

FRED S. NAIDEN

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Education

Ph.D. in Classical Philology, Harvard University 2000

Publications

Books

1. *Ancient Supplication* (Oxford 2006; paperback 2009), 426 pp.
2. *Greek and Roman Animal Sacrifice: Ancient Victims, Modern Observers*, co-edited with C. Faraone (Cambridge 2012, paperback 2018), 209 pp.
3. *Smoke Signals for the Gods: Ancient Greek Sacrifice from the Archaic through Roman Periods* (Oxford 2013; paperback 2015), 423 pp.
4. *Mercury's Wings: Exploring Modes of Communication in the Ancient World*, co-edited with R. Talbert (Oxford 2017), 419 pp.
5. *Soldier, Priest, and God: A Life of Alexander the Great* (Oxford 2018, paperback 2021), 407 pp.
6. *Reflections on Macedonian and Roman Grand Strategy*, co-edited with D. Raisbeck (Universidad La Gran Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia 2019), 145 pp.
7. *The Wiley Companion to Greek Warfare*, co-edited with W. Heckel, E. Garvin, and J. Vanderspoel, 2021. 474 pp.

Edited Journal Issue

"Moses Finley in America: The Making of an Ancient Historian," co-edited with R. Talbert, *American Journal of Philology* 135.2 (2014)

Articles

1. "Amphion's Paeon: A Note on Propertius 3.15.42," with I. C. Rutherford, *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 37 (a publication of the U. of Pisa) 1996: 231-39
2. "Alcestis the Ghost," *Lexis* 16 (a publication of the U. of Turin) 1998: 77-86
3. "The Prospective Imperfect in Herodotus," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1999: 135-50
4. "Homer's Leopard Simile," in *Nine Studies in Homer*, ed. M. Carlisle and I. Levaniouk, Rowman and Littlefield 1999: 177-204
5. "The Words of the Alewife at Line 42, Hesiod's *Works and Days*," *Journal of Near-Eastern Studies* 2003: 263-66
6. "Embola Petroniana," *Classical Quarterly* 2003: 2.637-40
7. "Supplication on Roman Coins," *American Journal of Numismatics* 2003 [2004]: 41-52
8. "Supplication and the Law," in *The Law and the Courts in Ancient Greece*, ed. E. Harris and L. Rubinstein, Duckworth 2004: 71-91
9. "*Hiketia* and *Theoria*," in *Seeing the Gods: Pilgrimage in Greco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity*, ed. J. Elsner and I. C. Rutherford, Oxford 2005: 73-97

