TEACHING
CLASSICAL
LANGUAGES

TEACHING CLASSICAL LANGUAGES MISSION STATEMENT

Teaching Classical Languages (ISSN 2160-2220) is the only peer-reviewed electronic journal dedicated to the teaching and learning of Latin and ancient Greek. It addresses the interests of all Latin and Greek teachers, graduate students, coordinators, and administrators. Teaching Classical Languages welcomes articles offering innovative practice and methods, advocating new theoretical approaches, or reporting on empirical research in teaching and learning Latin and Greek. As an electronic journal, Teaching Classical Languages has a unique global outreach. It offers authors and readers a multimedia format that more fully illustrates the topics discussed, and provides hypermedia links to related information and websites. Articles not only contribute to successful Latin and Greek pedagogy, but draw on relevant literature in language education, applied linguistics, and second language acquisition for an ongoing dialogue with modern language educators. Teaching Classical Languages welcomes articles offering innovative practice and methods, advocating new theoretical approaches, or reporting on empirical research in teaching and learning Latin and Greek.

ISSN 2160-2220.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

GUEST EDITORS: CAMWS COMMITTEE ON DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION

Established by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in 2010, the Committee on Diversity and Inclusion directs attention to the importance and complexity of bringing the languages, literatures, and peoples of the ancient Mediterranean to increasingly diverse audiences.

Central to the CAMWS mission, of course, the committee's efforts aim to provide a service to teachers and scholars in schools and colleges. In this way, the Committee seeks to assist other CAMWS committees and members in their responsibilities and opportunities. Hence, we quickly said "yes" when Yasuko Taoka invited our Committee to join in preparation of an issue of Teaching Classical Languages that focusses on curricular materials, pedagogical strategies, and the challenges for making classics and its languages available to and accessible by new and increasingly more diverse audiences.

A single issue can only scratch the surface. We attempt here to offer a sample of what "diversity" and inclusion allows: the courage of working with specific populations (e.g., students at all levels with special needs), the importance of looking again and anew at canonical authors (e.g., Vergil) as well as authors themselves examples of the diverse nature of the Roman world (Prudentius). And how the ancients looked at the concept of "race" has significance for all of us who teach the past in an increasingly complex present. Both personal reflective essays and more scholarly approaches have a place in our work. And referees from a wide range of institutions have assisted us in preparation of this issue. We thank the many colleagues whose good will and good judgement we have mined.

We believe that the richness of "diversity" and "inclusion" is itself showcased in this way. Further, with panels and round tables at CAMWS' annual meetings, and with a careful but important social media presence, the Committee hopes to make our profession's commitment to each of the segments in the well-known definition offered by writer/illustrator Liz Fosslien:

"Diversity is having a seat at the table, inclusion is having a voice, and belonging is having that voice be heard"

Latin for Students with Dyslexia

ANNMARIE PATTERSON
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

This article follows the personal experience of a Ph.D. student in classics with dyslexia. From high-school Latin classes to an undergraduate major in classical languages and graduate courses focusing on classical Latin authors, this article offers the perspective of a learner who needed to develop various coping mechanisms to successfully acquire language skills and still enjoy language courses. Dyslexia creates a unique classroom experience in foreign language classes. Students are learning to read for the second time, and the difference between dyslexic students and students without a language-processing disorder is intensified. As dyslexia is such a common learning difference, this student's experience may resonate with other dyslexic learners. This piece explores the methods of learning Latin that worked well with dyslexia and offers strategies that may be beneficial for dyslexic language learners and their instructors.

Introduction

The topic of my dyslexia did not often come up in my early years of Latin. That was strange since Latin is a foreign language and dyslexia is a language-processing disorder. Dyslexia can make it difficult to learn to read any language, but most dyslexics learn to cope well enough in their native language by the 5th or 6th grade.

I was certainly behind learning to read in early grade-school. My handwriting and spelling choices were nearly unintelligible, and I remember arguing with my first-grade teacher over how to write my name. (I had decided that all the vowels were interchangeable, and each paper would be turned in with a new combination of vowels forced into my name, so my ever-patient teacher and I would re-open the topic of why spelling was important.) This was the first learning difference I noticed between myself and my classmates: They all liked to write their names. It was a point of pride. I liked how my name sounded, but I did not care how it looked on paper. There was a gap in ability between myself and other students for the next five years marked by my slow reading, inability to sound out words, and atrocious spelling.

However, by age ten, I was starting to close the reading and writing gap between myself and my classmates. I developed coping mechanisms for dealing with dyslexia that helped me to keep up with schoolwork. Through a combination of audiobooks, excessive independent reading, and adults reading aloud to me, I developed the necessary language skills to do well in class. I still read slower than most people and I still spell poorly without spell check software, but my English is

not deficient. When high school came around, I was tested for learning disabilities and my dyslexia was confirmed. This did not worry me as I felt I was keeping pace with other students my age. Then I signed up for Latin.

Because we are essentially learning to read all over again, it can be difficult for a dyslexic student to pick up a foreign language; the same sorts of problems many of us had in those early years of learning written English come right back, sometimes even in a new script.

Certain questions then tend to arise: What is the most accessible language for a dyslexic student? Which language can give them the grades they need for college applications or would look best on a resume? How do we get those students through their high school or college language requirements smoothly? As a dyslexic Latinist, I feel strongly that we need to broaden that conversation to include a much wider range of considerations. While I only have my own experience and the experiences that other dyslexic Latin students have shared with me to rely on, it seems clear that this discussion is not only limited: it is limiting. Ease and the shortest path to the finish line are not the only things we ought to consider. Having studied Latin in high school, as well as at the undergraduate and graduate level, I know foreign language can be not only useful but actively enjoyable for a dyslexic student.

Discussing Latin as an Option for Dyslexic Students

When Latin is mentioned as an option for dyslexic learners, I tend to hear two common refrains.

The first is to just avoid studying Latin. It has a reputation for being difficult,

and it is often taught with a grammar-translation or reading-based method, which makes it extra work for a student with dyslexia. This is bad advice. Not all Latin classes are taught using the same methods, so some dyslexic students may find a class that works just as well for them as any other foreign language. Furthermore, not all dyslexics share the same symptoms. For example, some have an auditory component to their dyslexia, creating problems with pitch and accent. For me, this is not so great a problem. Personally, the visual 'letter-flipping' component of dyslexia is strongest, and it affects my ability to process English just as much as it does Latin. The core of dyslexia is a phonological processing issue (Downey, Snyder, Hill 102). However, this problem manifests in a large range of symptoms[1] and, generally, different dyslexics have different groups of symptoms. There is no catch-all advice we can be given regarding which languages to study. I ought also to point out that an easy language is not always our end goal. Instead of asking what the easiest language for a dyslexic to learn is, we are better off asking what the easiest method for them to learn a language is.

The second thing I tend to hear regarding Latin and dyslexia is much more optimistic: Latin is a great option for dyslexic students since it will help them improve their English writing and spelling skills. To a degree, this is true. We know learning a foreign language increases capability in one's native language, and Latin is a great option for bettering one's native English (Ashmore and Madden 63). However, I steer away from encouraging dyslexic students to take Latin specifically to better their English because – while it does help one's English – Latin is not a magic bullet: no matter how much time I spent studying Latin, I was not getting

the grades I wanted in high school English classes, but that did not mean Latin was pointless. I enjoyed Latin for the sake of history, mythology, literature, and the language itself. Compelling content is as good a reason as any to take a course, and dyslexic students can enjoy that as well as anyone. I do not think of my elementary Latin years as some kind of remedial spelling class while everyone else was there to prep for the SAT. The benefits of Latin cannot be boiled down to how they might aid us in another language.

Despite frustration with memorizing endings and difficulty learning the patterns of a new language, my early experience with Latin was generally good. This had a lot to do with the learning environment that my first Latin teacher created. He managed to create a space beneficial for dyslexic students beyond just meeting the required accommodations. The school administration oversaw accommodations from an IEP (Individual Education Program) or 504 Plan (the accessibility requirements specific to the student), but our Latin teacher saw to it that his class was accepting, joyful, and uninterested in the elitism often associated with Latin. This environment helped raise my self-esteem and lower my anxiety about my dyslexia – both of which can help lower affective filters and increase language acquisition (Krashen 31). This likewise increased my interest in the subject, making it easier to stay engaged and more rewarding to put in the effort Latin required.

I have had many Latin teachers and tutors over the years, and am also a Latin teacher myself, now with a few of my own dyslexic students, and have learned from being on both sides. My hope for this article is that my perspective will inform other language teachers as they shape their classroom practices.

The Numbers

There are more dyslexic students in our classes than we think. Dyslexia is one of the most common learning disabilities, but since so many dyslexic people go untested and undiagnosed, it is difficult to accurately gauge how much of the population has dyslexia (Shaywitz 29).Some estimates put it between 5% and 10%, others as high as 17–20% (Wadlington 16). Any way you slice it, with numbers like that, all of us have dyslexic students in class. However, we are not always aware of them. Some students will choose not to use their accommodations (a common occurrence at universities). Even when they do, students are not required to tell instructors what learning disabilities they have – though I encourage dyslexic students to tell their language instructors, since it can help their instructors tailor their approach to more learners. In addition to this is the problem of undiagnosed and subclinical dyslexia.

Subclinical dyslexia refers to the diagnosed or undiagnosed dyslexics who receive no accommodations. Suppose someone is tested for learning disabilities and it is clear that they have some degree of light to moderate dyslexia, but they are compensating for their language-processing issues in other ways. In that case, they will typically not receive accommodations (Miles 340–342).[2] However, while not as severe as other types of dyslexia, subclinical dyslexia still presents major obstacles to language learning. Just because a student is compensating for a symptom with certain adaptations does not mean a language-processing disorder does not hinder them. Often it is not until students take a foreign language that they realize they are dyslexic. Between the shame of admitting to someone that they read very slowly,

the general avoidance of the topic, and the sheer number of undiagnosed people, it is no wonder that the estimate of dyslexia in the population vary so widely.

As awareness about dyslexia has grown, so too has research interest. Research within the field of foreign language acquisition and learning differences is led by the work of Loenore Ganchow and Richard Sparks, which has provided the basis for many current research projects pertaining to language learning and dyslexia. Ganchow and Sparks did not work specifically on Latin, though. Due to the unique way Latin is often taught — with an emphasis on increasingly complex translation, instead of comprehension followed by production — the effect of dyslexia on Latin learners manifests a bit differently than it does in learners of other languages. The gap in research pertaining to Latin and dyslexia is beginning to diminish thanks to the work of those like Barbara Hill, Ronnie Ancona, Althea Ashe, and others. Still, research in this area is much sparser than research about dyslexia and other languages.

Observing and Listening to your Students

Dyslexic students take in information differently than their peers, but, because we are used to being in a classroom designed for students without learning differences, we usually develop a variety of coping mechanisms, which often fall outside the range of prescribed accommodations. That is okay. If a dyslexic student is only entitled to the accommodation of time-and-a-half on exams, for instance, but they also find it useful to whisper a sentence a few times whenever they find new vocabulary in context, the student is just self-accommodating a more specific

issue than their IEP requires. Ronnie Ancona has outlined her experience working one-on-one with a dyslexic college-level Latin student successfully.[3] The strength of her approach was her willingness to listen and adapt to this student's strengths, weaknesses, and, in particular, their coping mechanisms.

However, not everyone will be able to provide one-on-one teaching for dyslexic students. This is why I advocate for a classroom environment that does not micromanage student behavior, one which allows students to use the tools they need that others might not; for me, these classroom environments meant that I could use some coping mechanisms which I was not entitled to through disabled student services, but which cost the instructor nothing, did not break the rules of the class or exist in tension with academic integrity standards, and which made it easier for me to learn.

Asking for a seat in the front of the room to read the board better or let professors know that it would take me longer to read aloud were important coping mechanisms for me. One of my symptoms is the transposition of words across a vertical axis as well as a horizontal one. In practice, this means I will occasionally read a word as part of a sentence in which it does not belong. To combat this, I usually have a bookmark with me to cover up the lines below the one I am reading (blocking any 'flipping' from happening) or I will fold the bottom of the paper up to cover yet-unread text. This looks strange to some teachers and bothered some professors, but other than looking a little odd and adding crease lines to exam papers, this coping mechanism does no harm. These are not the sort of things delineated on an IEP, so having a professor or instructor who would make it clear that doing

things in a slightly unorthodox manner was acceptable was always a great relief to me.[4] By teaching in such an environment, we allow students to address some of their own learning differences.

From the perspective of a language teacher, I understand the need for greater control in middle school and early high school Latin classes. Students are still learning cases, conjugations, and grammar and will not always know efficient ways to go about it. Teachers' experiences are valuable in laying out best practices for studying and use of classroom time. However, since dyslexics are not always learning in a course designed for us, we need to lean on our own life experience for best personal practices as well.

Open dialogue between the student and instructor is the only bridge for this gap in understanding. I urge dyslexic students who know this experience well to be an advocate for themselves, and I urge teachers to listen. Both teachers and students have different language learning experiences to bring to the table, and it benefits both groups to hear the other out. Having a conversation about language-processing issues at the start of term, even if the student has an accommodations plan, is a common piece of advice given by specialists give to dyslexics — and, in my experience, it is one of the best. This works in both directions: Teachers may also be able to suggest strategies and coping mechanisms the student has not thought of yet.

Technology as a Tool

In terms of coping mechanisms, one of the best tools I have used in class was is a laptop. Many language teachers at both high school and undergraduate

level ban laptops from classes or express clear displeasure at the sight of them. I understand why. Having a personal screen in the room increases our ability to distract ourselves and each other. However, a laptop also offers tools that can make reading ancient languages much easier for a dyslexic student.

Spell-check, for instance, is a godsend. When I am translating a passage to be graded, I do not have to worry about my English because spell check will ensure it is legible. Before I was permitted to use a computer, I often needed to know four of five meanings of any given Latin word to choose the word in English that could most easily be spelled. Now I can use whichever word best suits the context of the passage.

I also use a laptop in class for font manipulation. One of the symptoms of dyslexia is seeing letters as closer together than they are and thus having trouble distinguishing them(Pierson). Since Latin is an inflected language and it is necessary to know which letters make up which endings, we cannot rely on full-word recognition in Latin. Distinguishing between letters, then, is a must. Predictably, certain fonts create more problems for me than others. An easy way to remedy this is to increase the font size and change the font style. The bigger the font, the easier it is to distinguish the letters. This is beneficial for non-dyslexic students, too, as larger fonts appear less intimidating and limit eye strain. I also appreciate it when an instructor provides a digital copy of whatever resources they distribute. Physical photocopies of an *Oxford Classical Texts* edition are practically inscrutable compared to a PDF that I can zoom in. Better yet is a Microsoft Word document that can be reformatted to increase font size and spacing.

Then there is the keyboard itself. Like many dyslexics, I write slowly, so the keyboard facilitates any written exercise. Bringing a computer to class was frowned upon at my high school, but in college, I noticed I was easily able to keep up with everyone on a laptop. Most older students type faster than they write, so everyone might appreciate the increased ease. For students with a language-processing disorder, a keyboard can be the difference between missing and catching important information, including logistical announcements and homework assignments.

I also depend on electronic dictionaries. For dyslexics, paper dictionaries can be frustrating since we have a hard time keeping a visual representation of letters in our heads. When a word is written in the text, we need to repeatedly look back and forth between the text and the dictionary entries to find it, which can be disorienting and often lead to losing our place in either book several times. Looking up new vocabulary, even in alphabetical order, can be much more challenging for a dyslexic student. When I can just type the word into a searchable document or online dictionary, I can have the computer highlight it for me and then always find it on either page while I look back and forth. This makes reading much more enjoyable. Nobody's favorite part of a translation exercise is thumbing through *Lewis and Short*. The faster I can get back to the primary text, the faster I can learn the vocabulary in context and keep absorbing the language.

Useful as digital dictionaries may be, I do not recommend constant usage of click-to-retrieve websites like Perseus[5] or NoDictionaries[6] which allow you to see the English word right next to the Latin word while still within the original text. While they have their uses, these programs have made it easier for me to click on

a new word and reveal the English definition before I have even finished reading the Latin word, which is not productive for vocabulary acquisition. However it has been a beneficial practice to have a separate browser window that I can open with a few Latin dictionaries that require me to type out the new vocabulary, such as the ones on the website Latinitium.[7]

I don't have a catch-all suggestion for technology use in class. I think all language instructors need to decide for themselves what level of technology they want to incorporate into their class, based on their classroom dynamic. There is no denying that technology can be abused and lead to distraction in the classroom. I would urge, however, that the needs of students with dyslexia and other learning differences weigh heavily in that decision.

Teaching Methods to Reach Dyslexic Students

In the Latin classroom, we tend to recognize three main methods of instruction: grammar-translation (exemplified by textbooks such as *Wheelock's Latin*) the reading method (exemplified by series such as *Cambridge Latin* or *Ecce Romani*), and active Latin, in which all four aspects of language – listening comprehension, reading comprehension, oral production, and written production – are emphasized.

Barbara Hill wrote an excellent explanation of why and how language classes that focus on all four skills are some of the most effective for any student's acquisition, but especially for students with a learning disability. I highly recommend this piece to anyone teaching a foreign language.[8] Her chapter is based

on the premise that we all acquire language through the four types of input and production. These are our tools for language acquisition. When some of us have one or two tools that do not function well – such as those that come with a learning disability – the use of the other tools ensures that we do not fall too far behind our peers.

