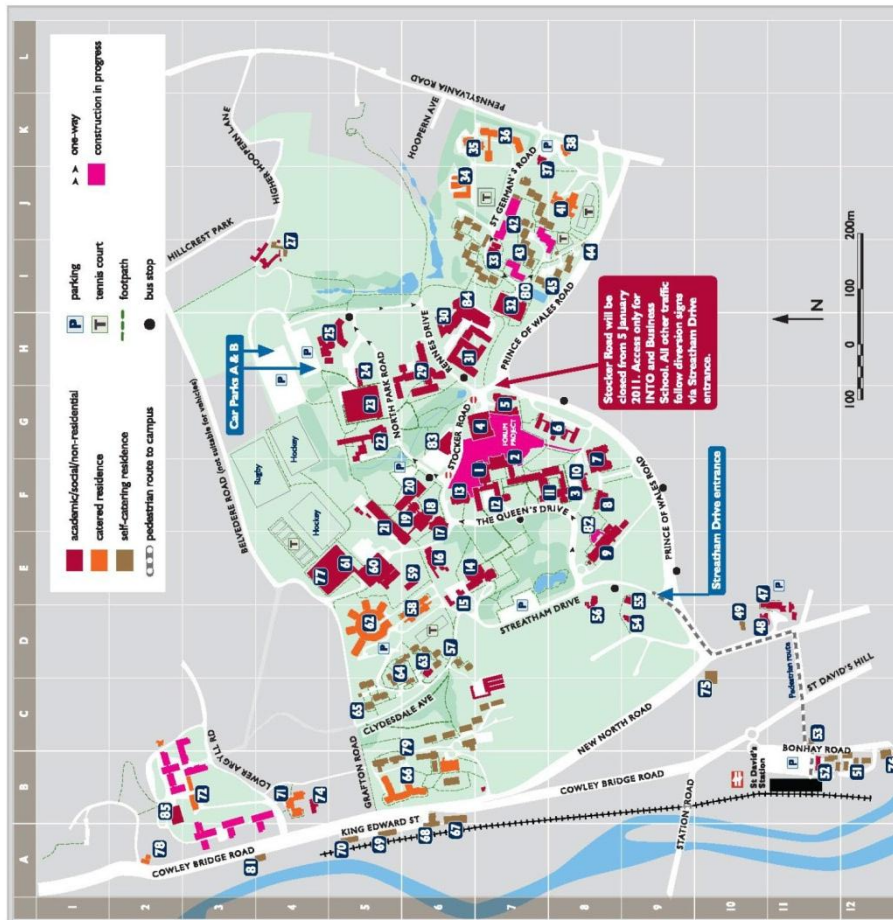


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Map of Streatham Campus



ACADEMIC BUILDINGS

- Alexander 47 I 1D
- Amory 29 6H
- Building: I 84 6H
- Byrne House 37 7K
- Geoffrey Pope 20 6F
- Harrison 23 5G
- Hatherly 6 8G
- Henry Wellcome Building 19 6F
- Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies 16 6E
- INTO University of Exeter Building 83 6G
- Knightley 55 9E
- Laver 22 5G
- Library 4 7G
- The Sir Henry Wellcome Building for Mood Disorders Research 82 8E
(due for completion December 2011)
- Newman 18 6F
- Old Library 7 8G
- Bill Douglas Centre
- Accessibility Service
- Research Commons
- Physics 21 5F
- Queen's 11 8F
- Roborough 8 8F
- Streatham Court 31 6H
- Thornlea 48 10D
- Washington Singer 9 8E
- Xfi 30 6H

ADMINISTRATION/
SOCIAL BUILDINGS

- Catholic Chaplaincy 74 4B
- Clyden 54 9D
- Clydesdale House (Postgraduate Centre) 63 6D
- Cornwall House 32 7I
- Cornwall House 80 7I
- Swimming Pool 2 7F
- Devonshire House Exeter Northcott Theatre 13 6F
- Family Centre 59 6E
- Great Hall 1 7F
- Innovation Centre 25 5H
- Kay Building 24 5H
- Kay House Duryard 85 2B
- Lafrowda House 33 7I
- Mary Harris Memorial Chapel 10 8F
- Northcote House 12 7F
- Peter Chalk Centre 17 6F
- Redcot 56 8E
- Reed Hall 14 6E
- Reed Mews 15 6E
- Shopping Centre (temporary facility during the construction of the Forum) 3 8F
- Sir Christopher Ondaatje Devon Cricket Centre 77 4E
- Sports Park 60 5E
- Streatham Farm 5 7G
- Tennis Centre 61 5E
- St David's Retail Services 52 11B

CATERED HALLS

- Birks Grange 66 6B
- Duryard Halls 72 3B
- Holland Hall 62 5D
- Hope Hall 41 8J
- Lazenby 38 8K
- Lopes Hall 34 6J
- Mardon Hall 58 6D
- Moberly 71 4B
- Pennsylvania Court 36 7K
- Ransom Pickard 35 7K
- West Garth 78 2A

SELF-CATERING
RESIDENCES

- Birks Grange Village 79 6B
- Bonhay House 53 11C
- Clydesdale Court 64 6D
- Clydesdale Rise 65 5C
- Cook Mews 69 5A
- Elmbrook House 49 10D
- Garden Hill House 27 4I
- Holland Hall Studios 62 5D
- King Edward Court 68 6A
- King Edward Studios 67 6B
- Lafrowda 43 7I
- Lafrowda Cottage 44 8I
- Llewellyn Mews 70 5A
- Nash Grove 57 6D
- Northfield 75 10D
- Opal Exeter 81 4A
- Point Exe 76 12B
- Rowe House 45 8I
- St David's 51 12B
- St German's 42 7J

Map of city (showing location of Streatham Campus)



General Conference Information

A very warm welcome to Exeter and the 2012 Classical Association Annual Conference. This booklet contains useful information on the practicalities of the conference and the programme, but should you have any questions, the Exeter team will be able to help:

Organisers: Karen Ní Mheallaigh, Sharon Marshall, Myrto Hatzimichali, John Dillon

Student Helpers (wearing dark green t-shirts): Zeppy Ainsworth, Katrina Alaimo, Mim Bay, Amy Channing, Olivia De-Beukelaer, Christian Djurslev, Sarah Fairhead, Marcelina Gilka, Sam Hayes, Henry Lee, Chris March, Katy McIntosh, Stefanie Metcalf, Jonny Miller, Monique Padelis, Lizzie Salmon, Stephanie Schnobel, Sara Steel, Charlie Tyjas, Patrick Ussher, Charli Wood

Conference Desk: The conference desk is located in the foyer of the Peter Chalk Centre and will be staffed until 6pm each day. You should go here for registration and any assistance you require during the conference. Any important updates to the programme (especially last-minute changes), will be posted on a board here.

Transport

Parking: For those staying in university accommodation, car parking is available at Holland Hall and you can obtain a free permit from reception upon your arrival. Otherwise there is pay and display parking on campus.

Buses: D and H buses run every 15 minutes during the day and every 30 minutes during the evening. The D bus goes to the city centre (High Street) and the H bus goes down to Exeter St Davids Station. The closest bus stop to the Peter Chalk Centre is just downhill on North Park Road.

On foot: The city centre is 25-30 minutes' walk from campus and Exeter St David's Station 20 minutes'. It is worth noting that while the campus itself is very hilly, the walk into the city and back is rather more level.

Meals and Refreshments

Tea and coffee: Tea and coffee will be served in Hall 1 in the Peter Chalk Centre.

Lunches: Self-serve lunches will be served in the Holland Hall dining room. For those who have not booked lunches, there will be a number of cafés and restaurants open on campus, including Café Reed at Reed Hall, The Terrace in Devonshire House and La Touche in the Business School. Those who are going on excursions to Castle Drogo, Knightshayes Court or Killerton House and who have booked lunch on Friday will be able to collect a packed lunch from the conference desk in the Peter Chalk Centre.

Dinners: A self-service dinner will be served in Holland Hall dining room on Wednesday and Thursday evening. The Association Dinner will take place on Friday evening in the Great Hall on Streatham campus. Please inform waiting staff of any dietary requirements.

Receptions

There will be a reception on Wednesday evening at 7pm in the Peter Chalk Centre and a Champagne Reception on Friday evening at 7pm in the Terrace, sponsored by Cambridge University Press. There will also be a small reception hosted by Oxford University Press at their bookstall in the Peter Chalk Centre from 4.30pm on Thursday.

Conference bar

The glass fronted split-level mezzanine bar located in Holland Hall is the designated Conference meeting place.

Bookstalls

The following publishers and organisation have stalls in Hall 2 of the Peter Chalk Centre:

Bloomsbury Academic/Bristol Classical Press

Brill

Cambridge University Press

The Classical Association

The Classics Bookshop

De Gruyter

Edinburgh University Press

Exeter University Press

Harvard University Press

IB Tauris

JACT

Oxbow: Combined Academic Publishers

Oxford University Press

Taylor and Francis

Wiley-Blackwell

Internet access

To use any of the public access PC clusters (in the library, for example) or to log-on to the University of Exeter wifi network, you will need to collect guest account login details from the conference desk in the Peter Chalk Centre.

Excursions

Four excursions have been arranged for delegates on Friday afternoon.

Castle Drogo

'The last castle to be built in England', this remarkable granite building, set above the Teign Gorge, is a surprisingly warm and comfortable family home, now owned by the National Trust. Commissioned by retail tycoon Julius Drewe, it was built in the 1910s and 1920s from designs by Sir Edwin Lutyens. The castle took many years to complete, with the First World War and the economic downturn causing many delays, and borrows styles of castle-building from the medieval and Tudor periods, along with more minimalist contemporary approaches. A notable feature is the encasement of the service staircase, around which the main staircase climbs. The defensive characteristics of Castle Drogo are essentially decorative and, behind the imposing façade, poignant family keepsakes sit alongside 17th-century tapestries. The dramatic Dartmoor setting in which it sits can be appreciated from the delightful formal garden and rhododendron valley.

Knightshayes Court

One of the finest surviving Gothic Revival houses, built in the lush landscape of mid-Devon, Knightshayes Court is a rare example of the work of the eccentric and inspired architect William Burges. Built for the grandson of pioneer lace-maker John Heathcoat in 1869, the house is an exciting architectural experience, with extraordinary 'medieval' romantic interiors, rich decoration and ceramics. Since the National Trust took over guardianship of the house in 1973, it has sought to recover and restore as many of Burges's fittings as possible, including some "sparkling" ceilings, such as that in the Drawing Room, which was discovered in 1981, having been boarded over as early as 1889. Outside of the house, the restored and fully productive organic kitchen garden is a

treat for everyone who enjoys local produce. The vast garden beyond, which was the Heathcoat Amory family's great passion, is renowned for its rare trees, shrubs and seasonal colours.

Killerton House

Killerton is an 18th-century house with a hillside garden in Broadclyst, near Exeter, owned by the National Trust since 1944. At over 2,590 hectares, the Killerton estate is one of the largest the Trust has acquired. A steep wooded hillside within the estate includes the remains of an Iron Age Hill fort, which has also yielded evidence of Roman occupation. The house itself, built for the Acland family in 1778, now brings to life generations of the Acland family as the National Trust displays it as a much-loved and comfortable family home. It is also home to a collection of 18th- to 20th-century costumes, originally known as the Paulise de Bush collection, exhibited in period rooms. The garden, created in the 1770s by John Veitch, one of the leading landscape designers of the time, features magnolias and rare trees, as well as an ice house and early 19th-century summer house.

St Peter's Cathedral, Exeter

Saint Peter's Cathedral is an Anglican Cathedral and seat of the Bishop of Exeter. Work on the Cathedral began in 1114 and it was consecrated in 1133, but the pair of massive towers is all that remains of the original building today. The late medieval rebuilding was started by Bishop Bronescombe in the 1270s and was completed in the 14th century, and the West Front is decorated in the style of the period, with the lowest tier of figures displaying some of the finest medieval figure sculptures in England. The carving is particularly well-preserved in the South Porch, where there is a scene of the Annunciation and a Nativity scene opposite. The upper row of figures with Christ and the 12 apostles at the centre was added in about 1460-80. The Cathedral has the longest unbroken stretch of Gothic stone vaulting in the world. Other features of particular interest include the Bishop's Throne, one of the finest pieces of woodwork of the late 14th century; an astronomical clock made in 1376; and original glass in the East Window.

The excursions to Catsle Drogo, Knightshayes Court and Killerton house will begin at 1pm and packed lunches will be provided for those who have booked lunch. Coaches will leave from Holland Hall, and they will return there by 4.30pm. Delegates taking the guided tour of Exeter Cathedral should meet at the Cathedral at 2pm. You may wish to walk into the city or take the D bus from campus and ask for the stop on Queen's Street (next to Marks & Spencer).

For those not going on excursions, there will be a screening of the 2011 film *The Eagle* in Newman C in the Peter Chalk Centre from 2pm on Friday. There will also be an opportunity to sign-up for a guided tour of the city's recently refurbished Royal Albert Memorial Museum. The sign-up sheet will be available on Wednesday and Thursday at the conference desk in the Peter Chalk Centre and places are limited.

Academic Programme

Papers: Sessions will follow the usual format of the Classical Association Conference with papers of 20 minutes followed by 10 minutes for discussion. We hope that you will understand that with so much on offer, you may find clashes between things that interest you, but you are welcome to move between rooms and panels at the end of individual papers. Any last-minute changes to the programme that follows (due to illness etc.) will be advertised on the conference noticeboard in the foyer of the Peter Chalk Centre.

For chairs and speakers: So that we can keep to time and allow people to move between sessions, we would ask that papers are kept strictly to 20 minutes with a further 10 minutes for discussion.

