Bryan Kinzbrunner

Bryan is an experienced Spiritual Care chaplain with over 15 years of experience working in Senior Care and Hospice. He is a Board Certified Chaplain (BCC) and recently completed his two year term as President of the NAJC (Neshama, Association of Jewish Chaplains). Bryan has semicha/ordination from Yeshiva University. Bryan has spent his career working closely with people on areas of spirituality, grief and loss and transitions. He is passionate about helping others discover their authentic, spiritual selves. Bryan currently runs a private coaching practice, New Beginnings Spiritual Coaching and Consulting LLC.

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## Dr. Priscila Scoville

Priscila Scoville is a Historian that studies the Ancient Near East. She teaches Middle and High School kids across the world (online) and in Brazil, where she is engaged in a project to bring education to teenagers from poor families, encouraging them to pursue a university-level course.

## Jase Short

Jase is a PhD student in ancient philosophy at the New School for Social Research. His focus has been on the Presocratics and Plato, with adjacent interest in the broad genre of "the fantastic"—from ancient "mythic" poetry to contemporary lore and film. Although Jase is an academic, he has long engaged in public outreach by way of activism (environmental, anti-racist, union, anti-war, etc.) and in this regard have focused almost entirely on public education. He is a single dad to a beautiful 7 year old child, and relaying lessons from the ancient world to them has been a powerful force in shaping how he thinks about the accessibility of research. Education as an egalitarian project for helping us to live better lives as individuals and as a social whole is central to who he is and what he does.

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## ABOUT SASA



SASA was founded in reaction to the devaluation of the study of the ancient world in universities and high schools. A group of graduate students and early career scholars came together to expand exposure and access to the ancient world and re-envision how the ancient world is studied. Our founding Director, David Danzig, sought out those who shared this frustration and the commitment to make change. Together, we began to reach out and develop our strategic vision for SASA.

Over the spring and summer of 2020 we took our first steps to engaging the public with our passion for the ancient world and Ancient Studies. Our first major initiative, free virtual Text-in-Translation Reading Groups, was a smashing success, as 13 group leaders engaged over 200 participants. This summer, with the help of our amazing interns and volunteers, we developed "SASA Inspire," a year-long social media campaign with a goal of inspiring 100,000 people about the ancient world and Ancient Studies. In recognition of our early success, the Society for Biblical Literature and the Society for Classical Studies have expressed their support for SASA with a donation and grant.

We are working on introducing new and varied programming, extending our reach among students, and attracting individuals committed to contribute their time and energy to further our effort. As we work toward meeting our future goals, we continue to seek to partner with academic organizations and financial contributors to support SASA's growth and development.



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