I have tried various Latin classes with various methods, from traditional Grammar-Translation to courses conducted entirely in Latin. For just the reasons Hill discusses, the active Latin classes which focus on all four skills have by far been the most effective for me. Even when my reading comprehension and ability to memorize forms was lagging, I still managed to acquire language via the other tools.

All of my classes in high school and universities have followed a grammar-translation format. GT relies heavily on translation formulas and morphology memorizing, which is difficult for me. In addition to that, GT classes seemed to focus on English just as much as they do Latin. I found I would make mistakes in both languages. Parsing out how the "should/would" phrasing works in a contrary-to-fact conditional in English, while trying to learn which Latin moods are used in that conditional just doubled my confusion.

However, in undergrad, I discussed different language acquisition methods with another Latin student, and we decided to try a comprehensible reading approach with no translating after our required Latin classes. My Latin got better fast. While before, I had needed to frequently review verb charts to get through a translation assignment, after starting this reading practice, all those verb forms came naturally.

Translating in class became more natural as well. I had developed a much better mental representation of Latin and was having an easier time translating meaning – not just the individual word's definitions – into English.

After adding the comprehensible input into my studying, I started to seek out venues for active Latin. I have since taken online courses, sought private tutors who specialize in active Latin, and attended summer and weekend programs to bolster my Latin speaking and writing. Working on my active language skills has had immense benefits for my reading comprehension, and again, developing these skills aided my translation abilities in a GT classroom setting.

Since starting to speak Latin I also found that I can spell Latin words more accurately and read aloud more fluidly. Inscriptions and manuscript pages which only use capital letters or cramped letters are now more manageable as well. I even have a better understanding of meter and scansion, which used to seem impossible to me when I was taking in Latin only as a written language. Laying a rhythm over a series of written letters is a dyslexic nightmare but hearing a rhythm in spoken words is not so difficult.

In my experience, active Latin mixes the benefits of both ancient and modern language classrooms. There was hardly any emphasis on reading in my elementary German and Italian classes, and the speaking was too much. I could not hear where one word began and the other ended, a common complaint among dyslexics (Hill 50). In GT Latin classes, we were certainly reading more, but without the aid of sound, my forms and vocabulary acquisition were lagging. In active Latin circles, there seems to be much more emphasis on reading than in

elementary modern language classes, therefore I do not experience the words as bleeding together as much when spoken. I can almost see the discrete words in my mind when I hear them. In turn, the aid of auditory learning and oral production helps me to retain the written language much better. The increased auditory input and comprehensible reading are the same tools that got me up to speed in English classes during elementary school. Now they work for me in a second language.

I now attend a digital spoken Latin hour once a week to keep up my comprehension. I also listen to the ever-growing auditory content in Latin[9] and frequently write in Latin. I doubt I will ever maintain my current level of reading comprehension without the aid of active Latin.

While this is a bit of extra work outside of coursework requirements, I prefer this method of language maintenance. The reality of being dyslexic is that I will never learn foreign languages as quickly as others. I have heard from other dyslexics and have even said myself that we can only remedy this by working harder and spending more time on assigned work than our peers. However, by taking time to routinely work on my active Latin, I find that I no longer have to spend extra time reading an assigned passage two or three more times than my classmates, and my sight reading has become a much more useful and reliable skill.

I should add a caveat to my approach. Since all my active Latin instruction has been extra-curricular, it got expensive. As an undergraduate, I would not have been able to afford it without scholarships and departmental aid. The stipend in graduate school has allowed me to continue active Latin without economic burden, but should you have a student whom you think may benefit from such outside help,

please also consider what sources of institutional funding might be available for them and recommend those as well.

Trouble Shooting and Potential Quick Fixes for Specific Problems

If you have dyslexic students in your class and are looking to recommend help for specific problems, here is a list of simple tricks I have used to overcome pesky reading blocks. They might work for you as well with varying levels of success.

1) If a student cannot memorize a written verb or declension chart, suggest learning the chart in a song and allow the student to sing it if they are required to write out endings.

2) If a student cannot read aloud or cannot recognize a verb ending/stem, take a bookmark and cover everything but the word's first syllable. Reveal the other syllables one at a time as they read aloud. This breaks the word into easier-to-digest pieces. Have them say the word again once they have it all uncovered. This also works in reverse to target the ending of a word.

3) If a student complains that the letters themselves are illegible, try printing classwork in double spaced font, at least size 12, and format material so that no words are hyphenated over a line break. Choose one or two fonts in which all class materials will appear so the student does not need to get used to new fonts. Font created especially for dyslexic readers may also be useful.[10]

4) If a student does not pronounce the letters in order, encourage the student to memorize a short poem or speech in Latin, both by reading and by listening

to an audio track of another speaker. This will not solve pronunciation problems instantly but can help over time.

5) If a student has a hard time reading Latin from screens, try putting the section the student is asked to read in bold, in a darker color than the rest of the text, or highlight the passage in a soft color. This may help prevent vertical-axis 'flipping'.

6) If a student seems to understand Latin but is underperforming on written exams, know that dyslexics tend to write slower than others. If written exams are not working, talk to the student's counselor about amending their accommodations to include oral exams or extended time. Alternatively, you can try testing comprehension using non-written methods: i.e., a drawing exercise in which the student needs to draw an image based on a Latin description or activities that make use of physical responses.

7) If a student is frustrated or unable to see their progress when moving to more complex grammar or ancient authors, try giving them an easy Latin novella. They are numerous and multiplying fast. A little comprehensible input that they can read by themselves can do wonders for self-esteem.

Conclusion

Teaching Latin to dyslexic students does not have to be a painful experience — for either side. It does not need to emphasize an endpoint or a finish line. Learning Latin can be an enjoyable, long term or life-long pursuit for dyslexic students, as it has been for me. Teachers make such a difference in our early days with a new language, and accepting teachers who were willing to work with us and

encourage us to explore different techniques, coping mechanisms, and methods of instruction to learn what worked best for me are extremely beneficial for language acquisition. Because of these positive classroom environments, I felt more at home in Latin class than in most courses offered in my native language, even as someone with a language-processing disorder. Over time, I have noticed the stigma behind learning disabilities begin to fade away. I still catch it occasionally, but educational environments have become more accepting of learning disabilities as research has proliferated. People still react with surprise when they learn that I am dyslexic and enjoy foreign — especially ancient — languages, but over time I expect that it will become quite common.

Endnotes

1   For a list of common symptoms, common questions regarding dyslexia, and other well-curated resources, J.M. Pierson's website – frequently updated and run by the University of Michigan's dyslexia center – is most helpful: http://dyslexiahelp.umich.edu/answers/faq.

2   For troubleshooting with students who are subclinical, see Pierson (2021). "Re-evaluation of Dyslexia turns No Results - Where to Go From Here." http://dyslexiahelp.umich.edu/answers/ask-dr-pierson/re-evaluation-dyslexia-turns-no-results-where-go-here

3   Ancora's experience can be read in her article "Latin and a Dyslexic Student. An Experience in Teaching" (1982).

4   For a fuller list of my coping mechanisms, see my article https://medium.com/in-medias-res/learning-latin-with-dyslexia-afef65bfbf.

5   https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/collections.

6   https://nodictionaries.com/.

7   https://www.latinitium.com/latin-dictionaries

8   Hill, Barbara. "Latin for Students with Severe Foreign Language Learning Difficulties." *When Dead Tongues Speak* edited by Gruber-Miller, J. Oxford University Press: Oxford. 2006. pp. 50-67.

9   My favorite Latin podcast*, Quomodo Dicitur*, can be found here https://quomododicitur.com/.

10   'Dyslexi' by Christian Boer https://www.dyslexiefont.com/, 'Open Dyslexic' by Abbie Gonzalez https://opendyslexic.org/, and the British Dyslexia Association's style guide https://www.bdadyslexia.org.uk/advice/employers/creating-a-dyslexia-friendly-workplace/dyslexia-friendly-style-guide, all have useful fonts.

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The Language of Race in the Classroom: Teaching Classical History at an HBCU

KARL BAUGHMAN
PRAIRIE VIEW A&M UNIVERSITY

Introduction: Race & the Classics

As I write this, several states have passed, proposed, or are working to create legislation that limits how teachers can discuss race within their classrooms. Black Lives Matter remains a highlight of news programs and social media. At the same time, the 1619 Project, begun in 2019 by *The New York Times*, has prompted reactionary causes like the 1836 Project in Texas and the recently-terminated 1776 Commission. In short, race, skin color, and the cultures and histories connected with those concepts dominate our political, cultural, and personal debates. With all this in mind, it prompts us as teachers and scholars to consider more seriously the connection of our subjects, specifically, the Classical languages and histories, to the larger cultural discussion of race and cultural identity in the United States.

Before I get too much further in this article, I must provide a caveat. This article is not about teaching languages in the traditional sense. Rather, what I hope to accomplish is beginning a conversation about past experiences, best practices, and future endeavors when teaching topics connected to the Classical world (and more broadly, Western Civilization) to students who may wish to eschew some underlying norms of that history and culture – in other words, the "language" of Euro-centric history and culture. I am certainly no expert on this, but I wish to contribute my own experiences and how my university addresses this. For background, I am a

white male history professor from the Midwest who teaches at Prairie View A&M University (PVAMU), a Historically Black University (HBCU) in Texas. My primary areas of expertise are Roman Empire and early Christianity, but as the only ancient historian here, I am responsible for teaching advanced courses on ancient Egypt and the Near East, ancient Greece, and ancient Rome. Since I began teaching as a graduate student more than fifteen years ago, I have always striven to find ways to connect my students to ancient history. Because most of my students are of African descent, my desire to continue this endeavor has prompted me to look more deeply into the relevance, role, and future of Classics as it connects to issues of race. What follows is a brief background of Classics and African Americans, followed by some examples of how I address issues of race in my ancient history courses. I hope that this small contribution will help those new in incorporating the complexities of diversity and inclusion within their classrooms.

The role of Classics or Western histories within HBCUs is not a new topic, although it has recently come back to the fore. Earlier this year, Howard University, a preeminent HBCU in Washington, D.C., decided to eliminate its Classics Department. Howard is home to the last Classics Department among HBCUs. It has been at the center of African American thought, philosophy, and activism since its founding alongside the university in 1867. The news of this cut produced a firestorm of reactions by Classicists and renowned African American scholars and writers, such as Harvard professor Cornel West. An online petition to keep the department soon followed. The university made statements explaining that while the department would be gone, many of the courses taught would remain part of other programs. Editorials debated both sides.

This hubbub with Howard demonstrated the deep-seated relationship between Classics and African American education, particularly within HBCUs. In the aftermath of the U.S. Civil War, many HBCUs created curricula that emulated their white counterparts, emphasizing the Classics. The recognition of Classics as part of the early HBCU curricula is not surprising given that Latin and Greek were considered the foundations of civilization by Europeans and their descendants. It was reasonably assumed that if a black man were to be educated in the Classical languages, he too could claim a part of that civilization and perhaps be a person of equal standing with white Americans. Pro-slavery politician John C. Calhoun supposedly once claimed that "if he could find a Negro who knew the Greek syntax, he would then believe that the Negro was a human being and should be treated as a man."[1] This challenge was more than met by William Sanders Scarborough, a former slave who later became the President of Wilberforce University and is considered the first African American Classicist. In 1881, Scarborough published a popular Classical Greek textbook, *First Lessons in Greek*, and then texts on Aristophanes and Latin grammar.[2] In the post-Civil War environment, a Classical education was necessary to demonstrate that those of African descent could be on the same level as those of European. In their rebuke of Howard's decision to eliminate its Classics Department, Cornel West and Jeremy Tate highlight that Frederick Douglass risked his life while enslaved "to study the likes of Socrates, Cicero, and Cato."[3] More than a century later, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. wrote his "Letter From Birmingham Jail," in which he mentioned Socrates three times.[4] Needless to say, like their white counterparts, black intellectuals in the United States studied the same Classical

languages, works of literature, and histories. Classics was the foundation of Western education, into which newly freed black slaves were now permitted to enter (albeit under more limiting circumstances).

Given that the primary motivation of Classical languages and histories in African American education was to bring them onto the more superior (white) plane, what is the purpose of Classics today? Or, more to the point, can Classics help students of all races grapple with our polarized racial society? The short answer is, "yes." As I hope to demonstrate in the rest of this article, incorporating discussions on race, culture, and difference in the ancient Mediterranean gives all students the language to engage in the racial and cultural conversations today in the United States.

"Where Am I in the Sources?": Critical Race Theory & Classics

When we expose our students to historical sources and literature, most will ask where they are in the sources – although this typically takes the form of "why are we learning this?" As historians and Classicists, we undoubtedly believe subject-content knowledge within our fields is essential. Still, we also know that the critical thinking, cultural awareness, writing, and analysis skills acquired in our classes are necessary for living in a democratic society – and for demonstrating proper assessment typically tied to funding or accreditation. Despite the assurances that the skills are essential, many students wish to have a personal connection with the subject they are studying. It is relatively easy to convince European and European-descended students that the ancient Mediterranean (particularly Greece

and Rome) is important – they have been taught to see themselves in the white marble statues and to recognize the underpinnings of Western government and culture in the literature and histories. The narrative of ancient history has been connected almost exclusively to European culture called "Western Civilization." It is more difficult for many of our African-descended or non-Western students to connect to this period physically and historically. Therefore, it is more challenging to help them recognize the underlying importance.

Despite being around for a few decades, Critical Race Theory (CRT) has recently attracted much attention (primarily political) in the news. Unfortunately, the understanding of what CRT is and what it means for education is misunderstood by many politicians and their constituents. In short, CRT looks at how our history with race has informed our laws, society, and culture. To do that, those who use CRT are "a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power."[5] Discussions about the connection between race and the Classics are not new. Frank Snowden, Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Classics at Howard until his death in 2007, sparked a conversation about Africans and the ancient Mediterranean with his *Blacks in Antiquity* in 1970 and b*efore Color Prejudice* in 1983.[6] These texts helped demonstrate how the modern construction of race impacted the Classical world's interpretation. Continuing this conversation, in 1987, Martin Bernal proposed in his *Black Athena* that Western civilization's bedrock was a product of colonization by the Egyptians and Phoenicians.[7] This produced a series of responses, most notably by Mary Lefkowitz in her *Black Athena Revisited* and then *Not Out of Africa: How*

Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth As History, a rebuttal not only of Bernal's historical method, but of what Lefkowitz saw as an Afrocentric reaction against the traditional "whitewashing" of the Classical world.[8] Although we ancient historians and Classicists would undoubtedly like to think of ourselves as central to the cultural debates of our time, this argument in the 1980s and 1990s was primarily relegated to academic circles.

Recently, race and the Classics have begun to take more center stage. By the late 1990s, the conversation had been reframed by Michele Valerie Ronnick of Wayne State University. Focusing on the contributions to Classics and the impact upon those of African descent, Ronnick coined the term "Classica Africana" and encouraged others to look more deeply at the connections between Classics and those of African descent.[9] Alongside this awakening in the early 2000s, Benjamin Isaac, an ancient history professor at Tel Aviv University, published his *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, and was soon followed by others who made connections between what was thought to be the racially-neutral Classical world and the modern construction of race.[10] Shelley Haley, a professor of Classics and Africana Studies at Hamilton College, noted in 2009 that CRT is important for Classicists because "the interpreters of these ancient societies were or are intellectuals of the nineteenth through twentieth-first centuries, and so have internalized (consciously or not) the values, structures, and behaviors that foster the need for critical race theory."[11] In 2017, University of Iowa professor Sarah Bond wrote an article confirming that Roman statues were painted in a variety of colors. The use of white marble as the bedrock of beauty was more a product of

the 18th century than of antiquity.[12] Some media coverage claimed that Professor Bond had said those who preferred the white marble were white supremacists; this led to threats of violence against Bond.[13] Classicists had been reminded that the construction of race impacted even the study of peoples separated from us by half a world and thousands of years.

For Egyptologists, emotions and controversy over race were not news. Arguments over the construction of race and the study of ancient Egypt had been going on for centuries. One example of this debate is the continued wrangling over the proper understanding of μελάγχροες in Herodotus' description of Egyptian appearance in *Histories* 2.104. The argument continues to be present in the scholarship and reflects contemporary racial understandings. I discuss below how I bring my students into this debate and flesh out an understanding of ancient peoples and those who have studied them.

Best Practices… so far?

I would like to describe what I do in my classrooms and then what PVAMU is doing to assist me and others in better connecting our students to discussions of race and *other* in various disciplines. Whether these are the "best practices" remains to be seen, but I believe it is a good start. Although race, as we define it in American culture and society, is not a concept fully familiar to those living in the ancient Mediterranean, it informs how our students frame their understandings about not only their own contemporary world but also their grasp of ancient history. Our historical-cultural understandings of whiteness and blackness have been imposed

upon our understanding of Romans, Greeks, and Egyptians. Although those in the ancient Mediterranean are typically portrayed as "white" (meaning northern European) from medieval art through modern film, the people of the Mediterranean were most certainly "brown". Because my students have been conditioned to think in terms of race, mentioning this in class often produces interesting discussions about race in the ancient world and the modern construction of the past through a racial lens. We see the rulers of the ancient Mediterranean as white because those who claimed whiteness also claimed the heritage of the Greeks and Romans. Modern racial identity required those of a white past to look white. I did not realize it as discussions unfolded, but we were utilizing Critical Race Theory in our discussion of the ancient Mediterranean.