Conference Programme

Wednesday 11th April

From 1.30pm **Registration and cream tea**, Peter Chalk Centre
 1.30pm **Farmer's market**, Peter Chalk Centre
 1.30-2.30pm **CA Finance Committee**, Reed Hall (Ibrahim Ahmed Room), lunch provided
 3.30-5.30pm **CA Council Meeting**, Reed Hall (Ibrahim Ahmed Room), cream tea
 6pm **Opening of conference** by Prof. Peter Wiseman, Newman A
 followed by **plenary lecture 1**: Prof. Kathleen Coleman 'Naming the Beast'
 7pm **Reception**, Peter Chalk Centre
 7.30pm **Dinner**, Holland Hall (conference bar open in Holland Hall 9pm – midnight)
 9pm **Production of Euripides' Bacchae**, M&D room, Devonshire House (put on by Exeter students' Classics Society and free to all delegates, with a retiring collection for the students' chosen charity)

Thursday 12th April

7-9am **Breakfast**, Holland Hall
 8.30-10.30am: **SESSION 1**: 8 four-paper panels, Peter Chalk Centre

Newman B	Newman C	Newman D	Newman E	Peter Chalk 1.1-2	Peter Chalk 1.2-3	Peter Chalk 1.4-5	Peter Chalk 1.6
Classical Reception and Contemporary Women's Writing	Interpreting the Visual	Impact of Greek Culture: The East after Alexander	Greek Tragedy	Politics and Ideology of the Civil War	Performing Song and Wisdom	Herodotus	Economic History
Theodorakopoulos	Cracknell	Zadorojnyi	Mikellidou	Morell	Horky	Zelnick-Abramovitz	Stringer
Cox	Clarkson	McAuley	Drummen	Welch	Lambrou	Karapanagioti	Jim
Ranger	Siwicki	Stoop	Jackson	Cornwell	Nikolaidou-Arabatzi	Haywood	Elliott
Toney	Scott	Erickson	Coo	Hodgson	Boyd	Hartley	Phelan

10.30-11.00am **Tea and coffee**, Peter Chalk Centre

11-1pm **SESSION 2**: 7 four-paper panels and 1 three-paper panel, Peter Chalk Centre

Newman B	Newman C	Newman D	Newman E	Peter Chalk 1.1-2	Peter Chalk 1.2-3	Peter Chalk 1.4-5	Peter Chalk 1.6
Hellenistic Poetry	Domestic Violence	Authenticity and Sculpture	Monstrous Appearances	Julius Caesar the Author	Classics and Colonialism	New Approaches to Greek Warfare	Classics in the Classroom: 19th C
Petrovic	Rabinowitz	Davies	Ogden	Taylor	Dillon	Kucewicz	Morris
Secci	Deacy and McHardy	Mowat	Felton	Peer	Richardson	Rees	Roche
Manakidou	Badnall	Underwood	Lowe	Keitel	Adeyemi and Olasope	Millington	Bryant Davies
Biffis	Seaford	Higbie	Lennon	Westall		Konijnendijk	Claassen

11-1pm **Poster session**, Peter Chalk Hall 2

1-2.30pm **Lunch**, Holland Hall

2.30-4.30pm **SESSION 3:** 6 four-paper panels and 2 three-paper panels, Peter Chalk Centre

Newman B	Newman C	Newman D	Newman E	Peter Chalk 1.1-2	Peter Chalk 1.2-3	Peter Chalk 1.4-5	Peter Chalk 1.6
Early Greek Lyric and Iambic	Ancient Greece and Modern Britain	Greek Historiography	KYKNOS: Heroines	Greek Drama and Society	Greco-Roman Philosophy	Impact of Greek Culture II	Language and Dialect
Smith	Roberts	Bruzzzone	Bracke	Stewart	Tsouni	Hadjigiorgi	Coker
Boterf	Williams	Kingsley	Bird	Papachryso-ostomou	Duncombe	Freer	Serangeli
Alexandrou	Barrell	Atack	Trzaskoma	Tsoumpra	Yang	Klooster	Šinkec
	James	Farrington	D'Alconzo		Banner	Reeve	Tikkanen

4.30-5pm **Tea and coffee**, Peter Chalk Centre

4.30-5pm **Drinks reception** hosted by Oxford University Press at their bookstall

5-6.30pm **SESSION 4:** 8 three-paper panels and 1 two-paper panel, Peter Chalk Centre

Newman B	Newman C	Newman D	Newman E	Peter Chalk 1.1-2	Peter Chalk 1.2-3	Peter Chalk 1.4-5	Peter Chalk 1.6	Newman F
Practical Ethics and Psychology	Screening Sex	Greek History: Empire and locality	Reassessing Textual Traditions	Lucian and Philosophy	Drinking in the Ancient World	Reception of Greek and Roman Drama	Images of Empresses	Greek Drama and the Landscape
Kechagia-Ovseiko	Llewellyn-Jones	Ellis-Evans	Butterfield	Marquis	Mudd	Wrigley	Gillespie	Papadopoulou
Vekselius	Paul	Russell	Nobili	Joep	Franks	Slaney	Imrie	Konstantinou
Gloyn	Cyrino	Raynor	Bassino	Lefebvre	Beer	Onayemi	Claes	

7-8pm **Plenary lecture 2:** Prof. Chris Carey, 'What makes a winner: imagining and imaging athletic success in classical Greece', Newman A

8pm **Dinner**, Holland Hall

9.30-10.30pm **An evening with Ancient Rome detective novelist Lindsey Davis**, Holland Hall

9-12pm **Bar**, Holland Hall

Friday 13th April

7-9am **Breakfast**, Holland Hall

8.30-10.30am: **SESSION 5:** 9 four-paper panels, Peter Chalk Centre

Newman B	Newman C	Newman D	Newman E	Newman F	Peter Chalk 1.1-2	Peter Chalk 1.2-3	Peter Chalk 1.4-5	Peter Chalk 1.6
Classics in the Classroom II: 21 st C	Latin Literature for the Emperor	Returning from Exile	KYKNOS II: Reception	<i>Poleis</i> and the Gods	Storytelling in the Attic Orators	Travelling the Desert and the Seas	Brothers in the Ancient World	Late Antiquity
Hunt	Pratt	Grillo	Tagliabue	Wiley	Aloumpi	Seland	Whiscombe	Greenwood
Bragg	Brunetta	North	Repath	Osborne	Giannadaki	Gregoratti	Armstrong	Villais
Lewis	Ware	Steel	Morgan	Shear	Spatharas	Nappo	McIntyre	Littlechilds
Smith	Garrett	Van der Blom	Hawkins	Parker	Westwood	Schorle	Gartrell	Coombe

10.30-11am **Tea and coffee**, Peter Chalk Centre

11-12.30pm **SESSION 6:** 8 three-paper panels, Peter Chalk Centre

Newman B	Newman C	Newman D	Newman E	Peter Chalk 1.1-2	Peter Chalk 1.2-3	Peter Chalk 1.4-5	Peter Chalk 1.6
Writing the Words	Roman Ethics and Exemplarity	What about Comic hamartēma?	Heroic Journeys	Modern Representations of Ancient Women	Sport and Spectacle	Adultery, Slavery and Law	New Enquiries into the Bosphorus
Keen	Langlands	Cinaglia	Aston	Fear	Nicholson	Bratton	Gourova
Harrison	Brooke	Lhostis	Hanesworth	Whalley	Mitchell	Dixon	Szamalek
Willis	Kennedy	Demetriou	Hawes	Billotte	Remijsen	Lewis	Braund

12.30-2.30pm **Lunch**, Holland Hall

1-4.30pm **Excursions**

2-4.30pm **Film:** *The Eagle*, Newman C

5-5.45pm **Classical Association AGM**, Peter Chalk 1.6

6-7pm **Presidential address**, Sir Peter Stothard, Newman A

7-7.30pm **Champagne reception**, The Terrace, sponsored by Cambridge University Press

7.30-midnight **Gala dinner**, including award of the CA Prize and disco/dance, Great Hall

Saturday 14th April

8.30-10.30am **SESSION 7:** 8 four-paper panels and 1 three-paper panel, Peter Chalk Centre

Newman B	Newman C	Newman D	Newman E	Newman F	Peter Chalk 1.1-2	Peter Chalk 1.2-3	Peter Chalk 1.4-5	Peter Chalk 1.6
Greek and Roman Oratory	Songs of the Past	Late Antique Historiography	Space and the Oikos in Greek Tragedy	Reading Practices	Rulers and Subjects in Diodorus	Plutarch and the Qualities of Leadership	Gift-giving in Greek and Roman Literature	Roman Provinces
Kurihara	Solomon	DeVore	Bakola	Sapsford	Wallace	Fulkerson	Stöckinger	Hussein
Wilkowski	Bakogianni	Corke-Webster	Kokkini	Howley	Almagor	Titchener	Winter	Güney
Triggiano	Manuwald	Leonard	Okell	Volt	Morton	Xenophontos	Langley	Norris
Mitchell	Ketterer	Wood		Winsor Leach	Holton	Marincola	Horn	Sheldrake

10.30-11am **Tea and coffee**, Peter Chalk Centre

11-1pm **SESSION 8:** 5 four-paper panels and 3 three-paper panels, Peter Chalk Centre

Newman B	Newman c	Newman D	Newman E	Peter Chalk 1.1-2	Peter Chalk 1.2-3	Peter Chalk 1.4-5	Peter Chalk 1.6
The Greek Novel	Attic Vase Painting	Reading and Intertextuality	Greek Magical Papyri	Commentaries and Ancient Scholarship	Reciprocity in Greek Literature and Thought	School and University Collaborations	Rule and Legitimacy of Rule in the Mithridatic Kingdom
MacQueen	Foukara	Beck	Pachoumi	Da Vela	Strolonga	Lively	Traina
Owens	Muskett	Brooks	Petrovic	Andersen	Liapis	MacKay	Ballesteros Pastor
Gilmore McVeigh	MacMahon	Weiden-Boyd	Evans	Scappaticcio	Mantzouranis	Coker	Lerouge
Granville Bentley		Xinyue			Inamura	Ryan	Dan

1-2.30pm **Lunch**, Holland Hall

1-2.30pm **CA Council Meeting**, Reed Hall (Ibrahim Ahmed Room), including lunch

End of Conference

Details of Panels, Speakers and Papers

A-Z by panel title

(* indicates that the panel has been specially organised for the conference)

Adultery, Slavery and Law

- Amy Bratton (Edinburgh) Adulterous Slaves? A reappraisal of the role of slaves in the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*
- Jessica Dixon (Manchester) Dressing the adulteress
- David Lewis (Durham) Slave marriages in the Laws of Gortyn: A Matter of Rights?

*** Ancient Greece and Modern Britain: Liberalism, Empire and Democracy**

Panel convenor: Alun Williams (Cardiff)

- Andrew Roberts (KCL) The turn to Alexander: Britain and Asia from William Robertson to George Grote
- Alun D. Williams (Cardiff) Liberal civilisation and Ancient Greece: liberal scholars and liberal understandings of colonisation, empire, and politics from George Grote to Gilbert Murray
- Callum Barrell (Cambridge) The leap to Athens in John Stuart Mill's democratic thought
- Paula James (Open University) Hercules as working class hero

Attic Vase Painting

- Lavinia Foukara (Edinburgh) Leto as mother: Representations of Leto with Apollo and Artemis in Attic vase paintings of 6th-5th c. BC
- Georgina Muskett (Liverpool Museums) Recognition of 'girls' in 5th century BCE Athens: the evidence from painted pottery
- Cary MacMahon (Independent scholar) Art or Experience? Reconstructing Scythian Archers' Clothing

Authenticity and Sculpture

- Glenys Davies (Edinburgh) Piranesi's vision of Roman material culture for his own times
- Fiona Mowat (Edinburgh) Creating the antique: the restorations of G.B. Piranesi
- Douglas Underwood (St Andrews) Plainly Pastiche: Fakes, Reuse and a 'Roman' Votive Statuette
- Carolyn Hibgie (Buffalo) From Votary to Fakery: Collecting in the Greek World

*** Classical Reception and Contemporary Women's Writing**

Panel convenor: Polly Toney (Birmingham)

- Elena Theodorakopoulos (Birmingham) Introduction to Classical Reception and Contemporary Women's Writing
- Fiona Cox (Exeter) Mutation, Metamorphosis and Exile – Ovid and Jo Shapcott
- Holly Ranger (Birmingham) A critical analysis of Ali Smith's lesbian feminist reception of the tale of Iphis and Ianthe in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (9.666-797)
- Polly Toney (Birmingham) Classical Reception and Feminist Politics: A Cautionary Reading of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*

*** Classics in the Classroom and Beyond during the Long Nineteenth Century**

Panel convenor: Rachel Bryant Davies (Oxford)

- Michael Morris (Open University) 'The schoolmaster is deranged in his mind and wanders abroad': the inspection reports of the Dick Bequest on nineteenth-century Scottish parochial schools
- Helen Roche (Cambridge) 'Youth of Sparta and of Mars': Uses and Abuses of Classics at the Prussian Cadet-Schools (1818-1920)

- Rachel Bryant Davies (Oxford) 'A pleasanter way of learning [...] than out of a dull lesson-book': classical antiquity 'rendered for children' during the long nineteenth century
- Jo-Marie Claassen (Stellenbosch) 'You are people like these Romans were!': D.D.T. Jabavu, B.A. (Lond.) of Fort Hare, 1885-1959

Classics in the Classroom II: The 21st Century and Beyond

- Steven Hunt (Cambridge) An investigation into the supply of Classics teachers in the secondary schools sector, 2011-12
- Edward Bragg (Havant College) Grasping Homer's *Odyssey* and four Greek tragedies in 9 months: the teaching of AS level Classical Civilisation in a 21st century sixth form college.
- Maxine Lewis (Sydney) Queering Catullus: Ethical pedagogy, (un)ethical translations
- Amy Smith (Reading) MyUre: Moulding museum data to every learner's individual needs

Classics and Colonialism

- Matthew Dillon (New England) Polykleitos and the *bon sauvage*: Greek sculpture and *terra australis incognita*
- Luke Richardson (UCL) Prometheus in Algiers: Albert Camus, revolt and the role of the mythic
- Sola Adeyemi (Redeemer's University) Fracturing the Insularity of the Global State: War and Conflict & Olakunbi Olasope (Ibadan) in Moira Buffini's *Welcome to Thebes*

Commentaries and Ancient Scholarship

- Beatrice da Vela (UCL) Aelius Donatus and the commentaries' tradition
- Laerke Andersen (Southern Denmark) The γνῶμαι in Eustathius' *Commentaries*
- Maria Chiara Scappaticcio (Naples) Learning Latin: *Artes Grammaticae* in Papyri and Parchment Scraps

Drinking in the Ancient World

- Shaun Mudd (Exeter) Alcohol and Environment in Roman Culture
- Hallie Franks (NYU) Sailing the symposium: Mosaics and metaphor at Eretria
- Mike Beer (Exeter College) The *de sua ebrietate* of Marcus Antonius: an attempt to please everyone?

Early Greek Lyric and Iambic Poetry

- James Smith (Exeter) Death and Memory in Alcman's *Louvre Partheneion*
- Nicholas Boterf (Stanford) Temple Tantrums: Foundation and Language in Alcaeus 129 V
- Margarita Alexandrou (UCL) Hipponax on sex

Economic History

- Mick Stringer (Reading) Words, Numbers and Economic Rationalism: How language and book-keeping shaped Roman financial decisions
- Theodora Jim (Hong Kong) Eleusis and the Athenian empire: the economic dimension of the Eleusinian First-Fruits Decree
- Colin Elliott (Bristol) Boom and Bust: Describing a Financial Bubble during the early Principate
- Kerry Phelan (Maynooth) Women, War and Work in Demosthenes 57

Gift-giving in Greek and Roman literature

Martin Stöckinger (Heidelberg)	Gifts and Songs in Virgil's <i>Eclogues</i> 2 and 3
Kathrin Winter (Heidelberg)	Medea's gifts. Presents and Retribution in Seneca's <i>Medea</i>
Bridget Langley (Washington)	Absent presents: desire, distance and the <i>donum</i> in Ovid <i>Amores</i> 2.15
Fabian Horn (Ludwig Maximilians)	<i>Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes</i> : Gifts in the <i>Iliad</i>

Greco-Roman philosophy

Georgia Tsouni (Central European Uni.)	<i>Oikeiosis</i> and ancient ideas of Cosmopolitanism
Matthew Duncombe (Cambridge)	Relativism and the Puzzles of Size and Number in the Theaetetus
Hoyoung Yang (Exeter)	Cicero's philosophical position – what sort of sceptic is he?
Nicholas Banner (Exeter)	<i>Ainigma</i> and Tradition: Plotinus' Development of the Esoteric Reading of Philosophy

Greek Drama and the Landscape

Ioanna Papadopoulou (Thrace)	Aeschylean views on landscape and environment: Plays without space or plays on space?
Ariadne Konstantinou (Jerusalem)	Dionysiac Landscape: The "maenadic mountain" between myth and history, art and literature

Greek Drama and Society

Edmund Stewart (Nottingham)	Euripides, Tragedy and Athletics
Athina Papachrysostomou (Patras)	Money for pleasure: Comedy's report on post-classical Athenian society
Natalia Tsoumpra (Oxford)	What makes a leader? Rhetorical and sexual manipulation in Aristophanes' <i>Birds</i>

Greek Historiography

Rachel Bruzzone (Virginia)	Thucydides' Homeric Corcyraeans
K. Scarlett Kingsley (Princeton)	Explaining Time: Age Distinctions and Historical Causation in Thucydides' <i>History</i>
Carol Attack (Cambridge)	The discourse of kingship in Athenian historiography
Scott Farrington (Colorado)	Rhetoric and Persuasion in Polybius' <i>Histories</i>