10. "Rejected Sacrifice in Greek and Hebrew Religion," *Journal of Ancient Near-Eastern Religions* 2006: 189-223
11. "The Fallacy of the Willing Victim," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 2007: 61-73
12. "The Invention of the Officer Corps," *Journal of the Historical Society* 2007: 1.35-60
13. "Lines in the Sand," *Wilson Quarterly* 2007: 1.52-63
14. "Sanctions in Sacred Laws," in *Symposion 2007: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (2008, a publication of the Austrian Academy): 125-38
15. Five entries, 763, 764, 766, 783, 794, in *Brill's New Jacoby*, ed. I. Worthington, totaling app. 21,000 words of text and commentary, 2009
16. "Adieu to Lebanon," with K. Harl, *Historically Speaking* 2009: 2.24-7
17. "Spartan Naval Performance in the Decelean War," *Journal of Military History* 2009: 3.729-45
18. "The Legal (and other) Trials of Orestes," in *Law and Drama in Classical Athens*, ed. E. Harris, D. Leão, and P. Rhodes, Duckworth 2010: 61-77
19. "Blind Men of Industan," *Journal of the Historical Society* 2011: 1.1-21
20. "Alexander the Great as a Religious Leader," *Ancient World* 2011: 2.166-79
21. "Introduction" with C. Faraone, to *Greek and Roman Animal Sacrifice: Ancient Victims, Modern Observers*, Cambridge 2012: 1-11
22. "Blessèd Are the Parasites," in *Greek and Roman Animal Sacrifice: Ancient Victims, Modern Observers*, Cambridge 2012: 55-84
23. Eight entries, "Bouphonia," "Expiatory Rites," "First Fruits," "Hecatombs," "Religion, Greek," "Sacrifice, Greek," "Supplication," and "Theoxenia," in the *Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, ed. R. Bagnall et al., Wiley-Blackwell, totaling app. 6,700 words, 2012 (print) & 2014 (on-line).
24. "Freedom and Security on an Ancient Frontier," in *Liberty and Security in the Age of Terrorism*, ed. M. Strauss y Bessette, Commonwealth Security Studies Laboratory 2013: 87-107
25. "Gods, Kings, and Lawgivers," in *Law and Religion in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. A. Hagedorn and R. Kratz, Oxford 2013: 79-105
26. "Recent Study of Greek Religion from the Archaic through Hellenistic Periods," *Currents in Biblical Research* 2013: 3.388-427
27. "Variations on the Theme of Divided Government," *Historically Speaking* 2013: 2.6-8
28. "Heroes and Drones," *Wilson Quarterly* 37.3 (2013). 3,672 words.
29. "So-called Asylum for Suppliants," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 188 (2013): 136-9
30. One entry, "Supplication," in the *Virgil Encyclopedia*, ed. R. Thomas and J. Ziolkowski, Wiley-Blackwell, 254 words, 2014
31. "Introduction," with R. Talbert, *American Journal of Philology* 2014: 2.167-79
32. "Finley's War Years," *American Journal of Philology* 2014: 2.243-67
33. "An Anatolian Itinerary, 334-333 BCE," in *Ancient World Views: Institutions and Geography from the Greco-Roman World*, ed. L. Brice and D. Slotjes, Brill 2014: 219-35
34. "The Sword Did It: A Greek Explanation for Suicide," *Classical Quarterly* 2015: 1.75-85
35. "Sacrifice," in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek Religion*, ed. J. Kindt and E. Eidinow, 2015: 463-76
36. "Sacrificing 'in the Greek Fashion'," *Métis* 2015: 151-66
37. "Sacrifice," *Oxford On-line Bibliographies*, with J. Rives, app. 12,600 words. 2/26/2016
38. "Contagious ΑΣΕΒΕΙΑ," *Classical Quarterly* 2016: 1.59-74
39. "Introduction," with R. Talbert, to *Mercury's Wings: Exploring Communications in the Ancient World*, Oxford, 2017. Pp. xvii-xxxiv
40. "Military Communication: The Example of the Classical Battlefield," same. Pp. 262-86.
41. "Introduction," with I. C. Rutherford and S. Hitch, to *Sacrifice in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. Rutherford & Hitch, Cambridge, 2017. Pp. 1-13
42. "'Polis Religion' and Sacrificial Regulation," in *Sacrifice in the Ancient Greek World*, same. Pp. 136-51

43. "Tibullus on Poverty and Wealth," in *Albert's Anthology* [Loeb Classical Monographs 17], ed. K. Coleman, Harvard 2017, 125-7
44. "Πρωτολογία in Homer," *Classical Quarterly* 2017: 2.339-52
45. "Moses Finley's Communist Party Membership," *American Journal of Philology* 2017: 4.739-42
46. "Introduction" to *The World of Odysseus*, tr. Chun Liu, Peking University, 2019. Pp. i-vii
47. "Religion and Spirituality," in *The Cultural History of Emotion in Antiquity*, ed. D. Cairns, Bloomsbury, 2019. Pp. 35-47
48. "The Crime of Defeat," in *Kállistos Nómos. Scritti in onore di Alberto Maffi*, ed. B. Biscotti, Giappichelli, 2018 [=2019]. Pp. 103-119
49. "Introduction" with D. Raisbeck, *Reflections on Macedonian and Roman Grand Strategy*, Universidad Gran Colombia, 2019. Pp. 1-20
50. "War Aims of Alexander the Great," in *Reflections on Macedonian and Roman Grand Strategy*, same. Pp. 41-59
51. "Violent Sacrifice in Ancient Greece and Rome," in the *Cambridge World History of Violence*, v. 1, ed. G. Fagan, L. Fibiger, M. Hudson and M. Trundle, 2020. Pp. 475-92
52. Two entries, "Offerings in Homer" and "Supplication in Homer," in *The Cambridge Guide to Homer*, ed. C. Pache, 2020. Pp. 365-69, 390-92
53. "The Monetisation of Sacrifice," in *Pilgrimage and Economy in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. A. Collar and T. Kristensen, Brill, 2020. Pp. 163-86
54. "Sacrifice, Impiety, and Murder," in *Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greece: Proceedings of the Second International Workshops in Cracow, 10-13.2.2017*, ed. K. Bielawski, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa (Warsaw), 2020. Pp. 7-30
55. "Greek Sacrifice According to the Marmarini Inscription," same. Pp. 71-106
56. "Law, Legitimacy, and Religion in the Greek Poleis," in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Law*, ed. M. Canevaro and E. Harris, Oxford, approx. 15,000 words, 2020 (on-line), 2023 (print)
57. "The Self-Definition of Alexander the Great," in *Greek Epigraphy and Religion: Papers in Memory of Sara B. Aleshire from the Second North American Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy* [Brill Studies in Greek and Latin Epigraphy 14], ed. E. Mackil and N. Papazardakas, Brill, 2020. Pp. 295-309
58. "Animals in Greek and Roman Criminal Law," in *Animals and the Law in Antiquity*, ed. S. Olyan and J. Rosenblum, *Brown Judaic Studies* 368, 2021. Pp. 83-103.
59. "Introduction," with W. Heckel, forthcoming in *The Wiley Companion to Greek Warfare*. 2021. Pp 1-8
60. "Greek Military Organization," same. Pp. 119-37.
61. "Religion and Warfare," same. Pp. 312-29.
62. Eight entries, "Athena," "Dioscuri," "Hestia," "Mysteries," "Piety," "Suppliants," "Temples and Sanctuaries," and "Thesmophoria," in the *Herodotus Encyclopedia*, ed. C. Baron, Wiley, totaling app. 5,200 words. 2021
63. "Aeschylus and Greek Law," in *The Blackwell Companion to Aeschylus*, ed. J. Bromberg and P. Burian, 2021. Pp. 359-70.
64. "Animals," forthcoming in *Religion in Context, Neue Pauly Supplementband*, ed. J. Rüpke et al., J. B. Metzler
65. "Divination by Macedonian Kings," forthcoming in *Divination and Prophecy in Ancient Greece*, ed. R. Woodard, Cambridge
66. "Alexander's Modern Military Reputation," forthcoming in *The Cambridge Companion to Alexander the Great*, ed. D. Ogden
67. "Eastward the Course of Empire," forthcoming in *Ancient Foundations of Strategy* [Strategies of Great-Power Conflicts, vol. 1], ed. J. Lacey and D. Potter, Oxford
68. "Greek Military Prayers," forthcoming in *Prayer in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. D. Falk and R. Werline, Brill.
69. "Curtius vs. The Greeks—A Tabular Study," in *Roman Writers on Macedonian and Hellenistic History*, ed. E. Anson and W. Heckel, Oxbow forthcoming.