When I arrived at PVAMU, I was tasked with creating courses within my own field to expand our offerings and hopefully increase the number of students majoring or minoring in history. Most of our courses were American history, and the African American experience was often highlighted in these courses. Most PVAMU students are engineering or science majors, so many will take advanced history courses purely out of interest in the topic. Thanks to movies like *300*, *Gladiator*, and the like, many students are eager to take courses in the ancient Mediterranean. I teach three advanced ancient history courses that appeal to students from a variety of majors: Ancient Egypt and the Near East, Ancient Greece, and Ancient Rome. Within these courses, I try to tackle racial issues in the ancient Mediterranean in two specific ways. One is by addressing race directly, and the other is flushing it out through examining and rewriting ancient entertainment literature.

Addressing race directly in my Ancient Egypt and the Near East class is somewhat easy. Because the American construction of race is tied to specific geographic areas (black from Africa, white from Europe, etc.), delving into ancient North Africa provides a wonderful opportunity to tackle race head-on. One of my early PowerPoint slides in my Ancient Egypt and the Near East class asks, "What color were ancient Egyptians?" We look at ancient Egyptian art, we look at Herodotus' account, but most importantly, we discuss why this is a question for us. In his *Histories*, Herodotus mentions the people of Colchis (on the east side of the Black Sea) and notes their physical and cultural similarities to the Egyptians. After stating that he believes that the Colchians came from Egypt, he writes in 2.104:

> νομίζειν δ᾽ ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῆς Σεσώστριος στρατιῆς εἶναι τοὺς Κόλχους. αὐτὸς δὲ εἴκασα τῇδε, καὶ ὅτι μελάγχροες εἰσὶ καὶ οὐλότριχες. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ἀνήκει: εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι: ἀλλὰ τοῖσιδε καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅτι μοῦνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμνονται ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα.

> The Egyptians did, however, say that they thought the original Colchians were men from Sesostris' army. My own idea on the subject was based first on the fact that they have black skins and woolly hair (not that that amounts to much, as other nations have the same), and secondly, and more especially, on the fact that the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians are the only races which from ancient times have practiced circumcision.[14]

My students read the Aubrey de Sélincourt translation, revised by John Marincola, for Penguin Classics. The text, as seen above, is straightforward in translating μελάγχροες as having "black skins." This passage produces little discussion until we unpack the history of the debate.

Summarized by Tristan Samuels in 2015, the reluctance to translate this passage in a way that makes Egyptians black is a product of modern constructions of race and identity.[15] As seen in the founding of HBCUs briefly mentioned in the beginning of this article, it is difficult to prove to "most Westerners (black or white) who have been inculcated with the conventional wisdom that equates [black] with inferiority and ugliness that Ancient Egyptians were black."[16] The language of the West is a language centered on racial difference and ability. Ancient peoples also recognized differences: physical, cultural, and linguistic. While they most likely recognized skin color, it was certainly not the most primary form of difference. Because our students are so immersed within a culture of racial identity, it allows us to demonstrate how our construction of race can impact how we discuss and research the ancient past. In other words, we must be aware of not imposing our cultural language upon peoples of the ancient Mediterranean.

As we discuss the connections between skin color and race within the United States, we look at the language of difference within these ancient societies. We create cultural identities based on skin tones in our contemporary American English. Black Americans and white Americans are often thought to speak and act differently, despite even coming from the same region. In most instances, I am considered white before I am thought of as an Ohioan (despite living in Texas for almost a decade, my nasally Great Lakes dialect will usually exclude me from being seen as a Texan). For ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, difference was, of course, recognized, but it was not centered around skin color. Shattering the illusion wherein skin color/race has always been the most significant identifier

for a person is required for helping students grasp the reality of the Classical world while encouraging them to think more about their own world and preconceptions.

Knowledge of Latin or Greek is not required for any of my courses; however, I like to include a little about these languages in order to demonstrate how ancient societies saw and expressed difference. As briefly mentioned above, Mediterranean peoples had words for skin color, but modern lexicographers, linguists, and historians interpreted those words through the racial lenses of their times. For Romans, *albus*, *ater*, *candidus*, *fuscus*, and *niger* were all terms used for skin color. As argued by Nigerian Classicist Lloyd Thompson, and summarized by Shelley Haley, the use of "white" for *albus* by modern translators is an imposition of modern racial constructions upon a people who had no concept of "white." Even today, the world of the Mediterranean is a range of brown, and the Romans, Greeks, and Egyptians would not have used "white" as a reference point in a world where brown was the standard.[17]

The diversity of peoples conquered and ruled by the Romans allows us to discuss race and difference in a unique way. Thanks to centuries of Western art, education, and entertainment, Romans are typically portrayed as white – more akin to Nordic skin tones than Mediterranean. A more recent way I have attempted to incorporate the discussion of race within my Ancient Rome course is the use of digital reconstructions of ancient faces. Two specific examples I have used in my classroom are the Roman emperors, Septimius Severus (r.193-211) and Macrinus (r.217-218), born in modern-day Libya and Algeria, respectively. Figures 1 and 2, created by Daniel Voshart (voshart.com), use contemporary descriptions and archaeology to

develop near-likenesses of the Roman emperors. These reconstructions are probably not 100% accurate, but their use is not to show superficial connections, instead they allow us to see the much more diverse and complicated reality of the ancient past. The language of Roman history in American culture is a language of whiteness. Something as simple as a reconstructed face can invite discussion on what race is and what it means in different places at different times.
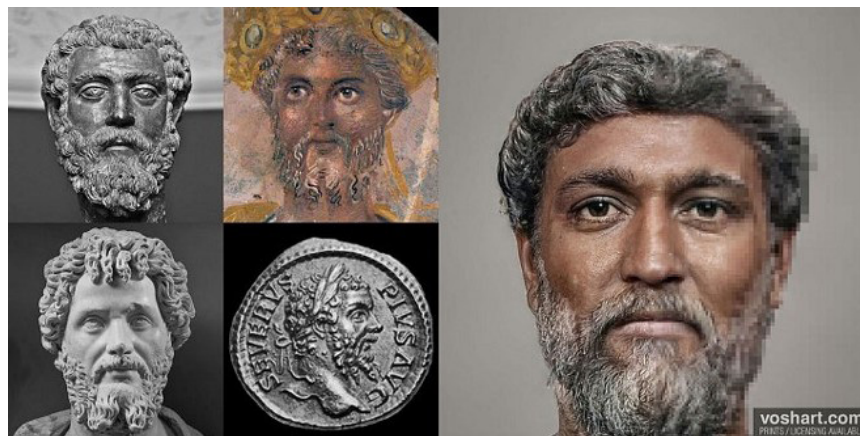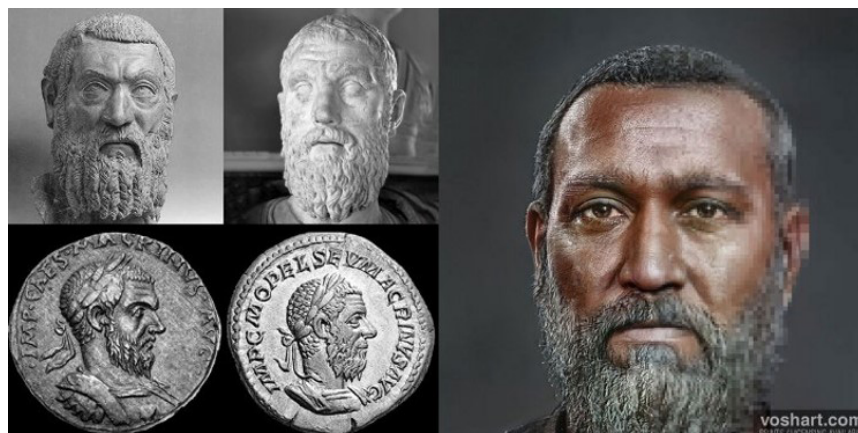

Fig. 1 Severus

Fig. 2 Macrinus

Although I teach history courses and not Classics, I try to incorporate some literature, albeit only English translations. When I go over the assignments, I try to impress upon my students that forms of entertainment and the use of stereotypes help us as historians to understand better how ancient peoples saw themselves versus others. One specific example I will share is my use of Aristophanes within my Ancient Greece class. I am partial to *The Acharnians* and *Lysistrata*, but I occasionally let students choose their own play on which to write. Besides asking students about the historical connections between the plays and the Peloponnesian War, I like to ask them, "what would this play look like today?" I use this question to help students frame their papers. Not only do students have to recognize the historical context of the play, thereby obtaining the content knowledge, but the assignment leads the students to delve more deeply into the historical constructions of their own society.

To flush out the discussion, we look at Aristophanes' use of stereotypes. For one example, *Lysistrata* is a humorous play wherein the women from across Greece work together to end the Peloponnesian War by withholding sex from their husbands. There is a plethora of gender, linguistic, and "racial" stereotypes that produce both laughter and questions from modern readers. Using "what would this play look like today?" as a starting point, we explore how the characters would be portrayed in an American version. Who within American society would be most representative of Athenians? Who might the Spartans be? Of course, there are no direct correlations between these ancient peoples and a modern American (or other nationality), but rather, students connect Athenian stereotypes of outsiders to modern American

prejudices. Students typically see parallels between Athenian portrayals of Spartans and white American stereotypes of black Americans: emphasis on athleticism, less sophisticated grammar, and even fetishization of physical appearance.

One example from *Lysistrata* that will suffice for this article is Lampito, the female Spartan representative. Students are usually quick to recognize the features of athleticism, language, and fetishization in her character because she is one of the few non-Athenians in the play who speaks multiple lines. Lampito's name, which means "shining," embodies the stereotype of Spartan women as beautiful and physically fit – it is comparable to naming a character Biff or Sapphire or Foxy – the latter two used distinctively as stereotypical black female characters; the names themselves reinforce what is visible.[18] When Lampito enters the play, she is immediately complimented on her complexion, voluptuous breasts, and tight body capable of "strangl[ing] a bull."[19] These compliments further emphasize the stereotypes that would be visibly obvious and insinuate a possible fetishization of the stereotypical Spartan physique through Lysistrata's fondling of Lampito's breasts and body.[20] For those unable to witness the play in person, the descriptors create a stereotypical Spartan image in the reader's mind that is made complete when Lampito speaks.

Some students connect linguistic stereotypes between Spartans and African Americans. Lampito's first lines in the play are immediately after being complimented on her musculature. She replies, "μάλα γὰρ οἰῶ ναὶ σιώ· γυμνάδδομαί γε καὶ ποτὶ πυγὰν ἄλλομαι."[21] Lampito's Greek, although understandable, is purposefully different. It is not only not Attic, it is not really Laconian – it is a distorted Greek.[22]

For translation into English, translators decide whether to present it in broken English, like David Christenson does,[23] or in an English dialect, like Benjamin Bickley Rogers (in Loeb) or Alan Sommerstein (Penguin).[24] These three examples demonstrate Aristophanes' purpose of emphasizing the otherness of Spartans:

Christenson: μάλα γὰρ οἰῶ ναὶ σιώ· γυμνάδδομαί γε καὶ ποτὶ πυγὰν ἄλλομαι.
Very much yes I think, by Twin Gods. I am an exerciser and I jump at my butt.

Rogers: Weel, by the Twa, I think sae. An' I can loup an' fling an' kick my hurdies.

Sommerstein: So I cuid, I'm thinking, by the Twa Gods. I'm in training – practise heel-to-bum jumps regularly.[26]

Each translator attempts to render Lampito's Greek in a way that embodies what Aristophanes' audience would have expected: Lampito, as a Laconian Greek speaker, would have spoken in shorter syllables than their own Attic dialect – the most superior way of speaking from an Athenian perspective. Discussions in class about how stereotypes in language and grammar can be used to distinguish between people who speak the same language ultimately lead to recognition of African American Vernacular English (AAVE), and its portrayal in media and entertainment.

What these discussions accomplish is not so black and white. Certainly, the point is not to say that African Americans are modern-day American Spartans, nor were ancient Spartans the African Americans of Greece. My students recognize that ancient societies distinguished differences between insiders and outsiders, and they also recognize how our own society does the same. Stereotypes are understood in Aristophanes' plays because the majority of Athenians held those concepts in much the same way that American racial stereotypes exist in our own forms of

entertainment. These discussions help students address how their own cultural constructions inform their past and present understanding.

I recently participated in an institute provided by my university that endeavors to foster some of the ideas I have presented in this article. The African American Studies Summer Institute is a workshop for faculty that invites respected scholars in the field of African American Studies to present their research and also to discuss innovative teaching practices. Through funding from the Andrew Mellon Foundation, this Summer Institute, and the larger African American Studies Initiative to which it belongs, has encouraged me to connect modern constructions of race and the African American experience to the ancient Mediterranean. It is not about injecting African American Studies into a past where it did not exist, but rather about helping students better connect to a past that has been taught as the preserve of Euro-descended people. In other words, change the language of how we teach so that students connect to the Classical world similarly to how they connect to American history.

Conclusions: Going Forward

I have begun the paperwork to create a course that explores the connections between the Classics, African Americans, and HBCUs. One of the goals of this new course would be to introduce my students to the Classical word and those who have contributed to our framing of it. In addition to those scholars mentioned throughout this article, students would be exposed to work done by those of African descent who either study/studied Classics, and those who emulate Classical literary

structures or interpret Classical plays in modern ways.[25] Although it is probably a little ways off, my ultimate goal is to bring Latin and Classical Studies back to Prairie View A&M University and incorporate PVAMU into the Classica Africana.

Although Critical Race Theory has been mentioned in this article, one does not need to be a theorist to connect our students to the past appropriately or recognize and discuss contemporary issues within a Classical context. A discussion with any of my colleagues will quickly dispel one of any notions that I am a theorist or a purveyor thereof. One does not need to be a theory person to help students connect to the past by encouraging them to recognize the lenses through which they see it. Issues of race and identity do not need to be a topic in every discussion, but we must be willing and eager to engage contemporary issues when appropriate. Those who have been writing the histories of the Classical world have injected their own contemporary biases and preconceptions of race and identity into the past, whether intentionally or not. Recognizing this and attempting to navigate the language of Classical history reveals a field far more important for understanding our contemporary world than most would credit to Classics. As educators, we have an obligation to question what has become a "West vs. the Rest" mentality and engage our students in questions about how and why the ancient past is remembered. Using the tools of Critical Race Theory and Classica Africana to prompt discussion and lead students to recognize the larger picture of the Classical world is one way to start.

Endnotes

1   Quoted in Susan C. Jarratt, "Classics and Counterpublics in Nineteenth-Century Historically Black Colleges" College English, November 2009, Vol. 72, No. 2 (Nov. 2009): 143.

2   Williams Sanders Scarborough, First Lessons in Greek (1881) [Williams Sanders Scaraborough's First Lessons in Greek: A Facsimile of the 1881 First Edition (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2019)]; ---, Birds of Aristophanes: A Theory of Interpretation (1886); ---, Questions on Latin Grammar, with Appendix (New York: University Publication Company, 1887). See also, Michele Valerie Ronnick (ed), The Autobiography of William Sanders Scarborough: An American Journey from Slavery to Scholarship (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2004).

3   Cornel West & Jeremy Tate, "Opinion: Howard University's Removal of Classics is a Spiritual Catastrophe," The Washington Post, April 19, 2021, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/04/19/cornel-west-howard-classics/.

4   Ibid.

5   Richard Delgado & Jean Stefancic, Critical Race Theory: An Introduction (3rd edition) (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 3.

6   Frank M. Snowden Jr., Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1970) & Before Color Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983).

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11   Shelley Haley, "Be Not Afraid of the Dark: Critical Race Theory and Classical Studies," in Prejudice and Christian Beginnings: Investigating Race, Gender, and Ethnicity in Early Christian Studies, eds Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza & Laura Nasrallah (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), 28.

12   Sarah Bond, "Whitewashing Ancient Statues: Whiteness, Racism And Color In The Ancient World", Forbes, April 27, 2017, https://www.forbes.com/sites/drsarahbond/2017/04/27/whitewashing-ancient-statues-whiteness-racism-and-color-in-the-ancient-world/?sh=31b0d6475ad5

13   Colleen Flaherty, "Threats for What She Didn't Say," Inside Higher Ed, June 19, 2017, https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2017/06/19/classicist-finds-herself-target-online-threats-after-article-ancient-statues

14   Hdt. 2.104.2, translated by Aubrey de Sélincourt (revised by John Marincola) for Penguin Classics.

15   Tristan Samuels, "Herodotus and the Black Body: A Critical Race Theory Analysis," Journal of Black Studies 46, no. 7 (Oct. 2015): 723-741. Samuels goes further to assert that while modern constructions of race have impacted how we see Egyptians, anti-Blackness is a concept present within Greco-Roman societies as well.

16   Frank Martin, "The Egyptian Ethnicity Controversy and the Sociology of Knowledge," Journal of Black Studies 14, no. 3 (Mar. 1984): 298. Martin actually argues that it is impossible, not just difficult, to prove to Westerners that Egyptians were black. My experience has shown it is difficult but not impossible.