*** Greek History: Empire and Locality in Classical Greece**

Panel convenor: Aneurin Ellis-Evans (Oxford)

Aneurin Ellis-Evans (Oxford)	The Actaeon Cities and the Athenian Empire
Thom Russell (Oxford)	The Athenian Empire and Local Identity: The Bosphorus Straits
Benjamin Raynor (Oxford)	Macedonian Expansion and the Polis in the Fourth Century: Alteration and Diversification

Greek Magical Papyri

Eleni Pachoumi (Thessaloniki)	Is Dionysus ever invoked in the Greek Magical Papyri from Roman Egypt?
Andrej Petrovic (Durham)	Geography of Magical Beyonds: Eschatological concepts in Greek Magic
Luke Evans (Durham)	Aggressive Agents: Figurines and Love Magic in the <i>PGM</i>

The Greek Novel

Bruce MacQueen
(Atheneum College, Gdansk)
William Owens (Ohio)

The erotics of writing in the Prologue of Longus's
Daphnis and Chloe
The Greek novel *Callirhoe*: By a freedman author for freedman
readers?
Assembly-women in Chariton's *Callirhoe*
Leucippe's Haircut: the case for the sub-literary in the Ancient
Greek Novel

Greek and Roman Oratory

Asako Kurihara (Osaka)
Sarah Wilkowski (Birmingham)

Pity and Charis in the Athenian Popular Court
Creating a *Philippic* Model: Exploring the Hermeneutics of
Classical Polemic
Greek Culture and Roman Oratory
Asinius Pollio the Orator

Annalisa Triggiano (Salerno)
Hannah Mitchell (St Andrews)

Greek Tragedy

Katerina Mikellidou (UCL)
Annemieke Drummen (Heidelberg)
Lucy Jackson (Oxford)
Lyndsay Coo (Cambridge)

Psychagōgia in fifth-century Athenian drama: Power-play
between the living and the dead
Dialogic resonance in Greek tragedy and comedy
The Rhesus, fourth-century tragedy and the development of the
tragic chorus
A poet most addicted to punning? Speaking names in
Sophoclean drama

Hellenistic Poetry

Ivana Petrovic (Durham)
Davide Antonio Secci (Oxford)
Flora Manakidou (Thrace)
Giulia Biffis (UCL)

Posidippus' Travelling Stones
Fateful toys: Zeus' ball revisited (Apoll.Rh. Arg. 3.131-41)
Callimachus' Iambus 4 reconsidered: Iambic voices, identities
and origins
Manipulation of tragic genre elements as narratological tool in
Lycophron's *Alexandra*

Herodotus

Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz (Tel Aviv)
Niki Karapanagioti (Reading)
Jan Haywood (Liverpool)
Beth Hartley (Exeter)

How to (Re)count Things: *Katalegein* in Herodotus
Cross-Dressing in Herodotus' Histories
Herodotus and the Inscriptions: A Reappraisal
Herodotean Presences in Imperial Greek Fiction

*** Heroic Journeys**

Emma Aston (Reading)
Pauline Hanesworth (Trinity St David)

Panel convenor: Greta Hawes (Bristol)

Greta Hawes (Bristol)

Thessalos: an eponym abroad
Return Ticket: Heracles' Underworld Journey and the Eleusinian
Mysteries
Off the Beaten Track: Heracles' Labours in Pausanias' *Description of
Greece*

* **Historiography and Ideology: 'Brothers' in the Ancient World**

Panel convenor: Gwynnaeth McIntyre (Manitoba)

Paula Whiscombe (St Andrews)	What is brotherly love? Representations of brothers in Greek historiography
Jeremy Armstrong (Auckland)	Bands of Brothers: Fraternal Relationships and Warfare in Early Rome
Gwynnaeth McIntyre (Manitoba)	Republican heroes, Imperial propaganda figures: Castor and Pollux in Maxentian ideology
Amber Gartrell (Oxford)	The Dioscuri as Harbingers of Victory: The Developing Significance of Castor and Pollux in the Late Republic and Early Principate

Images of Empresses

Caitlin C. Gillespie (Pennsylvania)	Poppaea Venus in Tacitus' <i>Annals</i>
Alex Imrie (Edinburgh)	A Manipulative Matriarch? Re-evaluating the image of Julia Domna
Liesbeth Claes (Radboud)	Imperial coins reflecting the transgressive roles of imperial women

Impact of Greek Culture I: The East after Alexander

Alexei V Zadorozhny (Liverpool)	Otherness writes back: oriental inscriptions and the Alexander narrative
Alex McAuley (McGill)	Historicising Foundation Mythology: The Case of Antioch
Jelle Stoop (Yale)	How do honorific inscriptions talk about statue portraits in Hellenistic Kaunos?
Kyle Erickson (Trinity St David)	A Century of Gods: A reconsideration of Seleucid ruler cult

Impact of Greek Culture II: Roman Transformations of Greek Models

Nikolina Hadjigiorgi (UCL)	The Ageing Oedipus in Rome
Nicholas Freer (UCL)	Vergil's Georgics and Philodemus' Poetic Theory
Jacqueline Klooster (Amsterdam)	Solving the Vitulus: An Aratean Echo in Horace <i>Ode</i> 4.2
Eleanor Reeve (Oxford)	Rustic Sensibilities in Rome's Cosmopolitan Comedy.

Interpreting the Visual: Greek and Roman Material Display

Nadia Cracknell (Cardiff)	<i>Ponuntur Clipei</i> : Shield Trophies and Roman Domestic Decoration
Jonathan Clarkson (UWIC)	Narrative, space and the role of the viewer in relation to a Roman well-head
Chris Siwicki (Exeter)	Divine Intervention: The role of religion in the restoration of Rome's public monuments
Michael Scott (Cambridge)	Final moments? Representing death on tombs in the Greek and Roman worlds

Julius Caesar the Author

Tristan Taylor (New England)	Caesar's Gallic Genocide? A Case Study in Ancient Mass Violence
Ayelet Peer (Tel Aviv)	<i>Sibi semper primam fuisse dignitatem vitaeque potioem</i> : Julius Caesar's self-representation in the speeches of the <i>Bellum Civile</i>
Elizabeth Keitel (Amherst)	Caesar and Thucydides at Massilia
Richard Westall (Rome)	Caesar, <i>Bellum Civile</i> 1.33.2: Enemies All Alike

* KYKNOS: Novel Heroines

Evelien Bracke (Swansea)
Rachel Bird (Swansea)
Stephen Trzaskoma (New Hampshire)
Nick D'Alconzo (Swansea)

Panel convenors: Ian Repath and John Morgan (Swansea)

Cunning Women in the Greek Novel
Leukippe's *sophrosyne* in Achilles Tatius
Clitophon as Romance Heroine
Chariclea Daughter of Phantasia

* KYKNOS II: Novel Receptions

Aldo Tagliabue (Swansea)

Ian Repath (Swansea)

John Morgan (Swansea)
Kimberly Hawkins (Swansea)

Panel convenors: Ian Repath and John Morgan (Swansea)

The close link between *sophrosyne* and the Egyptian conceptualisation of immortality in Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaca*
A Swarm of Intertextuality: Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, and Plato
An operative reception of Daphnis and *Chloe*
Money, Money, Money: *Bonfire of the Vanities*, *Pompeii*, and Petronius' *Satyrice*

Language and Dialect in the Greco-Roman World

Amy Coker (Liverpool)

Matilde Serangeli (Köln)
Kristjan Šinček (Tel Aviv)

Karin Tikkanen (Gothenburg)

Greek in Contact with Foreign Languages: the example of grammatical gender
Greco-Lycian Bilingual Inscriptions: a case of *Diglossia*?
Was *koine* a standard language or a fifth *dialektos*? Rethinking the Ancient Greek written registers
"Italic" – the common tongue of Rome?

* Late Antique Historiography

David DeVore (Berkeley)

James Corke-Webster (Manchester)
Victoria Leonard (Cardiff)

Jamie Wood (Manchester)

Panel convenor: Victoria Leonard (Cardiff)

Direct Quotation, Character, and Speech-Acts: from Greek Historiography to Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*
Eusebius and Imperial Authority in the *Historia ecclesiastica*
Orosius and the Construct of Time in the *Historia adversus paganos*
History and pedagogy in late antiquity

Late Antiquity

David Greenwood (Edinburgh)
Gabrielle Villais (UCL)

Becky Littlechilds (KCL)

Clare Coombe (Reading)

Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian: a key methodological distinction
Constructing a community: the fourth-century virginity corpus as ecclesiastical paradigm
Finding the holy at late antique Rome: some remarks on pilgrim itineraries
Colourful language in Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae*

Latin Literature and the Emperor

Philip Pratt (Harvard)

Giulia Brunetta (Royal Holloway)

Catherine Ware (Liverpool)
Phoebe Garrett (Newcastle, Australia)

Weathering the storm: Statius, Domitian, and the *Kalendae Decembres*
Laus vera et humili saepe contingit viro, non nisi potenti falsa: reflections on praise and flattery in the imperial age
A Divine Emperor in a Christian Court
The Trouble with Tiberius

Lucian and Philosophy

- Emeline Marquis (Sorbonne) Perception of Cynicism in the second century A.D.: Cynics in Lucian's works
- James Jope (Independent Scholar) Lucian and Philosophers
- Kerry Lefebvre (Wisconsin) Fake Philosophy: Lucian, the Stage, and the Nigrinus

Modern Representations of Ancient Women

- Trevor Fear (OU) When Cleopatra met the Warrior Princess
- Jo Whalley (Wellington) Tarantino's Amazon: The Reception of an Ancient Archetype
- Katie Billotte (Royal Holloway) Depraved Penelope: Re-Imagining Feminine Virtue in Hassan Loo Sattarvandi Belägring

* Monstrous Appearances in Classical Antiquity

Panel convenors: Debbie Felton (Amherst) and Dunstan Lowe (Kent)

- Daniel Ogden (Exeter) Looking for Lamia
- Debbie Felton (Amherst) Apuleius's Cupid as a (Male) Lamia (*Met.* 5.17-18)
- Dunstan Lowe (Kent) Towards a Politics of Body Modification in Antiquity
- Jack Lennon (UCL) The Polluted Table and the Cannibalistic Gaze: Marius, Caesar & Beyond

* New Approaches to Domestic Violence in Antiquity

Panel convenor: Fiona McHardy (Roehampton)

- Nancy S Rabinowitz (Hamilton College) Marriage or Rape? Aeschylus' *Suppliants* and Charles Mee's *Big Love*
- Susan Deacy & F. McHardy (Roehampton) Killing Pregnant Women in Comparative Perspective
- Toni Badnall (Oxford) Hell Hath no Fury: ζήλοτυπία, infanticide and revenge in Greek myth
- Richard Seaford (Exeter) Domestic Violence and the Polis in Aeschylus' Danaid trilogy

* New Approaches to Greek Warfare

Panel convenor: Hans van Wees (UCL)

- Cezary Kucewicz (UCL) Honour, War and Body Parts: The mutilation of the dead in the *Iliad*
- Owen Rees (UCL) Combat Trauma: A methodological perspective
- Alexander Millington (UCL) Ares and Enyalios on the Battlefield
- Roel Konijnendijk (UCL) 'Neither the Less Valorous Nor the Weaker': Persian Military Might and the Battle of Plataia

New Enquiries into the Bosphorus

- Natalia Gourova (KCL) What did ancient Greeks mean by 'Cimmerian Bosphorus'?
- Jakub Szamalek (Cambridge) What were dug-outs for? A study of early Bosporan architecture
- David Braund (Exeter) The Bosporian kingdom in Athenian oratory: Gylon and the mysterious affair at Nymphaeum

Performing Song and Wisdom

- Phillip Horky (Durham) Indo-Iranian Cosmology and the Development of Presocratic Natural Science
- Ioannis Lambrou (UCL) Competitive Singing as Competition in ΚΑΕΟΣ
- Smaro Nikolaidou-Arabatzi (Thrace) Maiden Choruses in the Epinician Odes of Pindar and Bacchylides: *Poet's Choral 'I'*
- Timothy Boyd (Buffalo) All the King's Horses: Reconstructing Rhapsodic Performance and the *Commedia dell'Arte*

* **Plutarch and the Qualities of Leadership**

	Panel convenor: John Marincola (Florida State)
Laurel Fulkerson (Florida State)	Plutarch on the Statesman: Stability and Change in the <i>Lives</i>
Frances Titchener (Utah State)	Plutarch's Nicias: Avoiding Defeat at All Costs
Sophia Xenophontos (Oxford)	The Virtues of a Good General: Military Leadership in Plutarch's <i>Fabius Maximus</i>
John Marincola (Florida State)	The Fairest Victor: Aristides' Leadership in the Persian Wars

* **Poleis and the Gods: Religion and Politics in the Greek World**

	Panel convenor: Julia Shear (American School at Athens)
Hannah Wiley (Cambridge)	Oaths, curses and the polis in crisis
Robin Osborne (Cambridge)	The construction of conflict: archaeology, epigraphy and religion in fifth-century Athens
Julia Shear (American School, Athens)	Civil strife, the gods and the city: the Artemisia at Amarnthos
Robert Parker (Oxford)	Religion and politics in Caria

* **Politics and Ideology of the Civil War**

	Panel convenor: Kathryn Welch (Sydney)
Kit Morell (Sydney)	Cato and the Courts in 54
Kathryn Welch (Sydney)	Why Bibulus? Choosing a naval commander in 49-48BC
Hannah Cornwell (Oxford)	The politics of peace: ideas of pax in the late Roman Republic
Louise Hodgson (Durham)	Negotiating Sulla

Practical Ethics and Psychology in Plutarch and Seneca

Eleni Kechagia-Ovseiko (Oxford)	Plutarch's 'heart': emotions, medicine and philosophy in the <i>Lives</i> and the <i>Moralia</i>
Johan Vekselius (Lund)	Weeping victors in Plutarch – tearful variations of a Hellenistic motif
Liz Gloyn (Birmingham)	"Books Will Speak Plain When Counsellors Blanch": Reading as Consolation in Seneca

Reading and Intertextuality

Bill Beck (Pennsylvania)	Tying Up Loose Ends: The Metapoetics of Closure in <i>Odyssey</i> 22
Sarah Brooks (Manchester)	<i>prima fuit rerum confusa sine ordine moles</i> : Finding Structure in Ovid's <i>Ars Amatoria</i> 2
Barbara Weiden Boyd (Bowdoin College)	Beginning an Epic (Journey): Homer's Telemachus and Ovid's Phaethon
Bobby Xinyue (UCL)	Looking back on the divinity of Octavian: the <i>sphragis</i> of the <i>Georgics</i> and the First <i>Eclogue</i>

Reading Practices and the Material Text

Francesca Sapsford (Birmingham)	Martial and the <i>lector studiosus</i>
Joseph Howley (Columbia)	Book "production" in Imperial Rome: irruptions of materiality into the textual plane
Ivo Volt (Tartu)	As X says in his letter to Y: aspects of citation in antiquity
Eleanor Winsor Leach (Indiana)	Pliny's Epistolary Re-inscription: Writing the Monuments of Verginius Rufus and Pallas the Claudian Secretary

* Reassessing Textual Traditions

David Butterfield (Cambridge)
Marcello Nobili (Rome)
Paola Bassino (Durham)

Panel convenor: Marcello Nobili (Rome “La Sapienza”)

The ‘Fragments’ of Lucretius’ *De Rerum Natura*: False Friends?
Martial Book 12: a textual reassessment
Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi: the contribution of the papyrus fragments

Reception of Greek and Roman drama

Amanda Wrigley (Westminster)
Helen Slaney (Oxford)
Folake Onayemi (Ibadan)

Greek Plays on British Television: Theatre, War, Sex, Education
Schlegel, Shelley and the “Death” of Seneca
Transculturalism in the choral songs of Euripides’ *Trojan Women* and Osofisan’s *Women of Owu*

Reciprocity in Greek Literature and Thought

Polyxeni Strolonga
(Franklin and Marshall)
Vayos Liapis (OU, Cyprus)

Shaping Religious Beliefs: The Case of the Major
Homeric Hymns
Compound Evil: The Economics of Hubris in Solon and the
Theognidea

Kleanthis Mantzouranis (UCL)
Kazutaka Inamura (Cambridge)

The politics of largess and Aristotle’s *megaloprepeia*
Justice in Exchange: Aristotle’s Theory of Gift-giving in *NE*
V.5

* Returning from Exile: Politics, Rhetoric and Religion in Cicero’s *post reditum* Speeches

Panel convenors: Henriette van der Blom (Oxford) and Luca Grillo (Amherst College)

Luca Grillo (Amherst College)

Self-fashioning, praise and invective in Cicero’s *De Provinciis Consularibus*

John North (UCL)

Divination in action: Cicero and Clodius on the *haruspices*

Catherine Steel (Glasgow)

Cicero and the Senate, 57-56 B.C

Henriette van der Blom (Oxford)

The public responses to Cicero’s speeches *post reditum*

Roman Ethics and Exemplarity

Rebecca Langlands (Exeter)
Eleanor Brooke (Leeds)
Steve Kennedy (The Maynard School)

Roman Exemplary Wisdom
Cicero’s Ancestors? History and Singularity in the Speeches
Plautus the Philosopher

Roman Provinces

Ersin Hussein (Warwick)
Hale Güney (Exeter)

Localizing the Global in Roman Cyprus
The self-sufficiency of Roman Nicomedia: Perspectives in the
longue durée

Peter Norris (Liverpool)

The Experience of Frontier in the Provinces of Hispania

Cara Sheldrake (Exeter)

Searching for the Cassiterides

* Rule and Legitimacy of Rule in the Mithridatic Kingdom

Panel convenor: Anca Dan (Topoi-DAI, Berlin)

Giusto Traina (Sorbonne)

Mithridates and Tigranes of Armenia: Cases of Oriental
Despotism?

