**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 withR. 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 Paean: 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. “*Hiketeia* 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

1. “Rejected Sacrifice in Greek and Hebrew Religion,” *Journal of Ancient Near-Eastern Religions* 2006: 189-223
2. “The Fallacy of the Willing Victim,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 2007: 61-73
3. “The Invention of the Officer Corps,” *Journal of the Historical Society* 2007: 1.35-60
4. “Lines in the Sand,” *Wilson Quarterly* 2007: 1.52-63
5. “Sanctions in Sacred Laws,” in *Symposion 2007: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (2008, a publication of the Austrian Academy): 125-38
6. 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
7. “Adieu to Lebanon,” with K. Harl, *Historically Speaking* 2009: 2.24-7
8. “Spartan Naval Performance in the Decelean War,” *Journal of Military History* 2009:

3.729-45

1. “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

1. “Blind Men of Industan,” *Journal of the Historical Society* 2011: 1.1-21
2. “Alexander the Great as a Religious Leader,” *Ancient World* 2011: 2.166-79
3. “Introduction” with C. Faraone, to *Greek and Roman Animal Sacrifice: Ancient Victims, Modern Observers*, Cambridge 2012: 1-11
4. “Blessèd Are the Parasites,” in *Greek and Roman Animal Sacrifice: Ancient Victims, Modern Observers*, Cambridge 2012: 55-84
5. 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).
6. “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
7. “Gods, Kings, and Lawgivers,” in *Law and Religion in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. A. Hagedorn and R. Kratz, Oxford 2013: 79-105
8. “Recent Study of Greek Religion from the Archaic through Hellenistic Periods,” *Currents in Biblical Research* 2013: 3.388-427
9. “Variations on the Theme of Divided Government,” *Historically Speaking* 2013: 2.6-8
10. “Heroes and Drones,” *Wilson Quarterly* 37.3 (2013). 3,672 words.
11. “So-called Asylum for Suppliants,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 188 (2013): 136-9
12. One entry, “Supplication,” in the *Virgil Encyclopedia*, ed. R. Thomas and J. Ziolkowski, Wiley-Blackwell, 254 words, 2014
13. “Introduction,” with R. Talbert, *American Journal of Philology* 2014: 2.167-79
14. “Finley’s War Years,” *American Journal of Philology* 2014: 2.243-67
15. “An Anatolian Itinerary, 334-333 BCE,” in *Ancient World Views: Institutions and*

*Geography from the Greco-Roman World*, ed. L. Brice and D. Slootjes, Brill 2014: 21935

1. “The Sword Did It: A Greek Explanation for Suicide,” *Classical Quarterly* 2015: 1.75-85
2. “Sacrifice,” in *The* *Oxford Handbook of Greek Religion*, ed. J. Kindt and E. Eidinow, 2015: 463-76
3. “Sacrificing ‘in the Greek Fashion’,” *Métis* 2015: 151-66
4. “Sacrifice,” *Oxford On-line Bibliographies*, with J. Rives, app. 12,600 words. 2/26/2016
5. “Contagious ΑΣΕΒΕΙΑ,” *Classical Quarterly* 2016: 1.59-74
6. “Introduction,” with R. Talbert, to *Mercury’s Wings: Exploring Communications in the Ancient World*, Oxford, 2017. Pp. xvii-xxxiv
7. “Military Communication: The Example of the Classical Battlefield,” same. Pp. 262-86.
8. “Introduction,” with I. C. Rutherford and S. Hitch, to *Sacrifice in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. Rutherford & Hitch, Cambridge, 2017. Pp. 1-13
9. “‘Polis Religion’ and Sacrificial Regulation,” in *Sacrifice in the Ancient Greek World*, same. Pp. 136-51
10. “Tibullus on Poverty and Wealth,” in *Albert’s Anthology* [*Loeb Classical Monographs* 17], ed. K. Coleman, Harvard 2017, 125-7
11. “Πρωτολογίαin Homer,” *Classical Quarterly* 2017: 2.339-52
12. “Moses Finley’s Communist Party Membership,” *American Journal of Philology* 2017: 4.739-42
13. “Introduction” to *The World of Odysseus*, tr. Chun Liu, Peking University, 2019. Pp. i-vii
14. “Religion and Spirituality,” in *The Cultural History of Emotion in Antiquity*, ed. D. Cairns, Bloomsbury, 2019. Pp. 35-47
15. “The Crime of Defeat,” in *Kállistos Nómos.* *Scritti in onore di Alberto Maffi*, ed. B. Biscotti, Giappichelli, 2018 [=2019]. Pp. 103-119
16. “Introduction” with D. Raisbeck, *Reflections on Macedonian and Roman Grand Strategy*, Universidad Gran Colombia, 2019. Pp. 1-20
17. “War Aims of Alexander the Great,” in *Reflections on Macedonian and Roman Grand Strategy*, same. Pp. 41-59
18. “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