17   Shelley Haley, "Be Not Afraid of the Dark," 31; Lloyd A. Thompson, Romans and Blacks (Norman, OK: Oklahoma University Press, 1989).

18   For example Sapphire Stevens from the Amos n' Andy show and Foxy Brown in the 1974 film of the same name.

19   Ar., Lys. 79-83.

20   Ar., Lys. 82-85.

21   Ar., Lys. 81-82.

22   David Christenson, trans. & ed., Hysterical Laughter: Four Ancient Comedies About Women (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2015), 55 n30.

23   Ibid.

24   Benjamin Bickley Rogers, trans. & ed., Aristophanes III: The Lysistrata, The Thesmophoriazusae, The Ecclesiazusae, The Plutus. Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979); Alan H. Sommerstein, trans. & ed., Aristophanes: Lysistrata and Other Plays (New York: Penguin Books, 2002).

25   For some examples of scholars of African descent who studied Classics, see: although mentioned above, Michele Valerie Ronnick (ed), The Works of William Sanders Scarborough: Black Classicist and Race Leader (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); ---, Twelve African American Members of the Society for Classical Studies: The First Five Decades (1875-1925) (New York: Society for Classical Studies, 2018); Eric Ashley Hairston, The Ebony Column: Classics, Civilization, and the African American Reclamation of the West (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2013). For some examples of artistic expressions in the Classical style by those of African descent, see: Stanley Crouch, Don't the Moon Look Lonesome: A Novel in Blues and Swing (New York: Vintage Books, 2004); Kevin J. Wetmore Jr., The Athenian Sun in an African Sky: Modern African Adaptations of Classical Greek Tragedy (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2001); ---, Greek Tragedy and African American Theater (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2003); ---, Black Medea: Adaptations for Modern Plays (Amhert, NY: Cambria Press, 2013).

26   Ar., Lys. 81-82; Christenson, 55; Sommerstein, 144; Rogers, 13.

Ut te exhorter ad bonam mentem 'that I encourage you toward a sound mind': How Nuanced Latin Emotional Vocabulary and SEL Routines Can Help Every Latin Student Flourish

EVAN DUTMER
CULVER ACADEMIES

> *Hoc ante omnia fac, mi Lucili: disce gaudere.*
> Above all, Lucilius, do this: Learn to feel joy.
> Seneca, *Ep.* 23.3 (my translation; Latin in title comes from 23.1)

> This story is set in our deeply complex, perplexing, wondrously beautiful and terrifying world. Not every character is set up to succeed as easily as another. Yet inside each person are three great forces: the power to feel deeply protected, the power to feel lovingly nurtured, and the power to be joyously free to thrive.
> *Joyous Resilience* (p. 1), Anjuli Sherin

Introduction

In this essay I hope to provide Latin teachers with ready-made Social Emotional Learning (SEL) tools and routines that will support every Latin student toward flourishing as a human learner—a human learner of complex personal and social identities who navigates the joys and deep challenges of social-emotional health every day and in every class—while acquiring the Latin language. As SEL has the power to enhance a classroom's equity and inclusivity when practiced well—and has the danger to jeopardize it when practiced poorly—I will also argue for its efficacy in making Latin classrooms more equitable spaces when coupled with identity-informed and culturally responsive teaching practices.[1] I begin with a short narrative highlighting the clear need for this in my teaching practice.

I teach Latin and Ethics at a rural boarding school in Indiana. In spring 2020, we

went online, as schools worldwide did. My students were afraid, confused, panicked. At the start of our first Zoom class, I asked my Latin students to send me a private chat message with a few emotional descriptors. I recorded these responses, struck by their severity. Here are a few: 'panicked,' 'so depressed,' 'super scared and confused', 'in shock,' 'anxious,' 'disengaged,' 'despairing.' A student thanked me, saying that I had been the only teacher to ask them their feelings about our transition to an online class.

I was moved by my students' responses and was struck by the eerie silence of my formerly excitable teenage Latinists. My teaching starts and ends in students' attention, engagement, curiosity, and emotional safety and security in my classroom, hoping that my classroom and instruction serve in advancing my students' flourishing both now and well into their adulthoods; and so now I was at a loss as to how to build classroom community, activate and excite student learning, and honor students' learning, social, and emotional needs while online.[2] Conscious, too, of the additional loss of emotional and cognitive bandwidth suffered by my domestic BIPOC (Black Indigenous People of Color) students (who finished their 2020 school year in the aftermath of the murder of George Floyd), my international students (including my Chinese national students who reported hearing discriminatory comments on their national and ethnic backgrounds, and expressed fear about whether they could ever return to the USA in the immediate uncertainty of the worldwide lockdowns) and LGBTQ+ students (whether in-person or online; before and during the pandemic) and the terrible emotional circumstances for all students brought on by COVID-19, I realized I needed to create and implement new strategies and tools for my students.[3] I needed to develop new adaptive classroom routines to honor and make space for

student emotional expression and to foster a supportive, inclusive space for them to practice emotional regulation and flourish as learners — all while engaging them in Latin, and from wherever they might be joining my class. They have since become integral parts of my online, hybrid, and in-person Latin instruction.

In sum, I had a dual aim: (i) I wanted to enhance my students' ability to express and name their emotions in Latin with a dynamic, nuanced, relevant emotional vocabulary (our Latin program encourages students to use Latin as a vehicle for comprehensible Latin expression) as every student deserves an emotionally safe, identify-informed classroom environment in which to thrive as a learner; and (ii) I wanted to provide for my students the digital tools necessary to engage in emotional expression and regulation whether we were in class together in-person, in a hybrid format, or totally online.[4]

Why SEL in Latin?

Social Emotional Learning (SEL) is one of the most important (and most wide-ranging) areas of pedagogical research and practice in the 21st century. Arising out of perceived lack of the current global educational system's ability to educate the entire person and troubling increases in incidences of depression, anxiety, and suicide among teenagers, SEL aims to instill in students not just academic knowledge, but necessary social and life skills, emotional resilience and intelligence, routines and habits of gratitude, mindfulness, and emotional co-regulation, character strengths, and virtues, all so that students might be better equipped to flourish despite life's challenges.[5]

The benefits of a successful, sustained SEL program are numerous. SEL

programs result in higher academic performance, an increase in prosocial behaviors, can help to reduce poverty and increase social mobility, improve life outcomes, and, ultimately, offer large return for initial investment.[6] While the academic consensus is that the SEL programs are best enacted school-wide, there are also benefits to implementing and improving individual teacher SEL-informed pedagogical practice.[7] Extensive research has also supported the importance for SEL to be culturally relevant and equity-focused to be successful for all students.[8]

Accordingly, I have recognized the need for my Latin classroom to be an SEL-informed and- crafted space as one of many microcosms of my school community. Our school community takes whole-person education in pursuit of cultivation of character to be its principal aim, so my developing intentional SEL practices for my students in their whole selves fits well within that missional goal. Further, many of the benefits of SEL implementation in my classroom (for example, lessened student anxiety and greater collaboration) serve the aims of a proficiency-oriented Latin classroom, where my principal aim is student comprehension and creative expression in simple, understandable, communicative Latin. SEL helps to lower the affective filter, build classroom community, and engage students in the task of Latin language acquisition.

Why a culturally responsive, belonging-centered SEL?

Despite the potential for SEL to serve as a liberatory tool for young people, SEL, as a discipline and field of practitioners, has been criticized for the emotional harm it can perpetuate if applied in a non-culturally responsive way. As SEL focuses

on both improving young people's mental health and reducing risky behaviors in adolescence in hopes of greater flourishing in adulthood, critics have rightly questioned the underlying normative assumptions of the model, as SEL's claims to improving behavior require analysis and cultural framing.[9]

A prominent SEL researcher and practitioner, Dena Simmons, has argued that SEL, if divorced from any broader commitments to equity, justice, antiracism, or other anti-oppression aims, can become demeaning and irrelevant to marginalized students.[10] In one instance, Simmons relates the story of a graduate SEL educator who, while acknowledging the importance of SEL in the classroom, nevertheless made the people of color in her classes feel unwelcome and othered by dismissing important differences in their identities and in their names. In addition, Simmons cites Cierra Kahler-Jones's recent piece for the Communities for Just Schools Fund that suggests that SEL may similarly function as a 'policing' and behavioral management tool in oppressive school environments when not combined explicitly with liberatory aims.[11] For such 'whitewashed' SEL approaches, Simmons has coined the term 'white supremacy with a hug'.[12]

Simmons argues that SEL needs culturally responsive teaching practices to ensure that SEL does empower all students toward flourishing. Culturally responsive teaching, as mentioned above, uses "cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to and effective for them".[13] A culturally responsive SEL celebrates diverse students' existing cultural knowledge and prior experiences in expressing and regulating emotions, while encouraging young people to engage in

behaviors that promote long-term flourishing.

Accordingly, SEL practitioners need to show care in evaluating and encouraging student emotional expression and regulation. Important emotional descriptors—such as 'angry', 'happy', 'afraid', 'unsure', 'confident', 'exhilarated'—will inevitably have deeply culturized norms of labeling, expression, and regulation.[14] SEL practitioners should be aware to how certain emotions may be cast in negative or positive lights based on broader socio-political factors: in one clear example, generations of Black social justice advocates in the USA have argued for the importance of collective anger in advancing the cause of Black liberation. Myisha Cherry argues this persuasively in her new *The Case for Rage: Why Anger is Essential to Anti-racist Struggle*.

Culturally responsive teaching techniques often draw on commitments that many educators—of varying identities—already have. In Ladson-Billings 1994, a helpful summary of culturally responsive teaching practices is provided:

Positive perspectives on diverse parents and families

Communication of high expectations

Learning within the context of culture

Student-centered instruction

Culturally mediated instruction

Reshaping the curriculum

Teacher as facilitator[15]

While it is beyond the scope of this paper to address each of these core culturally

responsive practices, it is important that these practices serve as background and foreground to the SEL practices I shall now outline. They both anchor and give direction to these practices. As we have seen above, the Latin classroom—as any other classroom—can, in fact, harm through non-culturally responsive SEL, just as it can greatly *benefit* all students when practiced in a culturally-responsive and identity-informed way. I encourage each Latin teacher to reflect on ways in which their classrooms may already be or not be culturally responsive before they then consider how to make their classroom spaces emotionally safe and empowering places for students of all backgrounds and identities.

RULER and the Mood Meter in Latin

Convinced of the importance of giving my students routinized SEL experiences in which they could recognize, express, and regulate their emotions, I needed to select an SEL approach that I felt fit the needs of my classroom. In addition, cognizant of the abovementioned connection between SEL and educational equity, I also wanted to find an approach that recognized the cultural differences of my Latin students. Due to its widespread successful application, sensitivity to cultural difference, and a helpful introductory book, I chose the RULER Approach, developed by the Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence.[16]

RULER has five skills for students to practice and improve their emotional intelligence in the classroom (and, of course, outside the classroom as well). It aims to aid students in recognizing, understanding, labeling, expression, and regulation of their emotions. More formally:

RULER is

Recognizing emotions in oneself and others

Understanding the causes and consequences of emotions

Labeling emotions with a nuanced vocabulary

Expressing emotions in accordance with cultural norms and social context

Regulating emotions with helpful strategies

One of RULER's attractive features is its classroom-friendly 'Anchor Tools'. Marc Brackett summarizes both the procedure of, and positive outcomes associated with, implementation of these anchor tools in his *Permission to Feel* (Celadon Books 2019). The four tools are the Mood Meter, the Emotional Intelligence Charter, the Meta Moment, and the Blueprint. I wanted to find ways to both honor students' emotional recognition and expression in my classroom while adapting some of RULER's signature tools into simple, comprehensible Latin, so that we could continue on our proficiency-oriented journey while instilling the emotional intelligence dispositions I saw so clearly illustrated in the RULER Method.

In particular, I was interested in ways I could develop the Mood Meter and Emotional Intelligence Charter into daily Latin classroom routines. This started with adapting and translating these emotional intelligence resources into comprehensible Latin, a project I detail in my next section.

Routines of Recognition, Understanding, and Labeling

The Mood Meter and Emotional Intelligence Charter RULER anchor tools serve to assist students in recognizing, understanding, and labeling their emotions with a rich,

nuanced vocabulary. Further EI skills—like expression and regulation—may certainly be used as students use these tools, but the focus of the tools is centered on these first three EI skills of (R) recognition, (U) understanding, and (L) labeling.

The Mood Meter is the foundational tool of the RULER Approach. It uses color coding and everyday emotional language to capture the complexity of human emotions on a quadrant graph.[17] Its popularity has resulted in a successful free app (the aptly named 'Mood Meter App'). The Mood Meter assists students in recognizing that they're feeling something, understanding what precise emotion they're feeling, and then labeling it with a rich, nuanced vocabulary (not simply, or exclusively, a 'happy' or 'bored' or 'sad').

My initial use of a RULER-style 'emotions check-in' showed that I needed a tool to greatly expand students' Latin emotional vocabulary. Students expressed immediately that they just didn't have many words to use for their emotions besides 'laetus', 'tristis', 'excitatus', 'defessus', etc. So I decided to translate the Mood Meter into Latin (with much help from Smith and Hall's *Copious and Critical English-Latin Dictionary*) for my students' everyday use. It then became a part of our daily classroom rhythm and routine via modification of the Emotional Intelligence Charter Anchor Tool described next. Below is the product of that translation project:

REGULA LATINE: PERTURBATIONES ANIMI

Lividus/a	Saevus/a	Frustratus/a	Stupefactus/a	Inspirata/us	Ecstatica/us	Euphorica/us	Exhilarata/us
Infensus/a	Territus/a	Vexatus/a	Curatus/a	Gaudens	Elata/us	Mirata/us	Confidens
Infuriatus/a	Anxius/a	**Iratus/a/x/um**	Irritatus/a	Magnifica/us	**Laeta/us/x/um**	Iocusa/us	Excitata/us
Timidus/a	Nervosus/a	Agitatus/a	Disquietus/a	Satisfacta/us	Curiosa/us	Optimistica/us	Vivens
Apprehensiva/us	Oppressa/us	Insecura/us	Gravis	Relaxatus/a	Securus/a	Contentus/a	Beatus/a
Catatona/us	Pessimistica/us	**Tristis**	Defessa/us	Quietus/a	**Placidus/a/x/um**	Gratus/a	Tranquillus/a
Alienata/us	Fatigata/us	Miser	Confusa/us	Salvus/a	Aequus/a	Otiosus/a	Delicatus/a
Depressa/us	Inconsolabilis	Sola/us	Languida/us	Somniculosus/a	Conveniens	Compositus/a	Serenus/a

Nota bene

y-axis: Intensitas perturbationis

x-axis: Voluptas perturbationis

A Latin translation and adaption of the RULER 'Mood Meter' Anchor Tool (www.ruler.org), developed at the Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence (https://www.ycei.org/)

Evan Dutmer, Ph.D., Instructor in Latin, Ancient Mediterranean Cultures, and Ethics (Culver Academies)

Here we see how the Mood Meter can assist in providing Latin students (mostly) readily comprehensible Latin emotional vocabulary (which already contains a high number of cognates). Following the original Mood Meter and retaining the original color-coding, the x-axis of this Latin Mood Meter proceeds on the increasing pleasure of an emotion (*perturbatio,* following Cicero); the y-axis on the increasing intensity of an emotion. Students immediately started to use these new adjectives to describe their emotional states, and quickly became part of our classroom communicative Latin expression. Characters in our stories soon possessed deeper emotional lives: 'ursa inconsolabis' or 'Iulia elata' now populated our classroom compositions.

But, in keeping with the aims of the RULER Approach, I wanted to build on students' increasing comfort with the Mood Meter to begin practicing the related RULER skills of emotional understanding and labeling. For this, I decided to adapt

the Emotional Intelligence Charter into a daily activity and routine as I began my Latin classes. Using Mentimeter, an online interactive presentation software, I developed routines that took the basic questions of the Emotional Intelligence Charter—"How do you feel today?" and "How do you *want* to feel?"—and presented them to students in Latin, nearly daily, in my Latin 1 and 2 classes.

Combining a projection of the Latin Mood Meter and students' joining of a Mentimeter presentation (though any interactive presentation software will do) allowed my students to recognize, understand, and label their emotions in real-time, anonymously, on our classroom television, shared Zoom screen, or both. Every day I would ask my students "*Ut vales hodie?*" and record the results. Mentimeter can produce quick anonymous word bubbles of students' responses and stores all data from every presentation in a convenient Excel sheet. Below I've captured some representative results via screenshots:

Ut vales hodie?

Ut vales hodie?

The positive effects I noticed upon implementing these class warm-up SEL rituals were immediate and prevalent. Students reported feeling more engaged, heard, and excited in class. Further, students were excited to discuss and share about their emotions. After my first few attempts to implement this Mood Meter warm-up in class, several students asked after class whether we could start to do this very warm-up every day. In their words, it helped to center themselves and be aware of their own emotions. It helped, in the words of another, 'to really be present for class and remember how I'm feeling.'