70. "Sacrifice by Individuals," in *Ancient Greek Personal Religion*, ed. J. Kindt, Cambridge forthcoming.

Reviews

1. *Greek Religions*, by S. Price, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2000. 1,691 words.
2. *Herodotus in Context*, by R. Thomas, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2001. 1,972 words.
3. *Das Drama der Hikesie. Ritual und Rhetorik in Aischylos' Hiketiden*, by S. Göttsche, *Classical Philology* 2002: 2.185-9
4. *Alexander the Great: Lessons in Strategy*, by D. Lonsdale, *Journal of Military History* 2008: 4.1275-76
5. *Lawmaking and Adjudication in Archaic Greece*, by Z. Papakonstantinou, *Classical Review* 2009: 2.498-9
6. *The Greeks and Greek Love: A Radical Reappraisal of Homosexuality in Ancient Greece*, by J. Davidson, *Wilson Quarterly* 2009: 3.105-6
7. *Makers of Ancient Strategy from the Persian Wars to the Fall of Rome*, ed. V. Hanson, *Journal of Military History* 2010: 4.1258-9
8. *The Hemlock Cup* by B. Hughes, *Wilson Quarterly* 2011: 2.109-10
9. *Ostraca de Krokodilo: la correspondance militaire et sa circulation*, by H. Cuvigny, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 2011: 1.109-11
10. *Beyond Sacred Violence: A Comparative Study of Sacrifice*, by K. McClymond, *History of Religions* 2011: 4.431-3
11. *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare*, ed. G. Fagan and M. Trundle, *Classical Review* 2013: 1.150-51.
12. *Ancient Mediterranean Sacrifice*, ed. J. W. Knust and Z. Várhelyi, *Classical Journal* 2013: 4.474-6.
13. *Offrir en Grèce ancienne. Gestes et contextes*, by I. Patera, *Classical Review* 2014: 1.207-8
14. *Darius in the Shadow of Alexander*, by P. Briant, *Journal of Military History* 2016: 1.111-12.
15. *Theologies of Ancient Greek Religion*, ed. R. Osborne et al., *Classical World* 2017: 3.433-5.