Luis Ballesteros Pastor (Seville)

Mithridates Eupator as a Charismatic Hero

Charlotte Lerouge (Paris-Ouest)

Fictitious Genealogies in the Legitimacy of Mithridates VI
Eupator’s Ancestors

Anca Dan (Topoi-DAI, Berlin)

Mithridates Eupator against Rome: the Wars of Propaganda

*** Rulers and Subjects in Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliothēke***

Panel convenor: Shane Wallace (TCD)

Shane Wallace (TCD)	Saviours and Tyrants: Diodorus on Gelon and Agathocles of Syracuse
Eran Almagor (Ben Gurion)	The King of Kings and his Subjects: Diodorus on Artaxerxes II
Peter Morton (Edinburgh)	Eunus the Cowardly King: Suitable for his Subjects?
John Holton (Edinburgh)	Two opposing <i>dynastai</i> : Ptolemy and Perdikkas at Diodorus 18.33-36

*** School and University collaborations: Some New Developments**

Panel convenor: Catherine Steel (Glasgow)

Genevieve Liveley (Bristol)	The Public Role of the Humanities: developments at Bristol
Ellen MacKay (OCR)	Classics Cluster Groups: facilitating cooperation and communication between schools
Amy Coker (Liverpool)	Liverpool's Classics Graduate Teaching Fellow Partnership
Cressida Ryan (Oxford)	Plugging the Teacher Training Gap? PG students in the classroom

*** Screening Sex: One Hundred Years of Roman Depravity in American Cinema and Television**

Panel convenor: Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Edinburgh)

Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Edinburgh)	Perverted Emperors and Screaming Queens: Roman Sexual Degeneracy in Pre-Code Hollywood
Joanna Paul (Open University)	Coding Roman Sexual Deviance in Fifties and Sixties Hollywood
Monica S. Cyrino (New Mexico)	The Domestication of Deviance: Screening Roman Sex on Television since 2000

*** Songs of the Past: the Reception of Classical Antiquity in Opera**

Panel convenor: Anastasia Bakogianni (OU)

Jon Solomon (Illinois)	French Appropriation of Greek Tragedy and Myth in 1674-1675
Anastasia Bakogianni (Open University)	Electra's Song: the Tragic Heroine as an Operatic Diva in Mikis Theodorakis' <i>Electra</i> (1992-93)
Gesine Manuwald (UCL)	Roman Emperors on the Venetian Stage: <i>Il Vespasiano</i> (1678) and <i>Il Nerone</i> (1679)
Robert Ketterer (Iowa)	<i>L'inclemenza di Tito</i> : Translating Livy in Vivaldi's <i>Tito Manlio</i> (1719)

Space and the *Oikos* in Greek Tragedy

Emmanuela Bakola (UCL)	The ' <i>Oikos</i> ' in the <i>Oresteia</i> and the origins of Eco-logical discourse
Dimitra Kokkini (UCL)	Gender and space: Jason's 'movement' in Euripides' <i>Medeia</i>
Eleanor OKell (Leeds)	Inheriting Thebes in Athens: Sophocles' <i>OC</i> and Euripides' <i>Phoenissae</i>

Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World

Nigel Nicholson (Reed College)	Athlete Legends and Epinician in Western Locri
Jillian Mitchell (Trinity St David)	The Case of the Strangled Saxons: Spectacle and Sport at the games in late fourth century Rome
Sofie Remijnsen (Leuven)	The city and the end of the ancient <i>agones</i>

*** Storytelling in the Attic Orators**

Panel convenor: Dimos Spatharas (Crete)

Myrto Aloumpi (Oxford)

Storytelling and characterization in Demosthenes 21 (*Against Meidias*)

Ifigeneia Giannadaki (UCL)

Narrating the law in *Against Androtion* (Dem. 22)

Dimos Spatharas (Crete)

Storytelling and Disgust

Guy Westwood (Oxford)

A hinterland for Chaeronea: Narrative, self-presentation and the Athenian past in Demosthenes' *On the Crown*

*** Travelling the Desert and the Seas: Trade on the Southern and Eastern Frontiers of the Roman Empire**

Panel convenors: L. Gregoratti (Udine) and E. Seland

(Bergen)

Eivind Seland (Bergen)

Pliny, Appian and Palmyra

Leonardo Gregoratti (Udine)

The Palmyrenes east of the Euphrates

Dario Nappo (Oxford)

Policy and trade in the Red Sea during the first and second century AD

Katia Schorle (Oxford)

Bu Njem: Soldiers, Tribes and Desert Trade along the Tripolitanian Border

*** What about Comic hamartēma? A Study of the Comic Error: Aristotle's Definition and its Staging in Greek and Roman New Comedy**

Panel convenor: Valeria Cinaglia (KCL)

Valeria Cinaglia (KCL)

Comic *hamartēma* in Aristotle's *Poetics*

Nathalie Lhostis (Lyon)

The Menandrian "Comedy of Errors"

Chrysanthi Demetriou (Leeds)

Comici Errores in Terence

*** Writing the Words: Scholarship and Original fiction**

Panel convenor: Tony Keen (Open University)

Tony Keen (Open University)

My name is nobody

Juliette Harrison (Birmingham)

The Virgin's Dilemma

Ika Willis (Bristol)

A New Life (*Vita Nova*)

Details of Poster Session

Thursday 11th April 11-1pm, Peter Chalk Centre

Presenter	Title
Rosangela Santoro de Souza Amato (São Paulo)	Into the sophist's web - Philostratos, <i>Eikones</i> - 2.28
Marianna Calabretta (Naples)	From the Literary Text to the Dramatic Text: "Stage Directions" in Plautus' <i>Rudens</i>
Thomas Coward (KCL)	The poet as a religious figure in Pindar's cultic songs
Caterina Franchi (Oxford)	λάμβδα. Alexander the Great and the prophecies
Kate Hammond (Open University)	Social Identification in Catullus's poetry: When You and I becomes We and Us
Francesco Lubian (Macerata)	The "iconological tituli" of the Late Antique West and the role of typology
Francesco Montone (Naples)	Roman Archaic Comedy in Sidonius Apollinaris: A Study in Late Antique Reception
Sarah Platt (Oxford)	Personal grief and public display: the family of Herodes Atticus in the Attic countryside
Amanda Potter (Open University)	Gendered Viewer Receptions of <i>Spartacus Blood and Sand</i>
Keith Stewart (Exeter)	It's Elementary My Dear Galen: Physics in the Secondary-Century AD

Guide to Convened Panels

We include here a list of panels specially convened for the conference and an abstract for the entire panel where one was provided. The abstracts for individual papers can be found separately in the alphabetical list of speakers.

A-Z by panel title

Ancient Greece and Modern Britain: Liberalism, Empire and Democracy

Panel convenor: Alun WILLIAMS (Cardiff)

The importance of ancient Greece for modern Britain has long been noted, yet in spite of advances in recent years, our appreciation of the depth, complexities and variety of this relationship remains incomplete. The aim of this panel is to explore the significance of ancient Greece in relation to British imperial and political thought, with specific reference to the three key themes of liberalism, empire, and democracy. This approach is intended to maintain an overarching coherence while maintaining a specific and original focus within each individual paper. The speakers are all postgraduate students at various stages of their research, and all engaged in projects focusing specifically on classical reception in modern Britain. The three papers will encompass the importance of Alexander to British thought about imperial rule in Asia; the central place of Greek-inspired conceptions of civilisation in the interplay between empire, colonisation and liberalism among classically trained British intellectuals; and the complexities faced by John Stuart Mill in using Athens as an inspiration for his thinking on representative government and political liberty. It is hoped that this panel will make a contribution towards advancing our understanding of the role played by ancient history and classics as discipline, as well as contributing towards current debates in modern imperial history and political thought by giving due consideration to all too often overlooked and understudied ancient influences.

Classical Reception and Contemporary Women's Writing

Panel convenor: Polly TONEY (Birmingham)

The recent surge in the reception of classical myth and literature by women writers warrants extensive investigation; not least because the androcentric bias of Classics has traditionally rendered the female voice as the exception rather than the rule. The literary heritage of Classics is one in which women have been marginalised and silenced; made up of works that have been written neither by them, nor on their behalf and often to their detriment. Classical reception enables women to have their voices heard; creating a conceptual and literary space in which the female voice can speak in dialogue with and challenge, its male source.

The panel, comprising of four speakers, will consider the directions in which women's works of classical reception have taken, contextualising specific case studies with reference to reception and feminist theory. Dr Elena Theodorakopoulos will provide an introductory paper, setting the panel in its theoretical context and exposing some of the contemporary issues that face women writers of classical reception and those who study them. Dr Fiona Cox will then look at Jo Shapcott's intensely personal reception of Ovid, *Of Mutability*, and the potential for literature to bridge the gap between theory and practice. Continuing the Ovidian theme, Holly Ranger will turn to the influences of feminist and queer theory in Ali Smith's reception of the tale of Iphis and Ianthe in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (9.666-797) in her novella *Girl Meets Boy*. Finally, Polly Toney will consider the potential that women's writing of classical reception can hold for feminist politics, using Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* as a case-study.

Classics in the Classroom and Beyond during the Long Nineteenth Century

Panel convenor: Rachel BRYANT DAVIES (Oxford)

This panel will examine a range of case studies, which explore the ways in which portrayals of antiquity during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries provided a quarry of models which children could emulate. In rural classrooms in North-Eastern Scotland, cadet schools in Germany, and ‘at home from school [...] by the fireside’ throughout England, children were brought up with different templates of the Classical past – whether these encouraged them to engage directly with the Classical texts, or provided them with Classical paradigms in more recreational literature.

Morris adopts a predominantly institutional – and regional – focus on school inspection reports, which show that, prior to the introduction of a national Scottish examination system, pupils in some of the most rural parts of Scotland were busy learning their Virgil and Horace. Roche turns her attention to the centralised educational system of the Prussian cadet corps, where the treatment of Classical subject matter in lessons led the pupils in question to embrace Classical (and especially Spartan) models of war-like and self-sacrificing behaviour even outside the classroom. Bryant-Davies then engages with the (primarily) British portrayal of mythical and historical episodes, especially from the Punic and Trojan Wars, in entertaining and non-institutional, but nonetheless didactic, contexts – which complemented both institutional classical education, and contemporary political and cultural representations of similar subject matter in the adult sphere.

Together, these papers explore the complex relationships between institutional and recreational paradigms of the Classics. Each focuses in a different way on children’s experience of encountering classical antiquity in this period, presenting alternative perspectives on whether educators or pupils were the critical agents who defined these classical receptions in educational contexts, and to illustrate in new ways the cultural and political ramifications of such classical appropriations in this period.

Greek History: Empire and Locality in Classical Greece

Panel convenor: Aneurin ELLIS-EVANS (Oxford)

Our panel consists of three inter-related case studies which examine the impact of hegemonic states on the city-state cultures of three regions: the Troad, the Bosphorus, and Macedonia. The common theme of our papers is the importance of studying imperial processes from the perspective of the localities they control. Hegemonic powers view their possessions in a homogenizing way: this ‘imperial gaze’ seeks to map the empire’s possessions in a way readily comprehensible to the empire, rather than necessarily reflecting the complexities on the ground. The papers of Ellis-Evans and Russell apply this concern to the Athenian Tribute Lists, suggesting that the result of taking these documents as objectively factual is to inadvertently adopt the Athenian Empire’s distorted perspective on its possessions. This obscures the interesting processes of community formation which were developing in these two regions in interaction with the imposition of the bureaucratic processes and imperial priorities of the Athenian Empire. Our panel approaches our topic in a comparative spirit, and so Raynor’s paper on the interactions between Philip II’s Macedon and the Greek cities of Macedonia not only adds a further case study, but also acts as a foil to the foregoing analyses of the Athenian Empire.

Heroic Journeys

Panel convenor: Greta HAWES (Bristol)

Stories of long-distance journeys – quests for material wealth, knowledge, adventure and fame – loom large in the Greek tradition. This panel examines the place of such journeys in myth and the broader issues they raise. It provides a number of different perspectives on a series of interwoven themes, including the ways in which travel motifs are used in storytelling to enhance and define

heroic qualities, the role of these stories in expressing conceptual and physical boundaries, and their use in formulating regional and supra-regional identities.

Historiography and Ideology: 'Brothers' in the Ancient World

Panel convenor: Gwynnaeth McINTYRE (Manitoba)

This panel examines the role of familial relationships in how particular communities set about explaining and defining their community. It addresses questions relating to the concept of brotherhood (and brothers as either working together or competing against each other). It incorporates discussions of both real-life and mythological brothers and their contemporary use in promoting the political and social values of communities both in Greece and Rome.

This panel covers both the Greek and Roman worlds and hopes to promote a dialogue between scholars from a variety of disciplines. By including discussions relating to history, literature, archaeology, and numismatics, this panel hopes to demonstrate the encompassing nature of the presentation of brothers in the ancient world and their role in defining and promoting the ideology of particular communities at specific moments in time.

KYKNOS: Novel Heroines

Panel convenors: Ian REPATH and John MORGAN (Swansea)

This panel examines the creation, construction, and characterisation of three of the Greek novel heroines (Callirhoe, Leucippe, and Chariclea) and of one of the heroes (Cleitophon), aspects of whose characterisation are effeminate. It seeks to understand the characters as individuals rather than generic figures who play a fairly standard role, and to do so by considering different methods by which individuation is achieved.