As I became more comfortable facilitating this warm-up, I expanded the activity. I asked students to take the next step in the Emotional Intelligence Charter, which Brackett suggests is a core element of the approach: I asked students how they *want* to feel in Latin that day. The purpose for this is simple: By students having to think both about how they want to feel and how they will help others feel what they want to feel, they have now been given some amount of control—and authentic buy-in—in their classroom environment. (Brackett 206) Here is an example of that portion of the EI Charter exercise:

Again, the effects of this ritual were powerful and immediate. A student remarked that this was the first time a teacher had ever asked them how they *wanted* to feel. I had another student say, "I've honestly barely thought how I want to feel. I'm so preoccupied with my feelings right now. It helps me to think about what I can do to feel more of what I really want to in a class." These, to me, were powerful reminders of the power of these emotional intelligence interventions. I'll return to more my students reported upon undergoing these routines in a later section.

Before continuing, there is an important note for any teacher beginning to use SEL in their classrooms or implement the above sort of emotional check-in tools. These routines are decidedly not a substitute for mental-emotional health services for students. The routines I have introduced here can help make a Latin class more inviting and inclusive to emotionally-depleted, depressed, or anxious students—especially in a group setting—but they are not to be used as platforms for a teacher's providing amateur therapeutic services to their students. A helpful distinction can be made between facilitating student emotional recognition, understanding, and labeling in group conversation and largely anonymously (as Mentimeter allows) and a teacher's asking additional leading, probing questions, giving specific advice, or providing extensive self-narrative (which is inappropriate). Teachers will need practice and planning to identify this difference and effect it in their lessons. But, with practice and attention to appropriate student-teacher boundaries, these routines can help to make an in-person, online, or hybrid Latin class more open and supportive for students by increasing classroom community, connectivity, and student input and expression.[18]

So far we have focused on how a few simple routines can engage students in

the first three RULER skills of R, U, L. But, as we have seen, RULER includes two additional skills: E (expression), R (regulation). In the next section I show how Latin routines can be used to practice E and R as well.

Routines of Expression and Regulation: Meditation, Mindfulness, and Gratitude

Having thus far focused on how I have built classroom routines in Latin around the 'R' (recognize), 'U' (understand), and 'L' (label) of RULER, I'd like now to introduce the routines I have developed to incorporate the 'E' (express) and second 'R' (regulate) in my daily Latin classroom practices. These practices are based on contemporary research in positive and educational psychology on the benefits of mindfulness practices and positive, affirmational activities ('interventions') and emotions in classrooms.

Reversing the order of these two last skills ('E' and 'R'), I'd like to begin by discussing how I incorporated emotional regulation in my Latin 1 and 2 courses over the past year through discrete SEL routines. I'd like to detail one intervention in particular: first, I had my students engage in guided meditation practices in Latin using Justin Slocum Bailey's *Acroamata Tranquila* audio series to regulate their emotions.

I first began to introduce mindfulness practice (based on convincing research I had seen regarding its effectiveness) in my classes in 2018-2019.[19] These 'mindfulness moments' (*requies menti*) were generally administered ad hoc, especially when I noticed students were especially fraught with emotion on a particular day. I would calm students with the command '*Discipuli, tacete, quaeso, inspiremus!*' I would then invite students to '*Spiritum ducite',* then '*Exspirate*'. I noticed the effectiveness of this

simple ritual, and had incorporated it into my classroom management routines.

But I became interested in a more systematic approach to mindfulness and meditation in my Latin classes. I then came upon Justin Slocum Bailey's *Acroamata Tranquila*, available through his TeachHuman website.[20] Bailey's audio files are also equipped with Latin and English subtitle packages, making the recordings even more friendly to Latin language acquisition. I reproduce here a small selection of one of these scripts:

> Salvē. Tranquillē spīrāre volumus…
>
> Spīritum dūcimus per nāsum. Spīritum ēmittimus per ōs…
>
> Nunc spīritum dūc...ūnum, duo, tria…
>
> Nunc spīritum continē... ūnum, duo, tria, quattuor…
>
> Nunc spīritum ēmitte... ūnum, duo, tria, quattuor, quīnque… (Bailey 2020)

Using Bailey's audio files and the attached scripts, I was able to structure a daily mindfulness activity after each of the Mood Meter/Emotional Intelligence Charter warm-up activities, all in Latin. After we concluded our Mood Meter/EI Charter, I would cue our meditation listening with Bailey's recordings using this Latin invitation: "*Nunc, discipuli, meditemur salute mentum nostrarum.*" Students closed their eyes or had a small whiteboard in front of them for doodling, free to use these sessions in whatever way best facilitated their own emotional health and regulation (as long as they were quiet so as not to interrupt others' meditation). See below, for example, some of these very doodles drawn by students during a playing of Bailey's *In montibus* recording, which asks the listener to imagine their being near a cool stream in the mountains.
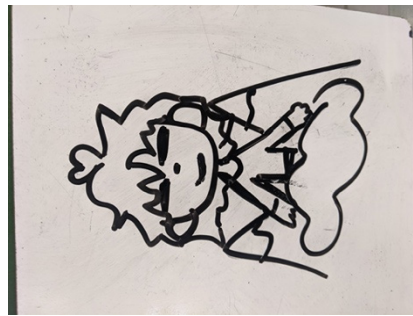
I was prepared for students' needing some gentle prompting to take these meditation activities seriously, but I have been pleased to see students' clear interest and authentic engagement in these daily meditations. Again: I have had students say that this is one of the few quiet, restful, peaceful moments in their day. This alone is touching; remarkable when I think that this moment is also facilitated through the Latin language.

I would now like to detail my students' expression (E) of their emotions in my Latin classes. I will discuss two interventions in particular: first, I have had students express their emotions (weekly) through a short composition exercise where they would write out an *Emotionum Fabula*, showing how their emotions were interacting with each other (in the style of 2015 Pixar film *Inside Out*); second, as another

way for students to express positive emotions in a visible, facilitated way, I have had students write gratitude notes in Latin to important people in their lives at three points throughout the semester, drawing on research that supports the efficacy of these documents.[21]

I'll begin by saying more about these *Emotionum Fabula.* These stories—a subset of our larger 'Timed Write' presentational writing proficiency exercises—simply ask students to describe a story where their emotions interact with each other. I suggest to students that these *fabulae* can take the form of the emotions' personifications in the 2015 Pixar film *Inside Out*. I will sometimes introduce a few verbs or new, evocative nouns that we have just read and comprehended as supplements to students' free composition of these stories. Additionally, these stories make for a good introduction to abstract substantive forms of many emotional descriptive adjectives (*ira – iratus; laetitia – laetus; tranquillus – tranquillitas*) which I supply to them.

Many of these Timed Writes can be quite simple, but nevertheless insightful: '*Ira mihi irata est. Depressio tristis est. Sunt in mihi capiti. Illi pugnant.*' They can also show beautiful complexity and authentic engagement with Latin and their own emotions (via clear understanding and application of the Mood Meter chart besides), as this standout composition does from a particularly loquacious Latin 1 student during a 5-minute Timed Write: '*In castellum mihi mentis sunt multi emotiones pugnantes semper. Ira, vir, ruber est. Laetitia, femina, flava est, et semper adiuvat me. Placiditas viridis est. Mihi placet placiditas multum, quia est tranquilla. Tristitia, caerulea, est tristissima. Emotiones non sunt amici. Laetitia pugnat Ira. Ira pugnat Placiditas. Placiditas et Tristitia non pugnant. Illi curreit semper. Sunt multa cubicula in mente*

pro omnis emotiones mihi. Omnes emotiones sunt confusi in mentis mihi, sed ego sum

emotiones et mihi.' This, to me, shows clear evidence of i) Novice Mid-High Latin

presentational writing skill and ii) expressing one's emotions in 'accordance with

social context'. This student clearly understands how to express their own emotions

via a Timed Write assignment (a clear social context) and *in comprehensible Latin*,

besides.

Last, inspired by empirical evidence that has suggested that visible expressions

of gratitude may positively affect wellbeing, and in service of practicing the 'E'

expression of the RULER skills, I have had my Latin students compose gratitude

letters in Latin since 2018. I have viewed these as important parts of my flourishing-

centered 'interventions' in my classroom in support of emotional intelligence and

student flourishing and, recently, the RULER skills.

The set-up for this activity can be very simple. I usually set aside two to three

Fridays across a semester for the composition of these notes (3-5 per person) that

students will hand-deliver (or mail) to important people in their lives for whom they

are very grateful. As outlined in Seligman 2005, these can be very powerful moments

for both the writers and the recipients. After watching students compose these for three

years, I have seen the anecdotal subjective reports as to their efficacy: students regularly

suggest that writing them was difficult (or even unwanted) but that delivering them

resulted in a surge of positive emotion and a 'better day' overall. I have not yet kept

anything like scientific empirical data as to their efficacy on supporting the wellbeing/

flourishing of my Latin students, but the anecdotal evidence seems to suggest that they

are a powerful tool in the SEL-informed teacher's repertoire. And, given their chances

for authentic Latin expression via these notes, they make for excellent chances for interpersonal communicative Latin writing (whether the person is a Latin speaker/reader or not—this makes for a communicative translation exercise, too!).

I here will reproduce a few touching examples (many written to me, as I've been the recipient of several hand-delivered notes; errors retained):

> Latin 3 student: … *Gratias tibi ago semper, Magister! Me duces semper in lingua latina et in vita. Magister optimus fuisti et semper eris.*
>
> Latin 1 student: … *Gratias, gratias, gratias, Magister… Classis Latina est dilecta mihi. Gratias pro omnibus. Tu laboras pro nos semper, et nos amomos classis!*
>
> Latin 2 student: … *Frater, te amo. Gratias pro fraternitas tuo. Tu significas multum pro mihi. Gratias pro ludis optimis cum mihi. Exspecto te domi! Valeas, frater tibi.*
>
> Latin 2 student: *Salva… (oops) salve, Magister. Gratias tibi ago pro anno optimo Latinitatis. Gratias pro classe—classe magnifica. Sum semper excitatus pro Lingua Latina. Tu nos adiuvas. Gratias iterum.*
>
> Latin 2 student: *Gratus sum—valde gratus—pro omnia quae fecisti. Tu est multam bonus magister. Tu est mihi dilectus magister! Gratias pro tua benignitas, et bono consilio. Tu es optimus. Te revoco saepe. Habe bonum diem! Vale!*
>
> Latin 2 student: *Multas gratias tibi ago pro optimum magister—tuo. Gratias pro activitates in classe, intelligentia tua, consilio tuo, benignitas tua, cura tua, et auxilio tuo. Habe bonum diem! Tu facis dies mihi melior. Vale.*

Student Feedback

What did students think of these features of my class? The anecdotal evidence was decidedly positive—glowingly so: my teacher evaluations commented on the importance of, and attachment to, these daily rituals and their helping students to feel heard, included, and a sense of belonging in my classroom. In one telling early (informal) survey I conducted, students used the following words to describe the SEL routines we had used: "heard", "seen," "helpful," "respected," "energized," "refocused"; and, further, that this helped our Latin classroom feel "fun," "warm," "encouraging," "nurturing," "not scary," "open," "exciting," "energizing," "respectful," "inclusive," and "a place where I can always ask questions."

In one later targeted survey I performed with a simple Google Form, I asked students (28 respondents) about how much practice they received in the RULER emotional intelligence skills in Latin 1-2. (I asked them about the RULER skills in sum and for each RULER skill singly, but include here only the RULER skills in sum.) The results are encouraging:

Indicate your agreement with the following statement: In Latin 1-2, my instructor encouraged students to recognize, understand, label, express, and regulate our emotions (in Latin and English).
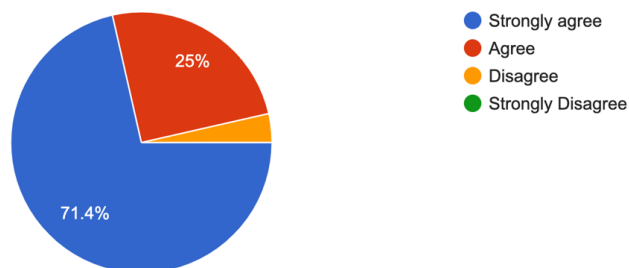28 responses
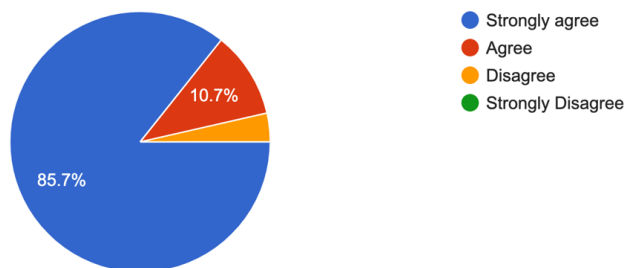
In addition, I asked them whether the classroom interventions we had made in the Latin language in class had been helpful to them as emotional regulation/character development strategies. I received similarly encouraging results:

Indicate your agreement with the following statement: In Latin 1-2, I practiced regulating my emotions with classroom mindfulness strategies.
28 responses

In both of the above questions, I received only one 'Disagree' response. Further, I was curious to see how they saw my role as emotional intelligence facilitator in the Latin classroom space. They responded thus:

Indicate your agreement with the following statement: In Latin 1-2, I felt emotionally safe in my class and emotionally supported by my teacher.
28 responses

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

82.1%

17.9%
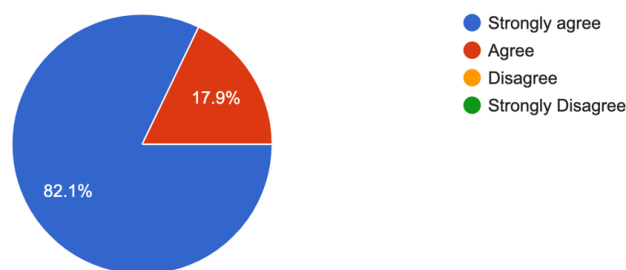
I was encouraged by these results, as developing a classroom culture of emotional support and safety is essential to an SEL-informed classroom's success.

Last, I wanted to see whether students felt that they were respected in their diverse identities in our Latin classroom as part of my aims to provide a culturally responsive educational experience. Very positive feedback was elicited:

Indicate your agreement with the following statement: In Latin 1-2, I felt that my teacher respected students' different identities, experiences, perspe...ltures. My teacher made all students feel welcome.
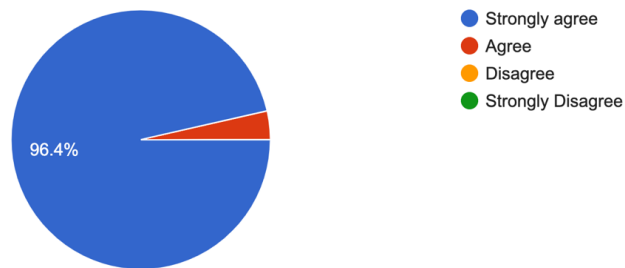
28 responses

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

96.4%

Further, more formal feedback elicited these written responses on students' experiences in my Latin courses:

> I feel like this is the only class I have ever taken throughout my life where the emotional aspect was a factor in the classroom.

> This class is an amazing place for me to learn about Latin and the history of Rome, and myself. This classroom gives me an opportunity to express myself and share my feelings without being afraid about other people judging me.

> I certainly do feel more appreciated in this class, and my emotions are taken into deeper consideration.

> He is very inclusive and understanding and he really respects everyone on what they think and feel.

> So helpful and encouraging to everyone. Makes you feel like you belong.

> He has helped me learn by creating a comfortable and accepting environment.

> Fun, supportive, caring, inclusive.

> Encouraging, inclusive, feel like I can be myself.

Throughout last year, and especially this year, [REDACTED] has created an engaging, supportive, and encouraging classroom environment. I am often stressed out by school, and all of the things going on in my life, but whenever I come to Latin class, [REDACTED] always helps me feel better about my day.

Honestly, I don't know where to start. [REDACTED] has always been there for my classmates and me, emotionally and in the classroom. He strives to have us excel no matter what, he was always open to help us if we struggled with something… [REDACTED] showed me that not only did he care about me as a student, he also cared about me as a person.

When I walk into his class, I am immediately greeted, and my mood is lifted every time. In class, he does a fantastic job of creating a safe and inviting environment and makes it very clear that he cares for each and every one of us.

I have taken away more from his class than any other, and I wish that all teachers were encouraged to teach in this style. I appreciated [REDACTED]'s empathy and understanding during times where I was having a rough day, because I knew I could talk to him about anything on my mind.

Currently, I'm taking Latin 1 with [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] goes above and beyond everyday to make his classroom a comfortable and safe environment for everyone. His philosophy is best described by a sign in his room. This sign says "Safe Space for all". I wholeheartedly believe [REDACTED] not only speaks this motto but practices it as well. As someone who previously struggled with talking in class, I truly feel like [REDACTED] creates a safe space where I'm comfortable sharing my opinions and talking in front of people. He does this simply through the respectful and encouraging tone in which he speaks to his students. It makes us feel like our contributions and opinions are valued.

I do not include these here as evidence of my possessing some unattainable,

unique teaching practice or special 'likeability'. Rather, I think much of my intentional crafting of an SEL-informed classroom that encourages emotionally intelligent behaviors and cultivation of emotional intelligence are borne out in this feedback. Notice that students in these narrative surveys repeatedly mention that my classroom space is 'inclusive'. Notice additional descriptors: 'safe,' 'comfortable,' 'respectful,' 'valued,' 'supportive,' 'accepting,' 'belonging.' Recall that one of the principal aims of my SEL practices is students' feeling included in their whole personhood, able to be part of the classroom community in their difference and in their similitude. I intentionally try to craft a classroom space that welcomes students; fosters belonging; focuses their attention; and presents them with an emotionally-safe community in which to try, to take risks, to be challenged, and to learn and grow.