Translation:

co-translator of *Understanding Byzantium: Studies in Byzantine Historical Sources* by Paul Speck, ed. S. Takács. Ashgate 2002

Papers read

- "Supplicatory *Defixiones*," Harvard 11/7/1998
"Slavery as Social Death: A Homeric Example," American Philological Association 12/30/1998
"The Removal of Suppliants from Sacred Space," American Philological Association 12/29/1999
"Another Unsuccessful Search for Euripidean Ideology," Texas at Austin 1/28/2000
"Supplication and the Law in Classical Athens," Yale 2/10/2000 and Tulane 2/17/2000
"A Typology of Pilgrimage at Epidaurus," Reading, England 7/14/2000
"Athenian Speaking Privileges," Classical Association of the Midwest and South 4/19/2001
"*Protologia* in Macedon," Association of Ancient Historians 5/4/2001
"Non-Western Criticisms of Anthropology: The Case of Talal Asad," American Philological Association 1/6/2002
"Tragically Incompetent Councils," Classical Association of the Midwest and South 4/4/2002

“Refuge for Greek and Hebrew Wrongdoers,” Johns Hopkins 4/3/2003
 “Rituals on Coins: A Test Case,” American Numismatic Society 7/24/2003
 “Supplication as an Example of a Ritual Koine,” American Philological Association 1/3/2004
 “Herodotus in Baghdad,” Historical Society 6/4/2004
 “Greek and Hebrew Examples of Rejected Sacrifice,” Florida State 2/26/2005
 “The Fallacy of the Willing Victim,” Chicago 10/18/2005 and Oxford 5/4/2006
 “Shepherds and Weavers,” Tennessee 10/24/2005
 “Lines in the Sand,” Tulane 10/16/2006 and Wofford 3/12/2007
 “The Invention of the Officer Corps,” UNC Chapel Hill 2/27/2007
 “Sacrifice and Self-Interest,” Reading, England 5/11/2007, Chicago 4/12/2008
 “Sanctions in Sacred Laws,” *Symposium* 2007 9/1/2007
 “War Aims of Alexander the Great,” Tulane 11/5/2007, Society for Military History 4/6/2018
 “Professional Officers Ashore and Afloat,” Association of Ancient Historians 4/12/2008,
 (under another title) NC Triangle Chapter, USNA Alumni Association 4/4/2008
 “Lebanon and its Money,” Tulane 5/1/2008
 “How Athens Regulated Sacrifice by Individuals and Associations,” Reading, England
 7/4/2008
 “The Organization of Anatolia in the Time of Alexander the Great,” Divan Turkish Cultural
 Center, Cary NC 1/24/2009
 “A Flock of Shepherds and a Lone Wolf,” Minnesota 3/6/2009
 “Spartan Officers, Unspartan Men,” Tulane 12/2/2009
 “The Stranger at the Gate,” Illinois 3/12/2010
 “Alexander the Great as a Religious Leader,” Association of Ancient Historians 4/16/2010
 “Blind Men of Industan,” Tulane 4/24/2010
 “Greek Generals and their Orders,” Society for Military History 5/22/2010
 “Spartan Meat,” Edinburgh 7/31/2010
 “Freedom and Security on an Ancient Frontier,” Morehead State 10/23/2010
 “Pan and Panic,” UNC Chapel Hill 10/30/2010
 “Esthetic Considerations in Greek Sacrifice,” Duke 12/4/2010
 “Military *Parrhesia*,” National Humanities Center 3/7/2011
 “Alexander’s War Councils at Issus and Gaugamela,” East Carolina 4/15/2011
 “A Critique of Prevailing Views of Sacrifice,” Durham, England 10/13/2011
 “Persians: Men on Horseback,” UNC Chapel Hill 10/15/2011
 “Monetization and Alexander the Great,” Washington and Lee 5/2/2012
 “Finley’s War Years,” Association of Ancient Historians 5/5/2012
 “Ancient Greek Small-Unit Tactics,” 3rd Marines, Camp Schwab, Okinawa 7/9/2012
 “Ancient Greek and Roman Chains of Command,” Tulane 9/28/2012
 “Beware the Word *Sacrifice*,” UNC Chapel Hill 2/26/2013
 “The Sword Did It: An Ancient Greek View of Suicide,” Edinburgh 3/6/2013
 “A New Typology for Sacred Laws,” with Edward Harris, Reading, England 3/7/2013, and
 Association of Ancient Historians 5/17/2013
 “The Topography of Pompey’s Eastern Settlement,” Tulane 3/13/2013
 “Commemoration of the Macedonian War Dead,” Society for Military History 3/15/2013, and
 (under another title) South Dakota State 10/18/2019
 “Law, Legitimacy, and Religion in the Greek Poleis,” Edinburgh 9/13/2013
 “On the Job Training for Macedonian Pharaohs,” North Carolina State Museum 9/28/2013
 “Sacrifice ‘in the Greek Manner’,” Society for Classical Studies 1/3/2014
 “Begging Persians for Mercy: An Ancient Example,” Tulane 3/15/2014, and (under another
 title) Appalachian State 2/26/2015
 “Divine and Human Spectators in Ancient Shrines,” Institute for the Study of the Ancient
 World 5/16/2014 (revised title)
 “Materialism and Scholarly Method,” Edinburgh, 6/25/2014
 “An Anatolian Itinerary, 334-333 BCE,” Universidad Rosario, Bogotá, Colombia,
 10/31/2014
 “Finley in America,” Society for Classical Studies, 1/9/2015