Two of the heroines (Callirhoe and Chariclea) are the central figures of their respective narratives and display a level of intelligence which outstrips their male counterparts: this part of their characterisation is enabled partly by intertextual comparisons with Homeric female figures. Leucippe, on the other hand, relies on the narration of Cleitophon for her portrayal, and everything she does or says is mediated through his reporting of it; he is far from a disinterested, or reliable, narrator, and he makes Leucippe what he wants her to be: willing to be seduced by him at one point, and determined to remain a virgin at another. Cleitophon's presentation of himself is no less complicated, to the extent that he seems willing to show himself at times playing the role of novel heroine, and an important part of this is intertextuality with earlier novels, especially Chariton. Finally, Chariclea is an enigma, a white and apparently Greek woman, who is the daughter and heir of the black king and queen of Ethiopia. Her conception was divinely ordained and her colour determined by a painting, and the novel has her origin, identity, and destiny as its core.

KYKNOS II: Novel Receptions

Panel convenors: Ian REPATH and John MORGAN (Swansea)

This panel examines ways in which novels are agents and objects of reception, being both shaped by previous texts and traditions, and shaping future ones. As late products of classical antiquity, the novels stand towards the end of a vast tradition of literature and thought, and exploit them and their readers' knowledge in an often sophisticated manner; receptions of the novels, on the other hand, particularly in the modern period, have tended to be 'localised', as the texts become fashionable or appealing for aesthetic, sexual, and other reasons. The panel is divided into two halves: the first will consider receptions by and in the novel; the second will focus on two very different receptions of individual novels.

Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaca* has long been regarded as the least sophisticated ancient Greek novel; nevertheless, recent research suggests that it is a much more demanding and suggestive text

than previously thought, and that cultural and literary receptions are an integral part of its strategy. Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, on the other hand, has long been regarded as the most sophisticated Greek novel; nevertheless, there is much work still required to begin to appreciate the multi-layered and dynamic reception and reconfiguration of the classical tradition which results in this culmination of the genre. Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* is a text whose superficial simplicity has often fooled readers, and receptions which do not penetrate beyond the charming pastoral veneer can hold up a revealing mirror to the receiving culture. A single factor – sexual content – has often determined the reception of Petronius' *Satyrica*, but its characterisation is so strong, and its themes and ideas sufficiently universal, that it has been influential on a range of novelistic fiction, right up to the present day.

Late Antique Historiography

Panel convenor: Victoria LEONARD (Cardiff)

The papers in this panel examine authors who, although individually diverse, are united within a shared historiographical tradition, and are themselves appealing backwards into the past. Beginning with the fourth century and stretching up to the early seventh century, the first two papers return to shed fresh light on the verbal appropriation of literature (DeVore) and the literary appropriation of authority (Corke-Webster) in Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*. The third paper examines how Orosius in the early fifth century sought to syncretise traditional non-Christian chronological schema, in specific methods of dating and the broader periodical division of time, as part of the apologetic purpose of the text (Leonard). The final paper (Wood) explores a neglected aspect of education in the ancient world, the use of historical writing not only for edification but instruction up to the seventh century.

Monstrous Appearances in Classical Antiquity

Panel convenors: Debbie FELTON (Amherst) and Dunstan LOWE (Kent)

Ancient concepts of the 'monster' (the Greek *teras*, the Roman *monstrum*) grew as metaphors from a religious core—the sign from the gods—and were therefore often primarily visual. Monstrous appearances either reflected dangerous difference, or created it. This panel pursues the implications of this concept in a range of different contexts throughout classical antiquity.

Lamia the snake-woman, initially a child-eater and later also a seductive devourer of young men, was a well-known monster but primarily a figure of folklore. Scholars have thus doubted whether she was ever depicted in Greek art. In the first paper, Daniel Ogden argues that she does in fact appear in an early fifth-century image, allowing us at last to know what this monster looked like.

In the second paper, Debbie Felton examines how Apuleius uses the Lamia legend in the Cupid and Psyche story from his *Metamorphoses*. Felton argues that Psyche's sisters effectively construct her unseen husband as a male Lamia, a process that explains Psyche's apparently excessive credulity in this episode. This Lamia-figure is not a monster at all, of course, but the handsome Cupid.

Dunstan Lowe addresses body modification in antiquity, which was generally considered disfigurement, except under special circumstances. Focusing on late Republican and imperial Rome, he proposes a taxonomy of involuntary and voluntary procedures, from branding and tattooing to scars and corrective surgery, as markers of decreased or elevated status.

The final paper introduces a twist: it is not about looking at monsters, but monsters looking at others. Jack Lennon analyses Roman portrayals of civil-war tyrants, which cast them as savages with unclean and even cannibalistic appetites. Their contagious greed not only distorts their own appearance, but also endows them with a deadly gaze, which threatens to alter the 'face value' of Roman citizens.

New Approaches to Domestic Violence in Antiquity

Panel convenor: Fiona McHardy (Roehampton)

The topic of domestic violence has recently come under scrutiny by scholars of the ancient world including Sarah Pomeroy and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones. This panel takes their work further by considering the applicability of various modern theoretical approaches, including feminist theory, criminological studies, psychology and evolutionary psychology to case studies taken from Greek myth and literature. The main focus of the panel will be spousal violence of a physical, emotional or sexual nature and its impact on the offspring of the union. The panellists will consider the themes of violent marriage and rape (Rabinowitz), the battering and murder of pregnant women (Deacy/McHardy), and violence by women against male relatives (Badnall) in order to draw conclusions about the attitude of the ancient authors and audience to acts of gendered violence. At the same time new insights into the ancient texts will be sought through the use of different methodological approaches. By casting our net wide in methodological terms we will be able to shed light on the study of domestic violence in ancient Greece, the evidence for which has been dismissed in past studies as too ambiguous to allow for a detailed investigation. This panel is intended to form part of the activities of the Gendered Violence research network, of which three of the panellists are founding members.

New Approaches to Greek Warfare

Panel convenor: Hans van Wees (UCL)

Greek warfare has been the subject of much lively discussion in recent years, but many aspects remain in need of a fresh look. This panel covers four of these aspects: changing attitudes to mutilation of the war dead as a reflection of changing cultural and religious values; the forms of stress experienced in Greek warfare and its consequences for male psychology and behaviour; the attitudes towards war implied by the Greek conception of Ares; and a reassessment of the ideological distortions which affect Herodotus' account of the battle of Plataea. Each of these papers is not only of interest in its own right, but opens up a broader new approach to the study of Greek war, society and culture.

Plutarch and the Qualities of Leadership

Panel convenor: John Marincola (Florida State)

Much attention has been paid in recent years to the statesman in Plutarch's *Lives* and *Moralia* (see, e.g., I. Gallo and B. Scardigli, edd., *Teoria e prassi politica nelle opera di Plutarco: Atti del V convegno plutarcheo* [Naples 1995]; L. de Blois, et al., edd., *The Statesman in Plutarch's Works*, 2 vols. [Leiden 2004–2005]). These studies have concentrated on several aspects, including the statesman's philosophical disposition, his relationship to learning and culture, and his public persona.

The papers in this panel build on the useful insights gleaned from these earlier studies on Plutarch and the statesman, but they try to move beyond the general qualities and dispositions of statesmen studied therein in order to examine more closely the types of *leadership* as displayed by individuals in their specific historical contexts. As one would expect, Plutarch's notions of leadership can encompass many categories, including military leadership in the field, political leadership at home, especially in a democratic state, and co-operation and competition amongst multiple leaders.

Fulkerson discusses the issue of consistency in leadership and looks at several *Lives* where it is or is not displayed; Titchener examines the failed leadership of Nicias as general while Xenophontos examines the successful generalship of Fabius Maximus. Marincola looks at the figure of Aristides who shows a well-rounded leadership that is largely responsible for victory in the Persian Wars.

***Poleis* and the Gods: Religion and Politics in the Greek World**

Panel convenor: Julia SHEAR (American School at Athens)

Recent critiques of *polis* religion have sought to move away from focusing on the city and to investigate the ‘messy margins’ of Greek religion and issues such as the individual, belief, magic, and other ‘unlicensed’ practices. In so doing, these scholars have removed not only the *polis*, but also politics from their discussions. In response, this panel seeks to bring politics, the governing the city, back into the discussion of Greek religion and it asks how these two different spheres intersected with each other. Papers discuss these interactions in the contexts of political crisis (papers 1, 3), sanctuary management (paper 2), construction projects (paper 2), festivals (paper 3), creation of community (papers 1, 3, 4), and external relations (paper 4). These studies demonstrate the importance of considering both politics and religion together. They also bring out the complexities of relations between humans and the divine and they show how such interactions played out on multiple levels. Both individuals and communities needed to act and, in so doing, they created and reinforced relations between humans and the divine; sub-groups of communities might also be active in these dynamics. While political crises caused difficulties to human and divine relations, in other circumstances, such interactions need not be accompanied by conflict and they might take place harmoniously. Collectively, these four case-studies show that politics and religion are closely interrelated. Consequently, when we seek to understand Greek religion, we must include the political and the *polis* among our areas of study and we cannot limit ourselves to individuals and the ‘messy margins’.

Politics and Ideology of the Civil War

Panel convenor: Kathryn WELCH (Sydney)

Reassessing Textual Traditions

Panel convenor: Marcello NOBILI (Rome “La Sapienza”)

Investigating the textual tradition of a work of classical literature can be rewarding in many ways, even when the profit for the text itself is slim or nil – in traditional terms. Recent discoveries (especially papyri), or a careful reassessment of previously neglect evidence, is likely to shed new light on a given tradition, or at least to let us clarify one or more obscure stages of it. David Butterfield reanalyses the corpus of fragments attributed to Lucretius’ *De Rerum Natura* as culled from the so-called indirect tradition by editors from the Renaissance onwards. Consideration of several linguistic, stylistic and textual matters reveals how little of this evidence can hold credibility for the modern editor of the poem when set against the direct tradition. Marcello Nobili takes Book 12 of Martial’s *Epigrams* as a specimen on which to carry forth a reassessment of some aspects of the tradition of a relatively well transmitted work. Several less known manuscripts belonging to the class of the medieval *florilegia* are evaluated and their importance as witnesses discussed. Paola Bassino analyses the contribution of five papyrus witnesses that transmit parts of the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*. A comparison of the text offered by the only extant medieval manuscript with that of the papyri highlights some peculiar features of the text of the *Certamen* as we read it and the attitude of its author towards his literary sources, giving a clearer picture of an extremely “open” tradition.

Returning from Exile: Politics, Rhetoric and Religion in Cicero’s *post reditum* Speeches

Panel convenors: Henriette van der BLOM (Oxford) and Luca GRILLO (Amherst College)

Returning from his exile in September 57 BC, Cicero plunged himself into political life, appealing to gods and men in the hope of regaining his influence and status. His *post reditum* orations are crucial for understanding his activities in this period but too often overlooked and considered second rate in comparison with many of his previous and later speeches (Nicholson 1992 and

Riggsby 2002). Moreover, scholars tend to take at face value both Cicero's self-fashioning and his account of the glories and struggles of his return. Cicero quickly realized that the general euphoria for his recall would not last (cf. *Att.* 4.1 and *Fam.* 1.9); and soon, having experienced the scorn of the *boni*, he sided with the triumviri, while bitterly complaining about his lost *dignitas* (e.g. *Att.* 4.5 and *QF* 2.6). Yet, despite feeling that he was losing a battle, he achieved more than in some previous "successes" (e.g. for Roscius Amerinus and against Verres): Cicero remained a central public and political figure; through the *De domo* he regained his house and property; his patronage kept being sought for major trials; and his support for Caesar's reappointment in Gaul (*Prov. Cons.*) dramatically changed the course of Roman history. How do Cicero's rhetoric of defeat, his self-identification with the state, and his use of traditional religion play in his struggle to regain *dignitas*? What do Cicero's activities tell us about the Senate's position in Roman politics? And how did other politicians respond to his rhetoric?

This panel re-considers the *post reditum* speeches in light of Cicero's achievements rather than of his expectations. In particular we intend to explore 1) the rhetorical, political and ideological strategies by which Cicero managed to reposition himself within the public debate and the senators' reception of these strategies; and 2) Cicero's reshaping of the civic and religious discourse to legitimate his ambitions.

Rule and Legitimacy of Rule in the Mithridatic Kingdom

Panel convenor: Anca DAN (Topoi-DAI, Berlin)

The imperial regime of Mithridates is of particular importance in the history of the Black Sea region, not least because it was Mithridates who first made this large and varied region into a single political system. But how should we define Mithridates' kingship, when no ancient source, preserved until today, offers the theoretical frame for describing a Hellenistic territorial state?

Max Weber's tripartite typology of legitimate authorities, as presented in *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, remains an essential tool for the characterization of any political regime. Its ideal forms of traditional, rational-legal and charismatic authorities include factors that are mixed together in real historical figures. Could Mithridates be described in the terms of Max Weber or in those of his follower, Karl Wittfogel? Is he a traditional king, the organizer of an efficient bureaucratic system, an inspiring leader, an Oriental despot, all of these, or someone else, beyond the ideological antagonism between Orient and Occident?

The contributions focus on the documentation of Mithridates' military, political, economical and cultural policy. They try to show that even if Weber's concepts are useful, they are not sufficient: several political factors, incompatible from the perspective of the German sociologist, were articulated in the authority of one "king of the kings", the biggest enemy of Rome (Cicero, *Pro Murena* 32; cf. Højte 2009). The opening paper discusses the difficulties of defining the Hellenistic monarchies in SE Black Sea region. Two other contributions analyze the "charismatic" and "traditional" aspects of Mithridates' regime. The last interventions treat two particular elements of these Weberian types of legitimated power: literary genealogy and propaganda.

Paying attention to new theoretical concepts which can improve our critical approach of multidisciplinary sources, this panel will treat different aspects of the most important Hellenistic rule on the shore of Pontus, and its echoes in the ancient world.

Rulers and Subjects in Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliothēke*

Panel convenor: Shane WALLACE (TCD)

Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliothēke*, or *Library of History*, is a universal history of the world from mythical times to the mid-first century BC. Originally composed in forty books, only books 1-5 and 11-20 survive today; the rest are preserved in varying degrees of fragmentation. Since Diodorus drew

upon the work of earlier, now lost, authors, he has frequently been derided as a confused and derivative, second-rate epitomator.

Recent work has tended to rehabilitate Diodorus and focus on the originality of his work, in particular his intent, scope, and criteria for selection (Green 2006). Commentaries have appeared on individual books (Stylianou 1998; Landucci Gattinoni 2008) and focus has been placed on Diodorus' intellectual context (Sacks 1990; Wirth 1993). However, due to the size and scope of the *Bibliothèque*, not to mention the numerous sources that he drew upon, little work has been done on the conception and execution of the *Bibliothèque* as a whole.

This panel explores the originality of Diodorus' work by tracing his treatment of a key theme throughout the entirety of the *Bibliothèque*, the relationship between ruler and subject. This is a central feature of Diodorus' work, which focused intently on the successive rise and fall of empires throughout the Mediterranean. By exploring Diodorus' presentation of the relationship between ruler and subject, the four papers in this panel elucidate the unity in the conception and exposition of Diodorus' work, but also explore the diverse ways in which Diodorus himself presented this relationship at different points in his narrative. In questioning the degree to which Diodorus' simply epitomised the content and character of his sources, each paper explores Diodorus' own voice, in the conception of his work, the exposition of his narrative, and his depiction of the relationship between ruler and subject.

School and University collaborations: Some New Developments

Panel convenor: Catherine STEEL (Glasgow)

Collaboration between schools and universities offers great opportunities to respond to current challenges to our discipline. These include the disappearance of Classics from some schools, a shortage of teacher training places, and debate over the value and role of the Humanities in the universities. This panel, a collaboration between JACT and CUCD, presents four projects which tackle these issues from a variety of perspectives, and explores the conditions which make this kind of collaborative activity successful for both schools and universities.