SEL, I think, demystifies ways to do this in our classrooms (and, as I've shown, in a Latin classroom!) in a visible, regular, routinized way.

Conclusion

In this essay I set out to give the practicing Latin teacher readily implementable SEL routines to enhance inclusion and belonging for all students and to help all students to flourish as learners. Using the RULER Approach to introduce a systematic classroom emotional vernacular and framework, I then adapted some of RULER's SEL tools via Latin translation and adaptation for a language classroom. I then showed how I have used additional activities (beyond the RULER Anchor Tools) to practice the RULER skills in my Latin classes. I hope that these SEL tools are helpful to other Latin teachers who want to honor each learner as a whole, complex person.

Endnotes

1   For ways in which SEL can serve as a systemic mental health improvement tool for at-risk and marginalized youth see Taylor et al. 2017. Jagers 2016 argues for the 'transformational' power of SEL when combined with culturally responsive, liberatory, and critical pedagogies. For the above two citations, see CASEL's Equity and SEL webpage. Still, Simmons 2021 has highlighted the ways in which SEL, practiced in a non-culturally responsive way, can in fact further exclude marginalized students, serving as another 'behavioral management' tool. When I say 'culturally responsive', I draw on Geneva Gay's work in culturally informed and uplifting pedagogies (Gay 2010). I shall have in mind her definition of culturally responsive teaching: culturally responsive teaching is "using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to and effective for them." (31)

2   My classroom teaching is rooted in the educational philosophy of whole-person teaching. Accordingly, I view my role as one of facilitation for each student's journey toward, ultimately, flourishing as a whole human being. For whole-person teaching, see Trifone 2021, esp. parts 3-5. For the claim that flourishing constitutes the aim of education, see Kristjansson 2020. Kristjansson 2020 also contains an excellent defense of the view against critics and summary of other important versions of the (now) well-argued claim in the philosophy of education.

3   For more on the concepts of bandwidth loss and recovery, and their relevance for marginalized students, consult Verschelden 2017.

4   For more on Comprehensible Input in the Latin classroom, see Patrick 2015. Also see recent entire volumes in the 2019 The Classical Outlook and The Journal of Classics Teaching dedicated to the implementation of Comprehensible Input Theory in the Latin language classroom. Nieto 2010 argues persuasively for the need for language classrooms to be critical spaces that provide all students with the intellectual and emotional tools necessary for treating all people with 'fairness, respect, dignity, and generosity' (46, cited in Glynn et al. 2018). Additional distance SEL tools that can be adapted to the language classroom can be found in Hannigan and Hannigan 2021.

5   See Darling-Hammond xi in Durlak et al. 2015 for a helpful introduction and abundant references on the perceived needs for SEL.

6   For a summary of impact, see Mahoney et al. 2018. Also see Durlak et al. 2011. For further evidence connecting greater Emotional Intelligence and the flourishing of student-learners, also consult Chamiz-Nieto et al. 2021.
For cost-benefit analysis, see Belfield et al. 2015.

7   See Durlak 2015, 395-405.

8   See Jagers et al. 2018.

9   Boler 1999 presents a wide-ranging feminist critique of the (then) early Emotional Intelligence/Emotional Literacy educational movement. She asks deep questions about the tendency of emotional intelligence curricula to curb marginalized anger, and questions whether such curricula in fact could disempower young people. See especially chs. 2-4. Boler's analysis of Goleman 1995's original framework for emotional intelligence is also illuminating. For ways to incorporate Boler's critique into empowering uses of the emotions in the classroom, see Kretz 2020.

10   See Simmons 2019 and 2021.

11   See Simmons 2021, Kahler-Jones 2020.

12   Simmons has accused her former workplace, Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence (YCEI), of racism and tokenism. See Horta and Price 2021 in the Yale Daily News. Simmons worked to improve the YCEI's attention to cultural difference, and it is this author's belief that the RULER method, outlined in the following section, presents the best readily available SEL tool to make space for student emotional expression (when combined with culturally responsive teaching practices) in the classroom.

13   Gay 2010, 31. See above.

14   Ahmed 2015 serves as an excellent introduction to the ways in which the emotions serve as deeply socio-political phenomena.

15   A helpful breakdown of each of these teaching practices (with examples) can be found on the website of Brown University (The Education Alliance).

16   For an introduction to RULER, consult Hoffmann et al. 2020. Also consult the RULER website at the Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence. See above for Simmons's work to improve the cultural responsiveness of RULER and for her experiences doing so at YCEI.

17   Marc Brackett details the Mood Meter and its uses in schools in a presentation on his website. See Brackett 2020. The full English language version is also contained in Permission to Feel (Brackett 2019) and widely available online.

18   For more on healthy teacher-student boundaries, consult Venet 2019.

19   For a helpful meta-analysis regarding the effectiveness of mindfulness practices for both teachers and students Klingbeil and Renshaw 2018.
Klingbeil, D.A. Renshaw, T.L. (2018). Mindfulness-based interventions for teachers: A meta-analysis of the emerging evidence base. School Psychology Quarterly, 33(4) 501-511.

20   See Bailey 2020.

21   The seminal study to consult on this practice—and all 'positive psychology interventions'—is Seligman et al. 2005. For a recent study regarding the effectiveness of gratitude 'PPIs', consult Bono 2020.
PPIs, while increasingly popular, have also faced criticism. See, for instance, Woodworth et al. 2016.

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Teaching Classics with Texts from Non-Ethnic Romans

NICHOLAS MATAYA

ATONEMENT CATHOLIC ACADEMY

Setting

The Atonement Catholic Academy is a PK3-12th Catholic classical school in San Antonio, Texas. The student population is majority Hispanic, but the faculty has few Hispanics. Students begin studying Latin in 3rd grade with the option of continuing their studies through 12th grade. Middle School Latin (7th and 8th grade) is based largely on familiarizing students with the language. Language learning begins in the Upper (High) School, where students are required to take two years of Latin.

Background

Before my tenure, the Latin program in the Upper (High) School of The Atonement Catholic Academy was based on Hans Oeberg's *Lingua Latina* series. The study and teaching of Latin was seen as a way to 'integrate' minority students into the wider American culture. When I took over in 2017, Latin was despised by most of the student population, and horror stories about Upper School Latin had filtered through the Middle School.

First Steps

When I arrived, with the administration's support, I decided to make a clean break with the old Latin department and cease using *Lingua Latina*. The department moved

to using *Wheelock's Latin* as a placeholder before the school introduced a new Latin curriculum beginning in 2022. While this move did create some momentum in the Latin department, there were still scars from the previous Latin curriculum. This problem was not improved by drastic turnover in administration, with the school going through three principals in three years.

Prudentius

When I was studying at Swansea University (Wales, UK), Professor Mark Humphries introduced me to the works of Prudentius. Prudentius, a Christian and friend of Pope Damasus I, wrote several extant works, including the *Psychomachia*, a gladiatorial combat between the virtues and the vices, and the *Liber Peristephanon*, a collection of hymns to several early Christian martyrs. However, the most fascinating thing about Prudentius to me was that he was not an ethnic Roman: he was a *Vascone*.

In Roman literature, our first explicit mention of the Vascones, a people native to the Iberian Peninsula, comes from the Greek geographer Strabo, who mentions their location and places their main city at Pompaelo (modern: Pamplona) (Strabo, *Geographica*, III.4.10). The first mention of their location in Latin sources is in Pliny, who states that they were "between the Pyrenees and the ocean" (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 4.110-111). There were, however, earlier interactions between the Romans and the *Vascones*. The historian Livy states that Pompey made his headquarters in their territory, at Pompaelo, during the Sertorian Revolt (Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, Frag. 93). *Vascones*, and their relatives, the *Varduli*, were also sent to Britannia, with several inscriptions found along the Hadrian and Antonine

Walls (*RIB* 1128, 1279, 1285, 2149, 1083). The *Vascones* shared a language with the Aquitani, which has been connected with proto-Basque (Mitxelena, *Fonética histórica vasca*, 547-548).

Prudentius was a Latin author from the Iberian Peninsula and not an ethnic Roman.[1] Importantly, Prudentius was also a Christian. I had the freedom, therefore, to use some of Prudentius' works to supplement the Latin curriculum in the later levels. Prudentius' *Liber Peristephanon* is the easiest of his works to use in the teaching of High School students. Moreover, Prudentius opens the *Liber Peristephanon* with hymns to two *Vascone* martyrs, not Roman martyrs. He also mentions that he is a *Vascone* in this hymn.[2]

I introduce Prudentius' *Liber Peristephanon* with my second-year Latin students. His poetry provides a good, approachable introduction to Latin poetry and some of the more difficult ablative uses. Before we begin Prudentius, I use a short 'culture day' on a Friday where I discuss the history of the Iberian peninsula during the Classical period. If the students continue in Latin, I use more examples from Prudentius in fourth-year.

There are two sections of the *Liber Peristephanon* that I focus on with my second-year students. The first is *Liber Peristephanon* VI, a hymn in honor of three saints from Hispania, Fructuosus, Augurius, and Eulogius. The hymn begins (lines 1-6):

*Felix **Tarraco**, Fructuose, vestris*	Fructuosus, happy Tarraco
attollit caput ignibus coruscum	Lifts a flashing head for you (three);
Levitis geminis procul relucens.	She shines far by virtue of her two deacons.
***Hispanos** Deus aspicit benignus,*	The kind God looks on the Spaniards,

*arcem quandoquidem potens **Hiberam***   Since the mighty Trinity crowns Iberia
    trino martyre Trinitas coronat.   With three martyrs

This hymn begins with three references to Hispania (*Tarraco*, *Hispanos* and *Hiberam*), placing it in a Hispanic context. This short passage includes several rhetorical devices that students will get used to seeing in Latin poetry.

The second hymn I look at is *Liber Peristephanon* VII, a hymn in honor of Quirinus, bishop of Siscia. Unlike hymns I and VI, this hymn is not Hispanic, but focuses on the part of the Roman world that students are rarely exposed to: Illyricum.This hymn serves a dual role, as it has several comedic moments. For example (lines 21-30):

Summo pontis ab ardui	From the top of a high bridge
Sanctae plebis episcopus	The bishop of a holy people
In praeceps fluvio datur	Was cast down straight into the flood
Suspensum laqueo gerens	Carrying a great mill-stone
Ingentis lapidem molae.	Hung by a rope around his neck
Deiectum placidissimo	When he was hurled down, in its care
Amnis vertice suscipit	The river received him in the calmest of pools
Nec mergi patitur sibi.	And did not suffer him to sink in it
Miris vasta natatibus	But held up the stone's enormous weight
Saxi pondera sustinens	Floating miraculously

Here, we have a comical scene where the Romans have attempted to execute a bishop, but he is instead just floating in the river, despite the giant rock hung around his neck. The comedy continues, with the Romans finally taking big sticks and forcing him into the water. Grammatically, we have more rhetorical devices, several

ablative uses, and several participles.

Further, Prudentius, as a hymnographer, fit very well with the ethos of The Atonement Catholic Academy. The Atonement Catholic Academy prides itself on its Music program, and many of the hymns they use are Latin. When I arrived at the school, I began to have the students practice their translation skills by translating the Latin hymns they would sing at the liturgy. Working with the Music department, I was able to have the students translate and sing some of Prudentius' hymns.

One of Prudentius' most famous hymns is *Corde Natus ex Parentis*, a Christmas hymn. It is better known in English as 'Of the Father's Love Begotten' or as 'Of the Father's Heart Begotten.' For my purposes, I take the Latin text and let the students attempt to translate it, helping them where needed. I give them popular English versions of the hymn when they have finished. This practice helps the students see how translation works in the 'real world.'

Other Authors

With the success of Prudentius, I quickly looked for other non-ethnic Roman authors. Again, I began to pull from other classes that The Atonement Catholic Academy offers. One of those classes is Philosophy, and one of the major authors is Augustine of Hippo. While Augustine's father, Patricius, was probably a Roman, his mother, Monica, was a Berber, meaning that Augustine was probably non-white. It was, therefore, simple to have students translate portions of Augustine in Latin class while reading the English translation in their Philosophy class.

Another prolific author with a non-Roman background was Damasus I, the bishop

of Rome from 366-384. Damasus, whose parents were *Lusitani* from modern Portugal, wrote several letters and poems, with 67 of his poems extant today. The poems are relatively easy to translate and can supplement the teaching of Vergil, Catullus, and Ovid.

Finally, an interesting Latin author is Chrodegang, the eighth-century bishop of Metz. Chrodegang, a Frank and advisor to Charles Martel, wrote a *regula* for clergy that is simple to translate. While it is not Classical Latin, it is an interesting and fun text for students to translate.

Next Steps

One area that this study could be continued is in the idea of *romanitas*. Although Prudentius was a *Vascone*, he still saw himself clearly as a Roman. This understanding of being a Roman while also being a member of a distinct, non-Roman people could greatly help students from non-traditional American backgrounds, especially recent immigrants. By showing them that non-ethnic Romans could become Romans, and saw themselves as Romans while keeping their own identities, a Latin classroom could be used to help students integrate into American culture while also preserving their identities.

Conclusion

The supplementation of the Latin curriculum with non-Roman authors has been wonderful for my classes. The use of non-Roman authors assists the teacher in dealing with one of the major problems of teaching Latin in the twenty-first century:

why should I learn a language used by a bunch of dead Romans? The use of non-Roman authors allows the student to connect the language with a living history and, for students of non-Anglo descent, allows them to see that the language of Latin is for everyone.

The case of Latin IV is instructive in the impact of this program. While I cannot base the growth in Latin IV entirely on this program, the statistics are intriguing. During my first year teaching Latin IV, I only had one student take the class. During the second year, 17% of the Senior class took Latin IV. During this past year, 25% of the Senior class took Latin IV. For the coming year, 73% of eligible students are enrolled to take Latin IV.

Endnotes

1   In this paper, the word 'ethnic' is used to denote someone with non-Italic heritage, particularly those groups who continued being seen by the Romans as distinct from Roman culture proper (e.g., the Vascones, the Berbers, the Britons, etc.).

2   *Hoc bonum Salvator ipse, quo fruamur, praestitit, martyrum cum membra nostro consecravit oppido, sospitant quae nunc colonos quos Hiberus alluit*: The Savior himself bestowed for our advantage this blessing when He consecrated the [martyrs'] bodies in our town, where now they protect the people who dwell by the Ebro. (Translation mine; emphasis added).

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Vergil's *Aeneid* and 21st-Century Immigration

CHRISTOPHER NAPPA
FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

Increasingly, it has become clear that the texts on Greece and Rome, whatever they have meant to people in the past and however they have been used, still speak to many people and that their reach need not be limited to those interested in, or who feel that they themselves exemplify, a western tradition largely based in and on what Europeans have thought and done.[1] This realization takes numerous forms, from the growing acknowledgement that the texts of the Ancient Near East are more than illuminating footnotes to developments in Europe to the important acknowledgment that the many voices present in Classical texts speak not only to and for a particular ethnic, social, and often religious demographic but represent experiences and points of view from the much fuller human spectrum. Moreover, complex ancient texts are not necessarily any simpler than those from recent history: they contest as many truths as they champion, pose as many questions as they answer, and celebrate as much as decry the messiness of the human condition.

Recent years have begun to look at Vergil's *Aeneid* with a variety of concerns that differ, sometimes dramatically, from traditional matters of interest. The ways in which the poem explores or even creates Roman identity are now of paramount importance to critics.[2] This broad area can be resolved into a number of separate questions. One of these is ethnicity, since the story of the *Aeneid* is in part one about the combination of different ethnic groups. Conversely, it is also an examination of

the historical strands that readers of Vergil's day understood to constitute their own ethnic background.[3] Ethnicity cannot be disentangled from race, for, then as now, racism and racial rhetoric is deeply implicated in understandings of ethnic identity.[4] The *Aeneid* shows the biases of Romans of the Augustan period toward the different groups that make up the political power structure of their empire: Italians, Greeks, Etruscans, and the elusive Trojans.[5] Studying ethnicity and race as they are teased out in the *Aeneid* raises questions of how later readers and artists have used the poem in their own projects of self-construction.[6] Questions of race and ethnicity cannot—for the Romans or for Americans—be divorced from questions of immigration, colonization and colonialism, and, increasingly, postcolonial approaches are being applied to classical texts.[7]

Moreover, for the *Aeneid* "colonization" conflates two related but different concepts. One involves colonialism as it is understood by students of modern imperial powers and their effects on their former subjects; the other is the specific Greek practice of city-founding, whereby a polis sent out colonists with explicit understanding that they would found a new polis, loyal to the mother city perhaps, but ultimately independent.[8] Neither of these is identical to what Aeneas does in the *Aeneid,* but both are relevant to our understanding of (and teaching about) the text.