“The Monetization of Sacrifice,” Aarhus, Denmark, 9/17/2015
 “Captivated by Alexander,” Vanderbilt 9/30/2015
 “Conquest by Co-opting,” Tulane 10/1/2015
 “The Self-Definition of Alexander the Great, Part I,” North American Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy 1/6/2016, and Reading England 12/7/2016
 “The Self-Definition of Alexander the Great, Part II,” Society for Classical Studies 1/8/2016, and Reading, England, 12/7/2016
 “A Synoptic View of the War Councils of Alexander the Great,” S. Dakota State 4/4/2016 and (under another title) Edmonton, Alb. 5/4/2018
 “Political Success and Military Failure: The Athenian Case,” Tulane 5/7/2016
 “Rehistoricizing Greek Religion,” Society for Classical Studies 1/6/2017
 “*Hetaireia* in Macedon,” UNC Greensboro 10/17/2017
 “Athenian and Spartan Military Law,” Tulane 11/1/2017
 “Prayers vs. Entreaties,” Barton College, 6/4/2018
 “*The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens—Twenty Years and Counting*,” Fairfield, 10/13/2018
 “Animals in Greek and Roman Criminal Law,” Brooklyn College, CUNY, 10/25/2018, and Brown, 12/3/2018
 “Greek and Near Eastern Religion in the Marmarini Inscription,” American Society for Oriental Research, 11/15/2018
 “Donald in the Lions’ Den: A Tale of Kurdistan,” UNC Naval ROTC, 2/14/2019
 “Alexander and the Sages: A Hebrew Version,” Association of Ancient Historians, 4/27/2019
 “Alejandro y Pizarro,” Universidad La Gran Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia, 5/4/2019, and (in English) Carol Woods Retirement Community, Chapel Hill, NC, 5/16/2019
 “What Will Happen Next? Ask a Goat,” UNC Chapel Hill, 7/13/2019
 “Aesop and the Greek Law of Animals,” Cambridge, 11/1/2019
 “Alexander and the Mongols,” American Historical Association, 1/4/2020
 “Terrorizing your own Men—the Case of Alexander the Great” South Dakota 10/14/2021
 “How Alexander became ‘Great’,” UNC Chapel Hill 10/29/2021
 “Rome and Macedon,” US Marine Corps War College, 11/5/2021

Other Professional Activities

Keynote speaker:

“Food and Ritual: Ancient Practices and Modern Perspectives,” Oxford 2/19/2014
 “Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greece,” Jagiellonian University, Cracow, 2/10/2017
 “Sacrificial Rituals in Thought and Practice,” Changchun, China 9/22/2017

Conference organizer:

“The Centrality of Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greek Religion: Ancient Reality or Modern Construct?” with C. Faraone, Chicago 4/11-13/2008
 “Communications in the Ancient World,” with R. Talbert, National Humanities Center 3/7-8/2011
 Association of Ancient Historians 2012, with R. Talbert and M. Boatwright, 5/4-6/2012

Panel organizer:

“Ancient Generalship,” with E. Wheeler, Society for Military History, 5/22/2010
 “Moses Finley in America, 1912-53: The Making of an Ancient Historian,”

Association of Ancient Historians, 4/5/2012
“Strategic Memory: Heritage and Manipulation,” with E. Wheeler, Society for
Military History, 3/15/2013
“Ancient Strategy in the Near East From Alexander to Heraclius,” with E. Wheeler,
Society for Military History, 4/6/2018

Panel presider or respondent:

“Ancient Warfare,” Society for Military History, 4/4/2009
“Military History,” Association of Ancient Historians, 5/14/2009
“Archaeology of Greek Religious Spaces,” UNC Chapel Hill 9/6/2014
“Ancient Borders,” UNC Chapel Hill 9/10/2016
“From the Snout to the Tail: Exploring the Greek Sacrificial Animal from the
Literary, Epigraphical, Iconographical, Archaeological and Zooarchaeological
Evidence,” Uppsala, Sweden, 12/8-9/2016
“The New Cult Inscription from Marmarini,” U. of Virginia 4/22-23/2017
“Ancient History,” Society for Classical Studies, 1/5/2020
“I Sentieri di *Dike*,” Milan 1/20/2021