1. Two entries, “Offerings in Homer” and “Supplication in Homer,” in *The* *Cambridge Guide to Homer*, ed. C. Pache, 2020. Pp. 365-69, 390-92
2. “The Monetisation of Sacrifice,” in *Pilgrimage and Economy in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. A. Collar and T. Kristensen, Brill, 2020. Pp. 163-86
3. “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
4. “Greek Sacrifice According to the Marmarini Inscription,” same. Pp. 71-106
5. “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, forthcoming in print)

1. “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

1. “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.
2. “Introduction,” with W. Heckel, in *The Wiley* *Companion to Greek Warfare*. 2021. Pp 1-8
3. “Greek Military Organization,” same. Pp. 119-37.
4. “Religion and Warfare,” same. Pp. 312-29.
5. 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
6. “Aeschylus and Greek Law,” in *The Blackwell* *Companion to Aeschylus*, ed. J. Bromberg and P. Burian, 2021. Pp. 359-70.
7. “Divination by Macedonian Kings,” in *Divination and Prophecy in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. R. Woodard, Cambridge 2023. Pp. 219-40.

65. “The War Councils of Alexander the Great in their Military and Cultural Context,”

*Historia* 72 (2023): 3.260-301.

1. “Alexander’s Modern Military Reputation,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Alexander the Great*, ed. D. Ogden. 2023. Pp. 280-96.
2. “Prayers in Wartime,” forthcoming in *Prayer in the Ancient World*, ed. D. Falk and R. Werline, Brill. 2024.
3. “Animals,” forthcoming in *Religion in Context*: *Graeco-Roman Religious Practices in their Socio-Cultural Milieu,* .*Neue Pauly Supplementband*, ed. J. Rüpke et al., J. B. Metzler.
4. “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.
5. “Sacrifice,” forthcoming in *Ancient Greek Personal Religion*, ed. J. Kindt, Cambridge.
6. “The ‘Laws of War’ Revisited,” forthcoming in *Nomos Basileus: Essays in Honour of Edward M. Harris*, ed. D. Lewis and M. Canevaro, Routledge.
7. “Rituals and ‘the Sacred’: *To hieron* and *ta hiera*,” forthcoming in *Meanings and Values of*

*the Sacred in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, ed. J. McInerney, Brill: *Mnemosyne Supplmentum*

# 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. Gödde, *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.

1. *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,” *Symposion* 2007 9/1/2007

“War Aims of Alexander the Great,” Tulane 11/5/2007 and Society for Military History

4/6/2018

“Professional Officers Ashore and Afloat,” Association of Ancient Historians 4/12/2008 and

(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, Bogotà, 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, Bogotà, 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, 4/22/2022

“The ‘Laws of War’ Revisited,” British School at Athens, 5/20/2022

“Rituals and ‘the Sacred’: *To hieron* and *ta hiera,*” Pennsylvania, 6/20/2023

# 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:

“From Mesopotamia to Iraq: Historical Perspectives on the Middle East,” with K. Harl, Tulane, 3/13/2006

“The Centrality of Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greek Religion: Ancient Reality or Modern Construct?” with C. Faraone, Chicago 4/11-13/2008

“Lebanon: Gateway to the West and the Middle East,” with K. Harl, Tulane, 5/8/2009

“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

“The Value of the Sacred,” U. of Pennsylvania 6/21/2023 (declined)