My topic is Vergil's *Aeneid,* but this kind of discussion can be extended to other texts from the ancient world, such as Aeschylus' *Persians* and *Suppliants* and Euripides' *Medea.*[9] Here I attempt to use rhetoric about immigrants and foreigners in the *Aeneid* to point to ways that teaching the poem in the 21st century can invite and encourage students to see the contemporary relevance of ancient texts and to

bring to those texts their own experience of the world in which they live. My goal here is more to produce something useful for teachers of the *Aeneid* at all levels than to advance the cutting edge of Vergil scholarship and, accordingly, I have deemphasized scholarship on both antiquity and immigration in the modern world in order to make this discussion as immediate and useful as possible.[10] There are many important differences between modern and ancient experience that show in the rhetoric about immigrants and foreigners, but there are profound similarities as well. The *Aeneid* provides a prime example of an ancient text that participates in the negative stereotyping that characterizes anti-immigrant sentiment across the centuries. At the same time, the *Aeneid* also displays the complexity of such texts, for the *Aeneid* is more than an anti-immigrant manifesto. The poem's rhetorical treatment of Roman identity encompasses both positive and negative portrayals of immigrant and putative native alike. In fact, the status of major characters and factions—Aeneas and his followers, Dido, or Evander, for example—is one of the things the *Aeneid* most intently scrutinizes. Categories like foreigner, refugee, and immigrant are held in constant tension with those like native, colonist, and invader. Yet this is not the tension between different individuals or groups but instead a tension at the heart of the concepts themselves. In an American context, we might rephrase this in terms of indigeneity—should land be held by the oldest group of inhabitants on it or by those who form a political and ethnic majority? Does it matter how the later people came to possess it?

Rome and the contemporary United States share several relevant similarities regarding immigration. Still, perhaps the largest is the fact that each society

possesses a rhetoric of cultural uniformity and stability despite a known history of growth from multiple cultural strains. The *Aeneid* contains numerous passages which touch on the intertwined experiences of the immigrant and the refugee, on the one hand, and, on the other, the perceptions of the prior inhabitants of the lands they enter.

Here, I treat only a few examples, but each can be used to open up discussion of the poem's major themes or the realities of human migration. We start with the speech of Iarbas at 4.211-18, in which he addresses his father Jupiter.[11]

> 'femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem
> exiguam pretio posuit, cui litus arandum
> cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra
> reppulit ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit.
> et nunc ille Paris cum semi uiro comitatu,
> Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem
> subnexus, rapto potitur: nos munera templis
> quippe tuis ferimus famamque fouemus inanem.'

> "The woman, who, a wanderer in our territory, founded a meager city (at a price), the one to whom we gave some shoreland to be plowed and gave conditions, she rejected marriage with me and welcomed Aeneas as lord in her kingdom. And now that Paris with his band of half-men, a Maeonian bonnet tied around his chin, his dripping hair tied up, is master of what was stolen. We are the ones bearing gifts, of course, to your temples, the ones who burnish your meaningless reputation."

Here both Dido and Aeneas are targets: she, because as a needy immigrant she both lives on native largesse and shows scorn for native culture; he, because he is yet another foreigner—and one who shows the effeminacy so often attributed by one culture to another.[12] He has arrived both to underscore Dido's disdain for Iarbas and his Africans and as a continued reminder that some foreigners prosper as thieves.

This rhetoric of the criminality of newcomers is not only based on ancient ideas of the pirate, well known from both the *Odyssey* and Thucydides' earliest chapters, but it is also a mainstay of anti-immigrant rhetoric in much of the world today. According to research accessible through the "Reimagining Migration" project at the University of California, Los Angeles, the word "immigrant" prompts a significant number of Americans to associate the word "illegal" automatically.[13] This is striking when one realizes that very few American citizens are not descended from immigrants.

Each of the three topoi of Iarbas' speech—the immigrant as haughty, the immigrant as thief, and the foreign man as unmanly—will recur in the *Aeneid.* Each shows depressing resonances that would appear to transcend history, as Nancy Shumate has traced in her book on classical and nationalist rhetorics and as even a cursory search of the internet amply attests. Foreigners are prone to not only criminality, but to an effeminacy that demonstrates a liability to the passions.[14]

In Book 7, Latinus issues a greeting that pronounces the Trojans worthy, even tracing their lineage to Italy. Latinus' wife Amata, however, has different ideas.

> 'exsulibusne datur ducenda Lauinia Teucris,
> o genitor, nec te miseret nataeque tuique?
> nec matris miseret, quam primo Aquilone relinquet
> perfidus alta petens abducta uirgine praedo?
> at non sic Phrygius penetrat Lacedaemona pastor,
> Ledaeamque Helenam Troianas uexit ad urbes?
> quid tua sancta fides? quid cura antiqua tuorum
> et consanguineo totiens data dextera Turno?
> si gener externa petitur de gente Latinis,
> idque sedet, Faunique premunt te iussa parentis,

> omnem equidem sceptris terram quae libera nostris
> dissidet externam reor et sic dicere diuos.
> et Turno, si prima domus repetatur origo,
> Inachus Acrisiusque patres mediaeque Mycenae.'
> [7.359-72]

"To exiles from Troy Lavinia must be given to marry? Oh, and, a father, you have no pity for your daughter or yourself? And do you not pity her mother whom, with the first North Wind, the treacherous pirate will abandon, heading for the high sea, our maiden daughter taken off? But didn't the Phrygian pirate insert himself into Sparta in this way and carry off Leda's Helen to Trojan cities? What has become of your sacred trustworthiness? Your old concern for your people? Your right hand pledged so often to Turnus, of your own blood? If, for the Latins, a son-in-law is wanted from foreign stock, if that is fixed, and the commands of Faunus your father hem you in, then I think that every land which rests free of our control is foreign and that this is what the gods are saying! And for Turnus, if the earliest origins of his house are investigated, Inachus and Acrisius—pure Greece[15]—are his forefathers!"

Amata's speech is very rich in its implications and its rhetoric. Embrace of the immigrant is rooted, perhaps, in a loss of self-respect, for, unlike her husband, she is embarrassed by having her daughter marry a foreigner.[16] Once again, the immigrant is criminal in nature: Aeneas will abandon his new ties in Latium as soon as it is convenient and thereby repeat the crime of Paris when he violated the home of Menelaus and took Helen back to Troy. There is an implication here, too, that foreign predation leads both to personal disgrace and civic disorder.

Yet Amata wants to have her cake and eat it too. If there is no escape from marriage to a foreigner, Turnus—the local choice—can serve as foreign if need be. Yet he is no Trojan; his ancestry is Greek ("Mycenae to the core!" in Fagles' translation; "pure Greece" in mine). Not only is this a classic attempt to find a loophole within prophecy, but it also divides "the foreign" into two camps: Turnus

is the better foreigner, close in culture and upbringing and characterized by the victories of the past, whereas Aeneas is not only of bad character, a more foreign foreigner, but also the remnant of the losing side.

Amata's argument contains the seeds of its own undoing in any case. She begins by championing Turnus as related by blood, *consanguineus* (7.366)*,* but then refigures him as coming *externa de gente* (7.367)*,* "from a foreign people." Moreover, the foreign people in question, the Argives, have been chosen to stand in for the Greeks generally and thus for the victors over Aeneas and his people at Troy. Yet the Argives fit this role only with difficulty. Inachus is one of Turnus' ancestors in Amata's rhetoric, but one of his chief claims to fame is that he is the father of Io, who will become an Egyptian goddess.[17] Turnus' other named ancestor, Acrisius, is a descendant of one of the Aegyptids (Lynceus). He himself is best known perhaps as the grandather of Perseus, who was not raised as an Argive, who returned to the Argolid with a foreign princess as a wife, and who ultimately killed Acrisius himself. If the Italians are an amalgam of peoples and lineages, so too are the Greeks. Amata's attempt at establishing pedigree is no more secure than Anchises in Book 3.

Penetrat (7.363) is a suggestive verb in this context. As a general verb of motion or travel, it means to go within a territory or place, but the verb would also seem to have sexual overtones.[18] Paris here invades Sparta in a way that prefigures his adulterous relationship with his host's wife. The intimacy of both Paris' entrance into Sparta and betrayal of his host animates Amata's denunciation of Aeneas. What is worse is that all of this will happens with Latinus' collusion: Amata fears that the just response of the Greeks will not take place this time.

Other characters will also link Aeneas' impending marriage to Lavinia to Paris and the Greek response in the Trojan War, but they will do so in a way different from Amata's championing of the Greeks. Contemporary rhetorics of foreignness make use of this same sort of distinction: refugees and immigrants are not all the same. They come from different places, some stronger—more like us—and some weaker. So, the overlay of individual character and the problems it may be thought to entail sits atop a rhetoric or an ideology of weakness and strength. In modern terms, for example, the distinction between American and European can give way to one of race or religion: white and not, Christian and not.

Recent years have seen a version of Amata's rhetorical positioning of Greek over against Trojan in an American context. For example, in July 2013, Representative Steve King characterized children who would have been covered by the DREAM Act as a mix of valedictorians, brought in to the United States by their parents, and more numerous "weed-lifters," who have "calves the size of cantaloupes because they're hauling 75 pounds of marijuana across the desert."[19] In a series of notorious remarks, President Trump questioned the need for immigrants from "shithole countries"; the countries in question seem to have been Haiti and various undifferentiated African countries (Hirschfeld, Stolberg, and Kaplan). In similar conversations, he opposed such nations from the global south specifically to Norway, a nation with a predominantly white population; the perception among at least some Americans was that the specific attraction of Norway was its whiteness, although that was not specifically stated by Trump (Davis, Stolberg, and Kaplan; *Baltimore Sun* Editorial Board). In July of 2015, as a candidate for the presidency,

Trump tried to defend remarks made multiple times linking Latin American immigrants, especially Mexicans, to crime; rape was one of the crimes highlighted. The *Washington Post,* in a fact-checking analysis, found almost no evidence for these claims in general or for a propensity for sexual assault in particular (Lee 2015). What the accusation of rape does in this context is activate fears of the foreign man as hypermasculine.[20]

Yet negative characterizations of immigrants are not always coherent.[21] Amata relies on a trope by which the Trojans are not only foreign but the worst of foreigners. In her speech, the Greeks are to be preferred. Others also invoke the Greeks but for a different reason. For Turnus and Numanus Remulus, for example, the weakness of the also foreign Greeks serves to emphasize the strength of the Italians. When Turnus approaches the Trojan camp in Book 9, he sees that their ships are being rescued from fire by divine intervention, saving the nymphs from whose trees they had been made but also stranding the Trojans.[22] As often in mythic contexts, Turnus interprets what should be an obvious sign that the Trojans enjoy divine favor into a confirmation of his own desire for victory.[23] What concerns us here is his characterization of the Trojans:

>   'sunt et mea contra
> fata mihi, ferro sceleratam exscindere gentem
> coniuge praerepta; nec solos tangit Atridas
> iste dolor, solisque licet capere arma Mycenis.
> "sed periisse semel satis est": peccare fuisset
> ante satis, penitus modo non genus omne perosos
> femineum. quibus haec medii fiducia ualli
> fossarumque morae, leti discrimina parua,
> dant animos; at non uiderunt moenia Troiae
> Neptuni fabricata manu considere in ignis?

sed uos, o lecti, ferro qui scindere uallum
apparat et mecum inuadit trepidantia castra?
non armis mihi Volcani, non mille carinis
est opus in Teucros. addant se protinus omnes
Etrusci socios. tenebras et inertia furta
Palladii caesis late custodibus arcis
ne timeant, nec equi caeca condemur in aluo:
luce palam certum est igni circumdare muros.
haud sibi cum Danais rem faxo et pube Pelasga
esse ferant, decimum quos distulit Hector in annum.
nunc adeo, melior quoniam pars acta diei,
quod superest, laeti bene gestis corpora rebus
procurate, uiri, et pugnam sperate parari.'

[9.136-58]
"I have destiny on my side too:
to cut down the wicked race with the sword since my bride was
snatched away—that pain has not touched only the sons of Atreus,
nor is Mycenae alone allowed to take up arms! 'But it's enough
that they fell once!' It would have been enough that they did wrong
before, if they did not thoroughly hate (except for the whole race of
women)! Their faith in the rampart in between, the hindrance of a
ditch—meager separation from death—gives them courage! But did
they not see Troy's wall, built by Neptune's hands, sink in flames?

But you, chosen men, who stands ready to cut down the
rampart with the sword, to invade with me the trembling camp? I
don't need Vulcan's armor, a thousand ships against the Teucrians.
Immediately let all the Etruscans join up as their allies. Let them
have no fear of darkness and the unwarlike theft of their Palladium,
the citadel's guards slaughtered all about, and we will not hide in
the dark belly of a horse: openly, in daylight, I've decided to invest
their walls with fire! Let me bring it to pass that they say that this is
not their dealings with the Greeks and Pelasgian youth that Hector
kept at bay for ten years. Right now, since the better part of the day
has passed, for what is left, happy in deeds well done, tend to your
bodies, men, and expect preparation for battle."

Turnus, having just witnessed divine intervention on the Trojans' behalf, both

downplays the significance of these events for his enemy and asserts his own

hoped-for countervailing destiny. He too casts Aeneas in the role of a new Paris,

but his exaggeration is even greater, for despite his claim *coniuge praerepta* ("since my bride was snatched away"), Lavinia is neither his wife nor even his fiancée.[24] Nevertheless, Turnus rhetorically stakes out a position both parallel and superior to that of the Greeks in the Trojan War. Like the sons of Atreus and the Greeks, he and the Italians have been wronged by the theft of a woman and have the right to respond. Turnus then invents an objection that the Trojans have paid sufficiently for Paris' actions.[25] He then attempts to refute this objection: it would also have been enough for the Trojans to give up their habit of stealing other men's wives, but they have not.[26] He then mocks the paltry defenses they believe will protect them against his forces. This last point, however valid it may be, leads Turnus into an exhortation to his men, and here his characterization of the situation falters quite badly. He is dismissive of divine aid (Aeneas' armor), the alliance with the bulk of the Etruscans (another non-Italian people), and the Greeks, both in their specific heroes and deeds (Ulysses and Diomedes, who stole the Palladium; the ploy of the Trojan horse) and their overall strength (a thousand ships, the Pelasgian youth).[27] The Greeks at Troy, in fact, were barely superior to the Trojans, with Hector alone holding them off for ten years. Amata's stronger, superior foreigners are nowhere to be found.

Numanus Remulus will also contrast Trojan and Italian by, among other things, discounting the force and resourcefulness of the Greeks.[28] He also reminds the reader and Ascanius of Paris' crime, and adds a gendered dimension to his attack as well.

> 'non pudet obsidione iterum ualloque teneri,
> bis capti Phryges, et morti praetendere muros?
> en qui nostra sibi bello conubia poscunt!
> quis deus Italiam, quae uos dementia adegit?

non hic Atridae nec fandi fictor Vlixes:
durum a stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum
deferimus saeuoque gelu duramus et undis;
uenatu in uigilant pueri siluasque fatigant,
flectere ludus equos et spicula tendere cornu.
at patiens operum paruoque adsueta iuuentus
aut rastris terram domat aut quatit oppida bello.
omne aeuum ferro teritur, uersaque iuuencum
terga fatigamus hasta, nec tarda senectus
debilitat uiris animi mutatque uigorem:
canitiem galea premimus, semperque recentis
comportare iuuat praedas et uiuere rapto.
uobis picta croco et fulgenti murice uestis,
desidiae cordi, iuuat indulgere choreis,
et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae.
o uere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges, ite per alta
Dindyma, ubi adsuetis biforem dat tibia cantum.
tympana uos buxusque uocat Berecyntia Matris
Idaeae; sinite arma uiris et cedite ferro.'
                                        [9.598-620]
"Are you not ashamed, twice-captured Phrygians, to be penned in
again by siege and ramparts, to stave off death with walls? Behold
the ones who demand our wives for themselves with war! What god
drove you to Italy? What madness drove you to us? There are no
sons of Atreus here, no storyteller Ulysses. A hard race at root, first
thing we take our newborn sons to the rivers and harden them with
the savage cold of the currents. As boys, they stay up hunting, and
they tire out the woods. They make a game of breaking horses and
shooting darts from the bow. Moreover, as young men, tolerant of
work and accustomed to little, they either subdue the earth with rakes
or shake towns with battle. Every age is inured to the sword, and we
tire the backs of bullocks with the spear-butt—and sluggish old age
does not weaken the force of mind and alter our strength: we weigh
down white hair with a helmet, and it always pleases us to carry off
fresh prey and live off what we've stolen. Dear to you is clothing
hued with yellow and gleaming purple, lounging about—dancing
pleases you. Your tunics have sleeves; your headdress has ribbons.
Really Phrygian women (you're not Phrygian men after all!), go
across lofty Dindyma, where the flute plays the two-piped song to
the accustomed throng. The drum and the Berecyntian boxwood
flute of the mother of Ida summon you. Leave arms to men and
yield to the sword."