Screening Sex: One Hundred Years of Roman Depravity in American Cinema and Television

Panel convenor: Lloyd LLEWELLYN-JONES (Edinburgh)

Sexual depravity and moral degeneracy have been a mainstay of screen depictions of the Roman past since the inception of cinema in the early 1900s. Images of orgies, bacchanals, brothels, and blood sports were lifted from the canvases of nineteenth century paintings and given a new lease of life in the new medium of film, usually together with a heavy dose of morality. Why did Vesuvius erupt and destroy Pompeii? Because of the wicked wantonness of its inhabitants. Why did Christianity eventually overpower the Roman Empire? Because of the orgiastic excesses of Nero's court.

This panel, comprising of three integrally-linked papers, traces the development of the depictions of Roman sexual depravity in epic cinema and television-series and sets them in the cultural context of Twentieth Century American society. The panel explores the early filmic representations of sexual excess in the liberal atmosphere of 1920s and '30s America, and examines the moral crackdown required by the so-called 'Hays Code' on all depictions of on-screen sex which resulted in a 'safer' depiction of Rome during the 1950s and '60s. Finally, a more blatant and aggressive depiction of sexual degeneracy has been witnessed by TV audiences in their homes within the last decade; the panel ends by questioning why such images are now palatable and, moreover, why images of sexual excesses have played such a key role in the creation of Rome in Twentieth Century popular culture.

Songs of the Past: the Reception of Classical Antiquity in Opera

Anastasia BAKOGIANNI (Open University)

The aim of this panel is to investigate musical appropriations of classical antiquity in opera. This is a flourishing area of scholarly debate within classical reception studies that examines how classical stories, narratives and themes were adapted to create new works of art. These musical appropriations demonstrate the impact of classical models in this medium, particularly in early opera, but also throughout the medium's development. The four papers in this panel examine the reception of both ancient Greek and Roman models and focus on how the classical past was appropriated, re-created and adapted. The panel also explores the impact of each opera's contemporary context on the process of adaptation and the resulting changes to the ancient sources this necessitated.

Jon Solomon's paper examines the reception of Greek tragedy and myth in two seventeenth-century French operas as a sign of the country's philhellenism in this period. Anastasia Bakogianni explores a Modern Greek case study of the reception of the tragic heroine Electra and its positioning *vis-à-vis* both native and European musical traditions. Gesine Manuwald focuses on the theme of the lives of Roman emperors and their adaptation for the operatic stage of the Venetian Republic. Robert Ketterer investigates the reception of an episode from Livy's early history of Rome by Vivaldi and how Roman cultural values were adapted for an eighteenth-century Italian audience.

Storytelling in the Attic Orators

Panel convenor: Dimos SPATHARAS (Crete)

As even a cursory study of the surviving speeches from the Attic orators suggests, storytelling is integral to forensic oratory. Courtroom speeches not only include extensive accounts of the relevant events, but also stories that *prima facie* appear to be irrelevant to the main contours of the individual cases: speakers often embark on narratives concerning the glorious past of the city, adduce examples from previous legal cases, or even recite passages from epic or tragedy referring to mythical heroes. As is to be expected, courtroom narratives, unlike other forms of narratives, include competing stories that invest with radically different meaning events bearing legal significance and are therefore shaped by relevant laws. But since (elite) speakers in Athenian courts commonly highlight the social milieu of their legal disputes and emphasize their adherence to the values privileged by the dominant ideology of the city, the stories that they narrate also serve the purpose of contextualizing their cases, thereby investing them with specificity. Storytelling, therefore, enables forensic speakers to achieve a cognitive framing of their cases that induces jurors to assess them on the basis of an agenda that transcends the limits of factual or circumstantial evidence.

Travelling the Desert and the Seas: Trade on the Southern and Eastern Frontiers of the Roman Empire

Panel convenors: Leonardo GREGORATTI (Udine) and Eivind H. SELAND (Bergen)

In recent years the impressive amount of information provided by the extensive archaeological work which took place in the Near East region and in North Africa allowed scholars to better understand the political and administrative realities at the frontiers of the Roman Empire. In particular the attention has been on the relationship between "Romans" and "non-Romans". Arguably studies have moved away from stereotyped and minimising approaches, and turned to issues of organisation, infrastructure and significance. The field, however, remains divided into regional categories such as Libya, Syria and the Red Sea. This session aims to address this by bringing together papers drawing data from four different regions, but with a common focus on the organisation of cross-border trade. What was the role of frontier communities in facilitating

cross-cultural trade? What were the policies of imperial governments with regard to foreign traders and foreign trade? These issues transcended political borders in the ancient world, and were equally critical on the edge of the Sahara in the Syrian Desert and on the shores of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, regardless of the lines drawn along rivers and across sand, whether by ancient monarchs or modern scholars.

What about Comic hamartēma? A Study of the Comic Error: Aristotle's Definition and its Staging in Greek and Roman New Comedy

Panel Convenor: Valeria CINAGLIA (KCL)

Tragic *hamartia*, as defined in *Poet.* 13, 1453a8-12, has been variously discussed and scholars have engaged in studying what tensions lay at the core of tragic characters' choices and what this implies in the context of the specific plot or, more broadly, the tragic genre. What about the comic *hamartēma* briefly mentioned in *Poet.* 5, 1449a33-34? In his commentary on the *Poetics* Else makes it a counterpart of tragic *hamartia*, others, like Lucas, Janko and Halliwell distinguish the two concepts. However, an overall study of comic error in its ethical, aesthetic implications and practical applications is still missing. Is it possible to retrace more exactly Aristotle's thought on comic *hamartēma*? How can *hamartēma* be actually a source of laughter? What are the challenges of applying Aristotle's reading to concrete examples of comic plots? This panel, through three individual contributions, aims to suggest some possible answers. Cinaglia's paper attempts at reconstructing the meaning of comic *hamartēma* in *Poetics* 5 and suggests to intend this mainly as an ethical mistake, analogous to the sort described in *Nicomachean Ethics* 7.4-7 (*akrasia*). This interpretation of comic *hamartēma* turns out to be mainly reflected in the plots of Greek and Roman New Comedy: Lhostis and Demetriou will discuss the challenges of this reading looking at specific examples. Lhostis' paper explores the ethical status of key figures in Menander's comedy and explains the meaning of the different natures of laughter aroused by their mistakes. Demetriou's paper explores comic errors through a parallel reading of Terence's comedies and Donatus' commentary, investigating their functions in the construction of the plot and their central position in the achievement of the spectators' entertainment.

Writing the Words: Scholarship and Original fiction

Panel convenor: Tony KEEN (Open University)

Traditionally, scholars are expected to write words about words, rather than the original words themselves. In the field of English literature, it is not uncommon to find people who maintain a status as both creative writer and scholar (e.g. Malcolm Bradbury, David Lodge). In Classics this is rarer, though there are some examples from the past (e.g. A.E. Housman) and present (e.g. Harry Sidebottom). However, the practice of writing original fiction, if only for one's own satisfaction, may be more common amongst scholars than you might think.

In this panel, three people best-known for their scholarship (Juliette Harrisson, Tony Keen, and Ika Willis) will read a short piece of classically-related fiction that they have composed. They will then comment on the piece, and address a number of wider questions, such as: What is the appeal of writing fiction? Why, as scholars, might one choose to write fiction? What does the writing of fiction offer that scholarship does not? How does the writing of fiction relate to one's identity as a scholar? And should short fiction be counted as part of one's research activity?

Folake ADEYEMI (Ibadan)

Transculturalism in the choral songs of Euripides' *Trojan Women* and Osofisan's *Women of Owu*

The incorporation of ancient Greek drama, especially of Sophocles and Euripides, in adaptations within the Yoruba culture is particularly large and growing. Femi Osofisan's *Women of Owu*, which is an adaptation of Euripides' *Trojan Women*, is one of such.

Choral songs, which are an integral component of ancient Greek tragic drama, diminished in importance as Greek drama advanced in development. However the flavour of the choral songs is enhanced in the transmission of these plays to an African/Yoruba setting.

The objective here is to do an inter-textual analysis by examining the choral songs of the original Greek play in comparison with songs of the chorus in the adapted play by a dramatist of Yoruba origin and to demonstrate the cultural mechanisms employed, thereby interpreting the socio-religious implication of the cultural interplay between the two cultures which the songs effect.

Margarita ALEXANDROU (UCL)

Hipponax on Sex

The sexual element is a prominent feature in the genre of *iambos*. However, the nature of sex in Hipponax is complex. Sex is explicit to a degree not found in his predecessors (very graphic descriptions of body parts and sexual encounters) and also pervasive in the corpus, ranging widely in nature/dimensions and contexts. Magical rituals to cure sexual impotence are found in the corpus (in fr. 92W a ritual takes place in a lavatory and in fr.78W masturbation perhaps follows a visit in the ithyphallic Cabeiroi as a way of testing sexual recovery), as well as acts of sex. Moreover, although sex in Hipponax is generally uncomplicated in its practical details, it can be aggressive or illegal or even impious (fr.70W perhaps narrates an incestuous rape, a μητρομυξία, and in fr.84W the Hipponax narrator has illicit sex with a woman and fears the consequences of his being caught as a *moichos*); one can also perhaps even trace mythicized sex with a figure named Kypso (most likely an obscene distortion of the name of the mythical Calypso).

But also sex in Hipponax is surprisingly narrow – solely heterosexual in a world where homoeroticism was at least an option especially for aristocratic lyric; and the corpus maintains an ambiguous stance towards sexual norms – *moicheia* is treated with approval (fr.84W) but incest used as a term of abuse (fr.12W).

This vulgar yet dynamic and complex use of sexuality by Hipponax allows one to observe links with Aristophanic comedy, which shares a similar interest in sex and often its offences and is likewise profoundly heterosexual. My aim in the present paper will therefore be to shed light on the network of relations between the hipponactean *iambos* and comedy by examining their shared fondness in sex and its social expressions, which is perhaps part of the particular generic *ethos* which ties *iambos* and comedy ultimately in the way they approach questions of social norms and of the underlying dynamics of the genres.

Eran ALMAGOR (Ben Gurion)

The King of Kings and his Subjects: Diodorus on Artaxerxes II

Diodorus' focus on the Achaemenid kingdom in books 11-17 may be explained as resulting from the prominent place the Persian wars had on Greek identity and history. Yet, the Persian monarchy also had a traditional place in Greek imagination as the prototype of an oppressive regime stifling liberty and freedom of speech. Diodorus' fascination with the relation of the eastern

monarch and his subjects is clearly visible in the space he allots to the longest reigning king in Achaemenid history, Artaxerxes II Mnemon.

Books 14 and 15 of the *bibliothēke* have been studied (Stylianou, 1998, 2004), but apparently their arrangement has not been taken to express deeper notions and concerns. Viewing these volumes through the prism of the theme of ruler and subjects brings forth an interesting observation that the scenes highlighted and their sequence are not randomly put but have special significance. In book 14 Artaxerxes is gradually building his power and maintaining it (defeating Cyrus: 14.19-31, and Agesilaus/Spartans: 14.81, 83, 99) to the point of gaining supremacy over Greece (14.110, 117). While book 14 ends with the *acme* of Artaxerxes' rule, and indeed of the Persian kingdom, the next volume witnesses his struggles and weakness facing his courtiers (15.10-11), subject kings and satraps (15.2-4, 8-9, 41-43, 90-93).

These underlined changes in the fortunes of Artaxerxes may reflect questions of Diodorus and his age concerning the proper form of government (democratic/republican, oligarchic or monarchic?). It is no accident that book 14 begins with the overthrow of Athenian democracy by the thirty (14.3-4), and ends with the Gauls occupying Rome (14.114-117). Two additional layers may be discernible in Diodorus' work with relation to the present overall theme: one is the relevance of the east of old to contemporary readers in the wake of Pompey's recent achievements and power. Another is that, from a Hellenocentric perspective, Greece's submission to the conditions of the King's Peace was analogous to its position under the sway of Rome, so that allegorically a description of Artaxerxes' rule conveys the hopes and fears of Diodorus' time.

Myrto ALOUMPI (Oxford)

Storytelling and characterization in Demosthenes 21 (Against Meidias)

The study of law has shown that what was considered as an appropriate law court speech in classical Athens is significantly different from modern courtroom practice. Modern law tends to exclude from consideration any information or events that concern the extended background of the crime. However, as Lanni (2006) has recently argued, in ancient courts this type of information was crucially relevant to the process of decision-making and litigants commonly provide this information in narratives, because 'human beings naturally tend to think about social interaction in story form' (2006: 52).

In this paper I aim to show that Demosthenes' *Against Meidias* (Dem. 21) relies heavily on the narration of short stories. I will argue that these stories primarily enhance the *ethopoia* of the speech, rather than serve as binding precedents. Through these stories, Demosthenes adumbrates his own character and that of his opponent on the basis of comparison with figures of the Athenian elite who acquired some prominence in the public life of the city. On the one hand, by introducing stories such as those about Sannion (21.58-9), Aristides (21.60) and Iphicrates (21.62-3) he endeavours to show that Meidias' hubristic behaviour against him is unprecedentedly outrageous. At the same time, by narrating Straton's unwarranted suffering at the hands of Meidias (21.83-7), Demosthenes seeks to establish that hubris is an inherent characteristic of Meidias' personality. On the other hand, by juxtaposing his own sober reaction to Meidias' *hubristic* conduct with other victims' violent response to actions of insolent aggression (21.71-2), he underscores his confidence in the democratic institutions of the city. Demosthenes' narrative thus frames his case by producing two completely different characters: Meidias, a hubristic, unlawful and antisocial individual that cannot respect the rules of community life and Demosthenes, a respectful democratic citizen who seeks for justice in the courts of law.

Laerke ANDERSEN (Southern Denmark)

The γνῶμαι in Eustathius' *Commentaries*

Eustathius of Thessaloniki, archbishop and scholar, wrote two comprehensive commentaries to Homer's epic poems. One of his aims with the *Commentaries* is to defend the Homeric poems from accusations of being useless and thus his approach throughout his enormous work is didactic. In the introduction to the *Commentary to the Iliad*, he writes that he specifically will focus on six points in his approach to the epic poems such as myth, history, and difficult words.

In my paper, I will present these six points and focus on one of these; the γνῶμαι or the maxims. Eustathius explains that the maxims are a means of creating a lofty atmosphere in the poems, but I believe that there is another reason for Eustathius' focus on the maxims. In a way, the maxims represent Eustathius' didactic approach in condensed form since they sum up some sort of knowledge in only one sentence. They are the essence of the didactic element Eustathius is looking for in the Homeric poems.

I will first of all define Eustathius' definition of γνώμη as opposed to παροιμία – proverb. Then I will present a number of gnomic statements from the *Iliad* and from the *Commentary to the Iliad* and describe some of the different approaches Eustathius has to the maxims.

Finally I will examine the possible links between the Homeric maxims and the maxims that Erasmus of Rotterdam collects in his *Adages*.

Jeremy ARMSTRONG (Auckland)

Bands of Brothers: Fraternal Relationships and Warfare in Early Rome

Family relationships, and particularly fraternal relationships, play key roles in many of the battle narratives for Rome's regal period. Indeed, the literary sources for early Rome are full of references to brothers standing side by side, fighting for, and in many ways embodying (sometimes quite literally), the various social and political entities which were struggling for supremacy in archaic Latium. This phenomenon is perhaps best exemplified by the famous battle between the Horatii and Curiati, the story of two sets of triplets who duelled to decide Rome's war against Alba Longa, but is seen in countless other guises including the stories of the Vibenna brothers, and even the early lives of Romulus and Remus. The present paper endeavours to tease out some of the reasons for the pride of place given to the fraternal bond in accounts of early Roman and Latin warfare in Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch, looking not only at the role which familial relationships may have *actually* played in early Roman and Latin warfare, but also at how the events of the late Republic and various literary conventions likely shaped the use of this relationship in our surviving sources.