Unlike Amata, Numanus Remulus does not carve out an exception for the Greeks. For him, the distinction that matters is Trojan and Italian. The binary associations are clear: as at Troy itself, the Trojans are cowards who hide behind walls; their desire to steal Italian women is undone by their lack of fighting strength. The Italians are accustomed to hard work and danger from childhood until old age; they are, even in Roman terms, closely associated with manly excellence. The Trojans, by contrast, are effeminate; their exotic style of clothing amounts to cross-dressing, so that they are in reality women—not men—of Phrygia.[29] Even religion pushes them toward effeminacy, for they are Cybele worshippers—and here Vergil recalls Catullus' famous Attis poem, about a young man who castrates himself in the rites of that goddess, forever losing his claim to manhood. The Trojans may as well put down their swords—fighting is for men, says Numanus Remulus with a confidence that quite soon will kill him.[30]

Numanus' language deserves further unpacking.[31] Like much inflammatory rhetoric on the difference between the undesirable foreign immigrant and the native it is not free from internal contradictions, and some of the precise mechanisms by which it works are worth noting. The belittling reference to the sons of Atreus—Greece's most powerful king and the son-in-law of Jupiter—and Ulysses, described derisively as a storyteller, is intended to assert Italian superiority. This time the Trojans will not fight such paltry kings and a teller of tall tales. Yet the claim also highlights to those who are aware another possibility, namely that the Italians, with Latinus and Turnus in place of the sons of Atreus, lack the caliber of leadership the Trojans are used to facing; they also lack a Ulysses, perhaps a weaver of tales, but

also the architect of the Greeks' winning strategy. In place of these dismissed Greek strengths, Numanus offers instead a portrait of the Italians as naturally rugged and suited to victory. His description of the life of Italian men from infancy until old age draws heavily from the *Georgics,* both the *laudes uitae rusticae* (2.458-542) but also the famous *laudes Italiae* (2.136-76), a rhetorical set piece that, despite a once common reading as entirely laudatory, contains its own problems and contradictions.[32] The *laudes Italiae,* like Numanus' speech to Ascanius, may easily be read as an example of a rhetorical type—here the poetry of praise—that draws attention to its own rhetorical nature, a statement that—no matter how sincerely its speaker means it—emphasizes its nature as a verbal structure fitted to the needs of a particular moment.[33]

Gendered rhetoric intersects with fears of the foreign and the immigrant in ways that are not always clear. In current descriptions of undocumented immigrants from Latin America, there is a tendency, perhaps, to attribute a kind of grotesque hypermasculinity to men that support fears of them as menacing criminals and specifically as rapists. This, of course, has a long history in rhetoric about African-American men as well. Such groups, like the Trojans in the formulations of Iarbas and Amata, have come for our women. Yet alongside this rhetoric of the hypermasculine we find other ethnicities depicted as naturally effeminate. This is all well illustrated by the 2018 stand-up routine by the comedian Louis C. K., who, after recycling tired jokes about the endowments of African-American men, moved on to Asians.[34] The cleanest part of the joke sums up the rhetorical point perfectly. For he says of Asians, lumped for his purposes into one homogeneous group:

"they're women. They're not dudes. They're all women. All Asians are women."

My examples conclude with a famous speech by Juno, the queen of the gods and prime divine enemy of the Trojans. Juno has admitted defeat; she acknowledges the truth, that Rome will rise despite her wishes. Yet she demands a price.

> 'illud te, nulla fati quod lege tenetur,
> pro Latio obtestor, pro maiestate tuorum:
> cum iam conubiis pacem felicibus (esto)
> component, cum iam leges et foedera iungent,
> ne uetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos
> neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque uocari
> aut uocem mutare uiros aut uertere uestem.
> sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges,
> sit Romana potens Itala uirtute propago:
> occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia.'
>   [12.818-28]
> "This I beseech you—I think constrained by no rule of
> fate—on Latium's behalf and on behalf of the greatness of
> your people: once they settle a peace with prosperous mar-
> riage—so be it—once they join laws and compacts: do not
> order the indigenous Latins to change their ancient name or
> become Trojans and be called Teucrians—or that the men
> change their language and their clothing. But let Latium, let
> Alban kings throughout the ages exist; let Roman offspring
> hold power through Italian manliness. Troy is dead, and let
> it stay dead along with its name."

Juno will cease her opposition if outward signs of Trojan identity are erased. Immigration and the changes it will bring can be accepted, if the old order can feel itself preserved. In many ways, the *Aeneid* challenges the truth of such preservation, and both traditional stories of hostilities resuming after the death of Turnus and the history of Rome's eventual wars with Juno's peoples argue that such notions of a fossilized ethnic and national identity are imagined rather than real.[35]

It is easy to lose sight of the logic here because of the understandable desire

to focus on questions of Roman destiny or divine behavior. The speech is especially notable for what Juno does not say: her reasons for the sublimation of Troy into a new Italian people, the Romans, is not given in terms of advantages, of strength, of sacrifice, or of anything we might hope a divine being might choose to promote in human affairs. Instead, Juno wants the erasure of foreignness in an Italian context, whereby language and clothing are given up in an act of assimilation. Most of all, perhaps, she wants to preserve her sense of victory at Troy. The rise of Rome and the expanded identity of the Italians is not a problem if she maintains her identity as the divine persecutor and ultimately destroyer of the city of Troy.[36] It is worth noting that even (or especially?) Jupiter obfuscates the issues of which identity will endure; the poem itself takes no final stand.[37]

Assimilation holds a crucial place in the rhetoric of immigration and resistance to it. It can be held up—even by immigrants—as a virtue and act of good faith. In the face of that paradigm, a desire to retain ancestral markers of identity, one's heritage, can be recast as unwillingness to cooperate, as assertions of cultural superiority, even as a form of invasion. Again, the UCLA-affiliated "Reimagining Immigration" project has helpful remarks on this, as does a recent piece in *The Atlantic* about the portrayal of immigrants in recent tv shows.[38]

In many ways, this brief survey has oversimplified even if it has shown that certain ways of talking—negatively, in this case—about immigrants persist over time. It may be useful to conclude by looking briefly not at Vergil's characters but at his own lived reality. We too often speak of Rome as a changeless monolith, but the Roman empire as Vergil knew it was a multiethnic meta-state, that is, a

state comprising numerous quasi-independent communities. Even Italy was not, in any simple way, a cultural or social unity. There were Romans, other Italians of various kinds, Etruscans, Greeks, and even some—like Vergil himself—who were identified as "nearer Gauls." Political unity was still a work in progress, and Vergil's own hometown received full citizen rights only in 49 BCE under Julius Caesar.[39] Like virtually all important Classical Latin authors except for Caesar, Vergil was not from the city of Rome, and his persistent use of different rhetorics of immigration as a feature of his hero's struggle bespeaks an awareness of what it is like to negotiate the transition from outsider to insider—from Trojan refugee to founding father of the Roman people, or from provincial schoolboy to one of the central figures in Roman education and culture.

Endnotes

1   The main argument of this article was originally made in a paper for "Teaching Rome at Home," a conference at the University of Maryland College Park in May of 2019. I am grateful for comments received from audience members and fellow speakers on that occasion. Stephen C. Smith has provided much helpful commentary and other help as well. Finally, I would like to thank the editors (along with the editorial staff) of *Teaching Classical Languages* for organizing this special issue.

2   On Roman identity as a critical issue in the *Aeneid*, see Toll 1997, Syed 2005, Reed 2007, and Farrell 2021.

3   For an overview, see Dench 2014. Her definition is useful: ethnicity "generally refers to a people's own expression of belonging to a group that shares descent and/or culture."

4   A number of scholars have explored the way nationalist or ethnic rhetoric involves characteristics of race and racism. See, for example, Cairns 1989, 109-28 and Dench 2014.

5   On the specific question of Italian and Roman in Vergil and other Roman writers, see especially Toll 1991; Habinek 1998, 34-68 and 88-102; Jenkyns 1999, 73-128; Ando 2002; and Fletcher 2014, 1-32.

6   Vasunia 2009 explores the ways in which the *Aeneid* was used by British authors to discuss various aspects of the imperial project. The poem could be used as support for notions of the civilizing mission of colonial empire, but it might also show a more complicated and troubling vision of empire (84): "In the mid-eighteenth century, writers such as Edward Gibbon turned to Virgil not to promote monarchical imperialism but to evaluate the workings of empire, to question its durability, and to explore its limits and contradictions." This stands in contrast to Victorian uses of the poem when prominent writers (84) "...highlighted the prophetic and providential interpretation of Virgil and speculated about an empire that was divinely ordained and had no limit."

Ronnick 2014 is a helpful introduction to the ways in which the *Aeneid* played a role in the cultural lives of black Americans as well as to the problems of doing work in reception among traditionally marginalized populations and the fact that it was largely left unexamined until the twenty-first century.

7   For a brief but helpful overview of postcolonial theory and the *Aeneid*, see Syed 2014. On colonization and the thorny issues surrounding both concept and the words *colonus* in the poem, see Pogorzelski 2014.

8   On the ways in which Aeneas himself fits the role of colonist/*ktistes*, see Horsfall 1989. This form of colonization, and Aeneas' role in it, is central to two important discussions: Reed 2007 and Fletcher 2014.

9   See, for one example, Bakewell 2013, who sees in Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women* an exploration of Athenian constructions of identity. Bakewell links the play, despite its Argive setting, to the creation and expansion of the formal system of resident foreigners, metics, at Athens. His discussion is particularly useful on the way (national) identity is created and maintained through exclusion.

10   I have therefore emphasized especially important or helpful works and those in English.

11   The text of Vergil is that of Mynors' 1969 Oxford Classical Text; all translations are my own. On Iarbas' speech here, see Highet 1972, 117-18.

12   On gender and ethnicity as intertwined categories, see especially Syed 2005; this is a major theme of her study overall. On the way the categories of gender and ethnicity are intertwined in the text, see 136-76.

13   C. Suárez-Orozco and M. Suárez-Orozco. "What are the Predominant Stereotypes about Immigrants Today?" ReImaginingMigration.org. https://reimaginingmigration.org/what-are-the-predominant-stereotypes-about-immigrants-today/

14   Syed 2005, 136-76 outlines the ways in which the emotions, which are generally associated with the feminine, are used to categorize even foreign men as ethnic others (137): "the link between gender and ethnicity in these figures often involves another such link, that between passion and ethnicity. This second link deserves more attention, because two ways of defining identity come together here, the personal one in which the self is defined by its constituent elements, such as its gaze, its emotions, and its voice, and the communal one in which the individual self is defined as part of a group and by its role or standing within that group, be it a nation, a tribe, or the body of citizens of a city-state, groups which themselves in turn are defined by their opposition to other such groups. While the link of passion

to ethnicity combines these two modes of defining the self in the *Aeneid*, the link between gender and ethnicity is a combination of two communal modes of defining identity. Nevertheless, this link, too, implicates the personal mode of defining identity, because ethnic others are figured as female here because of their passion and because the link itself introduces the possibility of erotic narrative into stories about colonization and imperialist conquest...."

15   For this use of *medius*, see Lewis and Short, s.v., 1B7.

16   It has long been recognized that Amata has an unusually personal stake in the affairs of state here, with some even arguing that her preference for Turnus masks an erotic desire of her own; see Zarker 1969 and Lyne 1987, 14-19. The wording of the Latin suggests that Aeneas will not only take Lavinia but also abandon Amata.

17   On the way Io is used to characterize Turnus in the *Aeneid*, see O'Hara 1990, 78-81.

18   According to Adams 1982, 151 *penetrare* "does not occur in a sexual sense" in Classical Latin, but this seems perhaps simplistic. The verb may not be used as either a primary obscenity or a common euphemism, but its basic meaning is "to cause to go into the interior of anything or to a place, etc., situated in the interior" Oxford Latin Dictionary s.v. 1. It can be used of the insertion of objects (broadly construed to include emotions and ideas) into a place, building, or body, and uses like that here with a human subject and a place as object are often found with a reflexive pronoun "to put oneself into a place," see *Oxford Latin Dictionary* s.v. 1a. Paris here has not only gone into the heart of Spartan territory, but he has committed adultery with its queen. The verb need not denote a specific sex act to have sexual connotations.

19   See Reeve 2013 with further references.

20   A convenient way into the topic of hypermasculinity is the current Wikipedia article.

21   For ways in which hostile characterizations of foreign "others," above all the Trojans, are contradicted by the poem itself, see Winnington-Ingram 1971-72, Cairns 1989, 121-22, and Syed 2005, 195-99.

22   On Turnus' speech here, see O'Hara 1990, 75-78.

23   Turnus' speech here is a *cohortatio*, a commander's speech rousing his troops before battle; in addition to the attempt to reinterpret signs of divine favor, Turnus' speech falls short of the demands of the situation in a number of ways. See Highet 1972, 87-88.

24   Hardie 1994, 100 (on 9.138).

25   Cf. 2.642-43, where Anchises says *satis una superque / uidimus excidia et captae superauimus urbi*, "once—enough and more!—have we seen destruction and survived the city captured."

26   9.140-42 present difficulties, and it is difficult to know exactly what Turnus is trying to say; the text may be corrupt. Turnus imagines an interlocutor who suggests that the Trojans have already paid sufficiently for Paris' crime. Turnus' response, assuming the Latin we have, presents different possibilities, all of which seem to be unsatisfactory. The alternatives would seem to be that Turnus is saying (1) it would have been enough to have paid the price once if they had learned from their mistake *instead of (modo non)* remaining hostile (*perosos*) to all women, tracing what he sees as a tendency to steal other men's wives and fiancées to a kind of misogyny, which seems to make little sense here; (2) the same except that *modo non* must mean something like "provided that" and *perosos* mean "averse" or, in other words, after the Trojan War, they had lost all interest in women; or (3), with Hardie, following Fordyce's unpublished commentary on Book 9, something along the lines of " if they didn't thoroughly hate all but the whole of womankind." The chief difficulties lie in the phrase *modo non* and the case of *peroso*s, for which *perosis* might be expected.

27   Turnus must mean the armor of Achilles rather than either Aeneas' original armor or that made by Vulcan, since this scene must occur before Aeneas has received that armor (and, because Books 8 and 9 occur at the same time, the characters around the Trojan camp can have no knowledge of what transpires for Aeneas on his journey). His point is simply that, unlike the great Greek warrior, he does not need the protection of magical armor.

28   On Numanus' speech, see Horsfall 1971; Highet 1972, 89-90; and Lyne 1987, 200-205. Casali 2009, 313-17 analyzes the speech not for the truth or falsity of its rhetoric but for the way it is actually the more typically Augustan view of Roman identity than Ascanius' reaction would suggest. See also Miller 2009, 156-58.

29   A fact not always noted in Vergilian scholarship is the history of slurs of the type "not x-men but x-women" goes back to Homeric precedent, when Thersites uses it of other Greeks at Iliad 2.235; see Highet 1972, 258. On the intertextual background and effects of the episodes of Numanus and Turnus in Book 9, see Farrell 2021, 258-63.

30   Here Numanus Remulus echoes what Turnus had said to the disguised Allecto 7.440-44: war is for men.

31   The classic English-language discussion is Horsfall 1971 where antecedents and cultural associations of Numanus' speech are collected.

32   On this aspect of Numanus' speech—and the way it is contradicted by the reality of the poem, see Winnington-Ingram 1971-72, especially 63.

33   On the *laudes Italiae*, their internal contradictions, and the way they function as self-conscious rhetoric, see Thomas 1988, 179-90 and Nappa 2005, 78-85.

34   When this paper was originally composed, the comedian was in some disgrace; shows were cancelled, and many spoke against his history of misbehavior. By the time of this version, however, he seems to have made up some of the ground that he lost.

35   On Juno's deal with Jupiter, see Feeney 1984. On the importance placed by individual actors—here, above all, by Juno and Venus—on the ethnic components of national identity see O'Hara 1990, 137-51. See also Highet 1972, 128-31 on the rhetoric of her speech.

36   See Feeney 1984 and Farrell 2021, 284-86.

37   In her brief overview of postcolonialism, Syed presents an *Aeneid* that elides rather than champions distinctions that might outweigh or override the category of Roman in Augustan times. See Syed 2014, 1032-33: "However, far from depicting ethnic identities as essentialist categories, *A*. draws attention to the ways in which they are discursively constructed. The poem articulates a Roman cultural identity distinct from these various ethnicities, conceptualizing it as an inclusive category that allows readers of every ethnicity to identify as Roman... *A*. did the cultural work of articulating this inclusive concept in which descent from Aeneas is symbolic and being Roman can be learned." She builds here on her earlier work (Syed 2005) in

talking about the way the poem offers a usefully capacious vision of what it meant to be a Roman. Her arguments are especially useful antidotes to the reading of the poem and its place in history advanced by Waswo 1997. On the way the poem might be used to advance a kind of civilizing colonialism, see Vasunia 2009, 114 on the idea of imperial "trusteeship" and the British notion that they were needed as imperial rulers since native populations were not able to govern themselves, a concept not unlike the American idea of a "manifest destiny" that authorized a colonialist enterprise.

38   J. C. Chan 2018; see also Fattal 2018.

39   Scholars have linked the sensitivity to issues of Roman identity in the first century BCE to the expansion of Roman citizenship—a central element of defining Roman identity—after the Gracchi and especially after the Social Wars; see Toll 1991; Ando 2002; Dench, 2005, 152-217; Syed 2005, 218; and Fletcher 2014, throughout, but especially 1-4. Similar arguments about maintaining a sense of identity as communities expanded underlie Bakewell's reading (Bakewell 2013) of Aeshylus' *Suppliants* as an exploration of *metoikia*; see, for example, 3: "at fifth-century Athenians became increasingly conscious of their collective identity, their ongoing attempts at self-definition invoked the exclusion of others." Similarly, Vasunia 2009 describes the uses of the *Aeneid* by those concerned with the expansive size of the British Empire under Queen Victoria.

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