Emma ASTON (Reading)

Thessalos: an eponym abroad

Thessaly has often been viewed as a somewhat insular region of ancient Greece, caught up in its own internal wrangling and rarely able to impinge significantly on wider Greek affairs; and what better expression of this, one might think, than the eponymous hero Thessalos, whose name would suggest that he is local in the extreme? But in fact Thessalos is consistently supra-regional, his mythical exploits connecting him with Thessaly's immediate neighbour Thesprotia, with Korinth to the south, and – on a grander geographical scale – with the islands of Chios and Kos. His parentage, as son of Herakles or – in an alternative version – as son of Jason and Medea, lifts him out of the parochial and links him in with the rich network of mythical journeys through which ancient communities expressed their position on the supra-regional stage. His very name ('Thessalian') is essentially outward-facing, presenting to non-Thessalians a shared regional identity which had limited functional actuality within Thessaly itself.

This paper will show that myths of Thessalos and his travels are no empty effort on Thessaly's part to claim spurious links with places and personalities beyond her borders; instead, they testify to important external relationships whose recognition does much to dispel the cliché of the insular Thessaly. The Thesprotian connection will be shown to arise somewhat earlier, and should be read among a cluster of stories rooting Thessalian communities among their northern neighbours. The Thessalos of Asia Minor, by contrast, represents a strategic adaptation of the figure which has its roots in the Hellenistic period and burgeoning interaction with communities across the Aegean, interaction manifested in religious travel and contact, the historical counterpart to the mythical journeys with which Thessalos is involved. Moreover, it will be argued that this process was not one-sided: the figure of Thessalos himself should be viewed as a *joint* expression of connection between Thessalians and Koans/Chians in which the latter were interested in reinforcing their Thessalian links because of that region's strong epic and mythological credentials.

Overall, plotting the changing use of the figure of Thessalos, and the various versions of his identity and his actions, can facilitate a useful departure from the Thessalians of the scholarly stereotype, feudal barons incapable of seeing further than the limits of their own horse-pastures. In all his manifestations and whatever his parentage, the hero is a figure of mobility and interaction.

Carol ATACK (Cambridge)

The discourse of kingship in Athenian historiography

A distinctive feature of classical Athenian local histories (Atthidographies) was the inclusion of a historicised version of Athens' mythical past, in the form of the deeds and genealogies of the city's mythical founder kings, from the dual-natured Cecrops to the synoecist Theseus.

Discussion of these 4th century BCE texts has focused on their coverage of the historical period, particularly the political turmoil of the late fifth century; however, their contribution to Athenian political debate may lie more in the historicisation of monarchy. Placing the political deeds of Athens' mythical kings at the start of their histories, they connect religion, politics and ideology, re-orienting Athens' political identity by reasserting its monarchical past and connecting that past with the present.

Some Atthidographers were themselves active politicians – Androtion in the mid-4th century, and the slightly later Phanodemos, closely linked to the reformer Lycurgus. Current scholarship attempts to depoliticise the Atthis as a genre; it is hard to read texts that reconstruct the city's political history within the context of a general re-evaluation of constitutional forms as apolitical.

The myths of Athenian kings as founders can be compared with Herodotus' narratives of founder kings outside the Greek world, such as Deioeces the Mede and Psammetichus of Egypt. The Atthidographers import this model of king as founder and unifier into the Greek polis context, where, as Herodotus' constitutional debate suggests, the idea of citizen *isonomia* was irreconcilable with the power of the individual ruler.

The Atthidographers' narratives of mythical monarchs provided a way for Athens' politicians to argue for single-person rule and civic unity without advocating tyranny. While tragedy's democratic kings are ambivalent figures, the Atthidographers' emphasis on monarchy provided a tool with which Athenian thinkers could counter the rise of powerful monarchies around them.

Toni BADNALL (Oxford)

Hell Hath No Fury: ζήλοτυπία, infanticide and revenge in Greek myth

The killing of deficient, illegitimate or female children in the ancient world has been extensively studied by modern scholars (Engels 1980, Golden 1981, Harris 1982, Pomeroy 1983, Patterson 1985). However, these studies do not explain a particular phenomenon in Greek myth and literature: the murder by their mothers of legitimate, healthy, male offspring, often as a result of

sexual jealousy and/or divinely-inspired madness. Such myths are hinted at by the story of Ino (*Odyssey* 5.333ff) and Tereus and Procne (Apollodorus 3.14; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.424-674), and their psychology explored in more depth by Euripides (*Medea*). The myths of the Lemnian Women (Apollonius Rhodius 1.608-32; Valerius Flaccus 2.98-310; Statius *Thebaid* 5.28-334) incorporate an additional element, in which the spurned Lemniads also murder their husbands and other male relatives.

What factors lead a woman to kill her spouse and sons, and how did the Greeks deal with this phenomenon? This paper examines the psychology of infanticide which Easterling proposes for the study of Euripides' *Medea* but does not pursue in depth: namely, that "one parent may kill a child or children as a means of hurting the marriage partner" (1977:186). I suggest that the killing of children may be seen as an expression of gendered violence in a domestic context, in which the struggle between male and female is articulated by the wife's destruction of an element of her husband's 'self' – the continuance of his family line. By reading the ancient texts against a background of modern psychological studies of infanticide (e.g. Harder 1967), we can see that such cases are often sexually motivated, and can explore the implications of such a revenge-strategy for the construction of the female, particularly of images of wife- and motherhood, in Greek myth.

Anastasia BAKOGIANNI (Open University)

Electra's Song: the Tragic Heroine as an Operatic Diva in Mikis Theodorakis' *Electra* (1992-93)

There have been several operatic adaptations of the tragic heroine Electra. This paper will examine a Modern Greek case study: Mikis Theodorakis' *Electra* first performed in 1995. Theodorakis modeled his opera on Sophocles' drama with the help of librettist Spyros Evangelatos. This creative team made the decision to create an idealized version of Electra. Although their heroine is still obsessed with vengeance, she is fighting for justice. For Theodorakis, her story demonstrates the 'tragedy of loneliness' that drives people to unnatural extremes. His ominous and abrupt ending, which plunges Electra into darkness, supports the darker view of the ancient drama's conclusion as foreshadowing the further suffering that will befall the House of Atreus.

The idealization of Electra by Theodorakis has its roots in his reverence for ancient Greek culture and his belief in the existence of a 'special relationship' between ancient and modern Greece. His operatic reception reaffirms the cultural value of the classical past in the modern state. Scholarly debate over the reception of the classical past in modern Greece has been dominated by the concept of 'exceptionalism'. This paper will examine what makes Theodorakis' opera distinctly 'Greek', but it will also highlight how his reception is part of a longer operatic tradition of adapting classical stories, a tradition that dates back to the origins of the medium. The composer's privileging of the verbal text signals a return to the principles of early opera. At the beginning, the new art form conceived itself as reviving ancient Greek drama, where spoken dialogue was supported and enhanced by music. Theodorakis openly acknowledges his debt to Western traditions. His opera, however, is also enriched by his borrowings from Byzantine and native folk music. It is the creative blending of these traditions that makes his operatic reception of the tragic heroine so distinctive.

Emmanuela BAKOLA (UCL)

The 'Oikos' in the *Oresteia* and the origins of Eco-logical discourse

Few aspects of the *Oresteia* have been studied more than the *oikos* in respect of its symbolism, dramatic function, dramaturgical significance, ideological and sociopolitical associations – including its role in the discourses of gender and class. All these aspects of the *oikos* converge in one of the most striking scenes of western theatre and one of central importance to the entire trilogy, the so-called 'carpet scene'. Notwithstanding the exhaustive scholarship on the theme of the *oikos* in the *Oresteia* and on this scene in particular, an extremely significant aspect has

remained unnoticed: namely, its close connection with the concept of the 'Earth', understood as the natural environment, the generating principle of nature and its productive powers. As this paper argues, having been foreshadowed already in the course of the first part of the *Agamemnon*, the association of the *oikos* with the Earth climaxes in the 'carpet scene' and thereafter pervades the entirety of the trilogy. In this paper, the 'carpet scene' is revisited to show that Aeschylean tragedy contemplates humanity's relationship to nature in a manner which closely approximates an environmental ethic; above all, that the concept of the *oikos* has a central role in these reflections, echoing the belief that the Earth is the ultimate household, the ultimate reserve and source of wealth and life. Given the importance of this scene for the whole trilogy, the realisation of the 'eco-' associations of the *oikos* has wide-ranging consequences for the *Oresteia*, and as will become apparent, for Aeschylean tragedy as a whole. More excitingly, perhaps, the close connection between *oikos* and the Earth in the *Oresteia* reflects contemporary discourses on the human relationship to the environment and opens up wide-ranging possibilities for the introduction of 'ecological criticism' into the field of classics.

Ballesteros PASTOR (Seville)

Mithridates Eupator as a Charismatic Hero

An approach to the figure of Mithridates Eupator from Max Weber's perspective can illustrate several characteristics of his kingship. At first glance, Mithridates appears as a charismatic hero appointed by the divinity. However, it is necessary to determine how much of this image is due only to a literary tradition focused on certain aspects of the ruler's life.

Therefore, we have to study to what extent Mithridates proposed a real change in the socio-political structures of his time. Comparatively, we should record the role of tradition as a means to legitimate the kingship and the features and limits of the bureaucratic organization in Eupator's empire, which is scarcely mentioned in the preserved accounts about this king.

Nicholas BANNER (Exeter)

***Ainigma* and Tradition: Plotinus' Development of the Esoteric Reading of Philosophy'**

The term *αἴνιγμα* and its cognates seem to have become technical terms related to a certain kind of reading in late antiquity; an author might be read as relating truths *ἐν αἴνιγμασσι* that would not be suspected from the author's text taken at face value. This paper proposes to examine these terms in Plotinus' reading of the Platonic dialogues and of the wider Platonic tradition. Plato's philosophic text, written 'in enigmas', can conceal multiple, often contresensual, layers of signification in Plotinus' reading. This is not simply allegorical reading, but rather esoteric reading in the fullest sense of the term, whereby Plato is read as though his writing carries a continuous undercurrent of concealed truth.

Plotinian philosophy is commonly, and rightly, conceptualised as a working-out of concepts present in the Platonic dialogues and their later interpretive tradition. Looking at Plotinus' use of *αἴνιγμα* and its cognates in reading this tradition, I will discuss the elements of secrecy and esotericism which inform Plotinus' approach to these materials, investigating how, for Plotinus, the philosophic truth in Plato is often found *hidden within* a Platonic text. This can result in interpretive situations where Plato is made to say the opposite of what he seems to be saying. 'Enigmatic' reading also has broad implications for Plotinus' self-definition as a thinker; this hermeneutic of hidden truth is applied not only to Plato's text, but to traditional Hellenic religious ritual, to the Homeric poems, and to such philosophers as Parmenides and the 'Pythagoreans', resulting in a constructed tradition of absolute philosophic truth which is hidden not only within philosophic texts, but within Hellenic culture itself. I hope thereby to contribute to the ongoing refinement of scholarly understanding of Plotinus' self-definition, situating his work as self-consciously part of a tradition of wisdom hidden within Hellenic culture and its Platonic and Pythagorean currents.

Callum BARRELL (Cambridge)

The leap to Athens in John Stuart Mill's democratic thought

Scholars have long grappled with the apparent inconsistency of Mill's political idealism and his intent in writing about representation and sovereignty in mid-nineteenth-century Britain. In *Mill on democracy* (2002), Urbinati attempted to exonerate Mill from charges of internal inconsistency by re-directing attention to the role of Athens in his imagined democracy. The spirit, if not the form, of the Athenian *polis* was instrumental to Mill's thought on representative government, publicity, opinion formation, and liberty.

This paper seeks to redress one fundamental problem with Urbinati's thesis: that it neglects the complexity of Mill's historical thought, of which Athens was the protagonist, and the way in which that thought was the product of numerous intellectual processes. For instance, Mill was apprehensive about reapplying classical institutions because he believed that they were an expression of society, and societies changed according to the laws of progress. Therefore, the appearance of Athens in Mill's normative political thought needs to be explained, not assumed – indeed, *why* Athens?

Despite the dents made by Connop Thirlwall, Macaulay, and Grote in Mitford's Tory legacy, Athens remained a divisive expression of popular sovereignty up to and including the 1860s, engendering fears about mob rule and political insolvency. Even a one-time utilitarian sympathiser, Edward Bulwer-Lytton, could contend that it was Sparta, not Athens that came closest to political excellence. Why did Mill favour Athens, a historical model with such a complex ideological past? I will attempt to provide the connective tissue between Mill's political output (the theory of government) and his historical understanding of classical Athens. I argue that re-imagining the Athenian *polis* was, for Mill, a delicate theoretical operation fraught with epistemological, philosophical, and methodological dangers.

Paola BASSINO (Durham)

***Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*: the contribution of the papyrus fragments**

The anonymous compilation known as *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, a treatise on the life of Homer and Hesiod and their poetic contest (2nd century AD), is transmitted only by the medieval manuscript Laur. LVI 1. Some papyri, discovered and published from the end of the 19th century onwards, preserve fragments of very similar – but not identical – texts. The aim of this paper is to show that these papyrus fragments contribute greatly to our understanding of the manuscript tradition of the *Certamen*, otherwise limited to the aforementioned manuscript Laur. LVI 1, and that they shed light on the nature and aims of the compilation itself, as well as on the issue of the sources used by its compiler. A comparison between the manuscript and the papyrus witnesses will highlight the main peculiarities of the *Certamen* text (in particular the tendency to shorten the texts of its literary sources, and the large number of variant readings) and will show that the textual tradition of this work, as that of the ancient biographies of the poets more generally, is in fact very diverse and open to variations. Again with the help of the papyrus witnesses, and by taking into account the nature of the other texts copied in Laur. LVI 1, I will also suggest possible contexts of origin and uses of the *Certamen* as we know and read it.

Bill BECK (Pennsylvania)

Tying Up Loose Ends: The Metapoetics of Closure in *Odyssey* 22

We feel when we read Book 22 that we have reached a certain *telos*. Like Book 22 of the *Iliad*, so also Book 22 of the *Odyssey* functions as the climactic dénouement of the narrative. Just as the narrative of the *Iliad* seems to move inexorably toward the highly-anticipated meeting between Hector and Achilles, so too our anticipation of Odysseus' triumph over the suitors – the moment he reclaims his oikos – provides the momentum that propels the first twenty-two books. But

inasmuch as it is a climax it is also a deflation. As W.B. Stanford notes, in Books 23 and 24 “we are made to feel that the supreme crisis is past: the turbulence is only such as follows a storm”. Book 22 occupies an awkward place in the narrative; it is an end-point but it is not the end of the poem. I would like to argue that the poet, mindful of Book 22’s narrative weight, calls attention to an end that is not The End and in so doing calls attention to the poem’s persistent resistance to closure, even in a book that is preoccupied with the idea of closure. In this paper I discuss the metapoetics of closure, specifically as manifested in Book 22. I demonstrate how, in anticipating the end of the *Odyssey* (and the tying-up of the main narrative thread), the poet (1) represents binding and other acts of tying, closing, and delimiting as metapoetically parallel with the process of concluding a poem; (2) connects narrative space with physical space; and (3) poses epic poetry as an ‘endless’ art.

Michael BEER (Exeter College)

The *de sua ebrietate* of Marcus Antonius: an attempt to please everyone?

In the *Natural History* of the elder Pliny, in the passage on drunkenness (XIV.22), a passing reference is made to a work that is no longer extant. It is the *de sua ebrietate*, and its authorship is attributed to Marcus Antonius. The putative composition of the piece was a little before the battle of Actium, but little is known of its content. The title has suggested to some scholars that it was a tract that attempted to act as a rebuttal of the accusations of drunken degeneracy that formed a mainstay of both the anti-Antonian rhetoric of Cicero and later the propaganda campaign of Octavian. Others suggest that it may have been an attempt to further cement his identification with the god Dionysus, which had proved an important part of his strategy of fostering the loyalty of the eastern provinces (a strategy adopted by numerous of his Hellenistic predecessor). Some suggest that the piece (if it existed) was nothing more than a joke. Without dismissing entirely these hypotheses, this paper will contend that it is possible that the work may have been an attempt not only to defend himself from the accusations of drunken debauchery, but may have been a work that sought to actually defend such intoxication *per se*. The late Republic (and early imperial period) was replete with works that attacked a perceived culture of binge drinking amongst the aristocracy, the sign of moral decadence. Yet, equally, there were writings that lauded the *comissatio* culture and extolled the merits of extensive drinking, even attempting to portray such imbibing as heroic, whilst condemning sobriety. Was, in fact, Antonius, in writing this piece, attempting to win support among the party set of Italy, by portraying himself as the ‘fun’ candidate, in contrast to the conservative Octavian?

Giulis BIFFIS (UCL)

Manipulation of tragic genre elements as narratological tool in Lycophron’s *Alexandra*

My paper focuses on the prologue and epilogue of the *Alexandra*. In these two sections Priam’s guard, speaking in the first person, reports to the king what he has seen while guarding Cassandra. The guard’s report can be considered as a sort of tragic messenger-speech and, in accordance with this traditional element of Attic drama, contains both claims of objectivity and several focalising elements. The guard remarks Cassandra’s almost incomprehensible way of articulating words and, at the same time, the difficulty in understanding the meaning of what he recognises to be an inspired and prophetic language. Since this dichotomy in the guard’s presentation of Cassandra’s utterance echoes the reaction of *Agamemnon*’s chorus to Cassandra’s prophecies, a comparison between his description of Cassandra and Aeschylus’ scene is used as a useful means of analysing this aspect and unveiling other elements of strong focalisation by the guard, such as rejection, distrust and fear of Cassandra.

Priam’s servant seems to fulfil the role of a tragic-messenger and that of a one-man chorus. Lycophron lets one device cross-over with the other. This overlap is a rhetorical tool meant to

affect the external audience. The messenger introduces Cassandra and draws conclusions about her speech, indirectly questioning the prophecy without openly saying it. His anticipations are meant to be either confirmed or undercut in Cassandra's speech so that Lycophron recreates a dialectical relationship between the messenger and Cassandra similar to that of a tragic character and the chorus. Moreover, at the beginning of the poem, readers are ready to absorb any information unreservedly; but after they have been exposed to Cassandra's prophecy and voice, they are no longer in the position of the candid recipient of the information. The newly acquired knowledge gives them tools to evaluate the conclusions of the messenger as a tragic spectator.

Katie BILLOTTE (RHUL)

Depraved Penelope: Re-Imagining Feminine Virtue in Hassan Loo Sattarvandi *Belägring*

Swedish-Iranian novelist Hassan Loo Sattarvandi's 2011 *Belägring* (*State of Siege*) moves the story of Telemachus from Ithaca to a gloomy tenement block near the centre of modern-day Stockholm. Like Telemachus, fifteen-year old Caspian must come of age in search of a heroic father who is has vanished to a distant land. Yet, Caspian's mother is far from a paragon of virtue. Instead this Penelope is a mentally-ill immigrant woman able to adapt neither to the peculiarities of her mind nor her adopted homeland. She is promiscuous and abusive; cruel and inconsistent. She is the anti-Penelope.

However, far from further marginalising the character of Penelope or, worse yet, demonising the character, this transformation provides her with a range and depth simply not found in Homer's portrayal. This paper will explore why stripping Penelope of her famed saintliness offers the character greater moral and personal agency by exploring the ways in which feminine virtue (and vice) is used in Homer to limit and marginalise female characters. It will suggest that Homeric and subsequent portrayals of feminine virtue have created a context in which often the only available means by which to reclaim female moral agency is by completely disregarding accepted standards of virtue. Sattarvandi's Penelope will be examined as a challenge to the denial of women's moral agency visa-via the construction of virtue. In particular, the paper will explore how Penelope's mental health and immigrant status allow for this challenge to occur by creating a context in which feminine moral standards might be transgressed in a way acceptable to a mainstream audience and highlight the idea that a depraved Penelope might, ultimately, be much more free than her virtuous twin.

Rachel BIRD (Swansea)

Leukippe's *sophrosyne* in Achilles Tatius

In this paper I will argue that *sophrosyne* is crucial to Leukippe's status as heroine in *Leukippe and Kleitophon*, but that Achilles Tatius' treatment of the concept is playful and nuanced. Leukippe adheres to chastity and this brings her redemption from suffering at the close of the novel, when her virginity is proved in the cave of panpipes (8.14). However, the heroine seems willing to relinquish her virginity at 2.23, and it is only after divine intervention (in her reported dream at 4.1) that she acquires her zealous regard for chastity. The idea of the divine dream lacks credibility and her true motivation in remaining chaste is effaced, perhaps due to Kleitophon's narration, which allows Leukippe very limited self-expression. I will discuss how the protagonists' early relationship (see 2.3-2.9, 2.19, 2.23) reveals an apparent lack of *sophrosyne* on the part of both protagonists, but Leukippe's behaviour here, as in the rest of the novel, is constructed by Kleitophon the narrator, and therefore should be treated with caution. I will ask to what extent Leukippe's *sophrosyne* in the later books can be seen as a projection of Kleitophon's fantasy of a pure, virginal love object. I will compare the characterisation of Melite with that of Leukippe in terms of their respective attitudes towards *sophrosyne*. This comparison is required in my discussion because of Melite's position as a possible alternative lover for Kleitophon, and her

ambiguous status: she is neither heroine nor villainess. This raises questions about the representation of heroism in this novel, and *sophrosyne's* role in that representation. I will explore how far Achilles Tatius diverts from the perceived generic ideal of female *sophrosyne* in producing his heroine.

Henriette VAN DER BLOM (Oxford)

The public responses to Cicero's speeches *post reditum*

Cicero's speeches after his return from exile present us with Cicero's version of the exile and his re-entry on the political stage after his return to Rome. With oratory as his main instrument, he attempted to regain his former position and status in politics, reclaim his house, and explain the reasons for his exile and his return. But Cicero did not speak in a vacuum and the developing arguments in his speeches (seen, for example, in his use of historical exempla) show the extent to which he tailored his rhetoric to the context in which he spoke. This context included public responses to his speeches and this paper shall look more closely at these responses in order to understand how Cicero's version of the events was received and answered. Cicero faced allegations of kingship, boastfulness, and complicity in the serious grain shortage of the summer of 57 BC, but he was also met by positive responses and support. This paper will examine these public responses, analyse the reasons behind the expressions of support and hostility (political, ideological, personal), and discuss their impact on Cicero's public position and his version of the events. This approach aims to add nuance to the picture presented by Cicero and evaluate the possible impact of Cicero's rhetoric: was it mere rhetoric or did it have political, ideological, religious, or institutional implications?

Nicholas BOTERF (Stanford)

Temple Tantrums: Foundation and Language in Alcaeus 129 V

Alcaeus 129 V has often been assumed to be a spontaneous and impromptu piece of poetry. Even recent commentators on the poem, such as Liberman (1999) and Hutchinson (2001), have claimed that this is not an elaborate poem. This talk will attempt to demonstrate that, on the contrary, this poem is highly structured. The key to understanding this structure is the elaborate parallel Alcaeus draws between the establishment of a temple and Pittacus' treachery.

The poem begins with the establishment of the Messon temple. Some scholars have seen this as an expression of a perfect community, but this ignores the political context of archaic Lesbos. "The Lesbians" were not unified, and the various cities of Lesbos often fought each other well into the classical period. Rather, what is emphasized here is a set of heterogeneous elements coming together for the sake of a common cause. This parallels Alcaeus' own group's activities in coming together to assassinate a tyrant. The successful foundation of the temple serves as a contrast to his group's own misfortunes.

The temple also serves as a contrast to Pittacus' own perjury. The connection between these two is emphasized by the etymological connection between the word "temple" (τέμενος) (2) and Pittacus' own cutting of oaths (τόμοντες) (15). Pittacus' false "cutting" is thus contrasted with the "cutting" of the temple space. Furthermore, the "true" use of language, in naming the gods of the sanctuary (5-9), is implicitly contrasted with Pittacus' own misuse of language in his oaths (21-24). As for Alcaeus, he too uses poetic language to structure the poem, making his own metaphorical building to prominently display Pittacus' crimes.

Timothy BOYD (Buffalo)

All the King's Horses: Reconstructing Rhapsodic Performance and the *Commedia dell' Arte*

When Ion, Plato's prize-winning rhapsode, sang, what might his performance have been like? What helped him to win the sort of praise awarded to Phemius and Demodocus?

A now traditional way of thinking about such things has been to follow Parry and Lord and imagine that someone like Ion would have behaved very much like the South Slavic *guslari*. The work of such scholars as Ruth Finnegan, however, has made it possible to see that other traditions which employ orality in performance may also serve as models and help to make the picture clearer.

In this paper, I propose to use the dramatic practices of the *commedia dell' arte* as a basis for a reconstruction of a rhapsode at work. Long assumed to be mostly improvisation, *commedia* is now seen to be a combination of fixed, standardized material and the creative spontaneity of performers. These performers worked from outlines pinned to the cloth wings of their temporary stages. From these outlines, the actors, employing both the traditional and the newly-invented, could flesh out and mold their performances to gain the popularity they enjoyed in Europe for several centuries.

There are no such canovacci for Homer. Instead, I suggest that one might take an episode from the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* and, using the model of the *commedia* scenario, as well as the compositional practices evident in the Homeric corpus, backread the episode to see what we might learn about the traditional skeleton and the talent with which rhapsodes won singing contests. As a test, I will use *Iliad* 10 – the Rhesus episode. I have selected this in part because it is easily disentangled from the *Iliad*, and partly because early commentators felt it to be a later intrusion and therefore might be closer to actual performances than our very-edited *Iliad*. I will then employ Euripides' *Rhesus* and other relevant heroic material as a control.

Barbara WEIDEN BOYD (Bowdoin College)

Beginning an Epic (Journey): Homer's Telemachus and Ovid's Phaethon

The opening lines of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* allude to a long-standing debate concerning the nature of epic inspiration: is the poet divinely inspired, or is the poem an achievement of intellectual effort? This debate interacts with a related ambiguity: is the word *noua* in line 1 a substantive alluding to the poet's shift to epic from elegy—for surely that is the initial implication of the poem's opening words *In noua fert animus*—or an adjective modifying the noun *corpora* that begins the following verse?

The ambiguous reading that the opening words encourage is revisited when, at the end of book 1, Phaethon's mother Clymene uses similar phrasing in urging her son to visit the Sun-god to ascertain his parentage: '*si modo fert animus, gradere et scitabere ab ipso*' (*Met.* 1.775). Holzberg 1998: 88-91, noting that the phrase *fert animus* appears only on these two occasions in this poem, sees in the repetition an allusion to the metapoetic metaphor that links the poem's narrator with his character Phaethon: both are embarking on a journey (*in noua*) through the poem.

In this talk, I suggest that the opening phrase and its echo later in book 1 are simultaneously metapoetic and intertextual, establishing a series of parallels not only between Ovid as poet and his character Phaethon but also between Ovid and Homer, between the *Metamorphoses* and the *Odyssey*, and between Phaethon and Telemachus. Both Phaethon and Telemachus go in search of their fathers, and so launch the literal and metaphorical journeys of their poems. The beginning of the epic journey is also where their stories diverge: with the guidance of Athena-Mentor Telemachus visits his father's colleagues from Troy, learns from them, and returns home safely, while even the extensive advice of Sol *pater* cannot keep Phaethon from seizing the reins of the Sun-god's chariot, wreaking havoc and destroying himself in the process.

Homer's *Odyssey* is a central intertext for the journeys of both Phaethon and Ovid's narrator, though while traversing uncharted poetic territory both travelers will elude—one more successfully than the other—the narrative 'map' provided by Homer.

Evelien BRACKE (Swansea)

Cunning Women in the Greek Novel

Since the ground-breaking work on *metis* done by Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant, the concept of 'cunning intelligence' has been examined in a variety of literary sources. No research has, however, been conducted concerning the ancient novel. The connections between certain novel heroines, such as Chariton's Callirhoe and Heliodorus' Chariclea, and Homeric female figures strongly connected with *metis* – particularly Helen and Penelope – suggest that the representation of the novel heroines has been informed by the Homeric application of *metis*. This paper aims to examine the extent to which Callirhoe and Chariclea particularly have been rendered in similar terms as Homeric women endowed with *metis*. Insight into the novelistic use of the semantic field surrounding the notion of *metis* will provide further understanding of the intertextuality present in the novel.

Edward BRAGG (Havant College)

Grasping Homer's *Odyssey* and four Greek tragedies in 9 months: the teaching of AS level Classical Civilisation in a 21st century sixth form college

The teaching of AS level Classical Civilisation in a modern sixth form college poses a range of challenges to both teachers and students. How can students be prepared for AS exams in 9 months who have little or no knowledge of the ancient world, let alone the concept of oral poetry? How does one teach the essential skills of literary criticism to students, who though they have attained a grade C or above at GCSE English Language or Literature, have never written a thematic essay or read a play in its entirety? How can a learning environment be created and developed which allows teenagers to read and analyse a complicated section of Euripides quietly and uninterrupted for 15 minutes? How can lessons be organized for mixed ability classes that challenge both potential Oxbridge candidates and those students just aiming for a worthy C grade? Teachers in sixth form colleges are, time and again, finding themselves immersed in the ongoing quest to find a balance between ensuring the students cover the requirements of the AS level syllabus, and then on the other hand accepting the constant drive from senior management teams and advanced practitioners to enliven the 'learner environment' with ITC and other modern teaching methods. My paper aims to address a range of these challenges, provide a few practical solutions, and, above all, demonstrate that sixth form teachers can produce inspiring innovative lessons without dumbing down.

Amy BRATTON (Edinburgh)

Adulterous Slaves? A reappraisal of the role of slaves in the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*

Modern studies of Augustus' social legislation, the six marriage and manumission laws he enacted once he became emperor, have often been hampered by a theoretical framework that separates these laws based on their supposed areas of influence. Consequently, an artificial barrier has been enforced between the different individuals that made up the Roman *familia*. One group that is often separated from the rest of the *familia* when examining the effects of the new laws is that of slaves. Despite ample legal evidence to the contrary, many modern scholars insist on a metaphorical disinheritance of slaves from any discussion of the changes wrought on the *familia* by Augustus' legislation. Thus, slaves are discussed within the remit of the manumission laws, but not so much within that provided by the marriage laws. In contrast to this approach, I will look at the role of slaves in the so-called adultery law. My paper will argue that slaves were not only subject to the adultery law but that they were important components of the *familia* because they were deliberately included within the framework of the law itself. Through an in-depth examination of the remaining legal evidence for the statute, I will demonstrate the centrality of slaves to the law, and an appreciation of slaves as an entity that can be affected by the law just like

free people. This reappraisal will allow for a better understanding of the structure of the *familia* and consequently serve as a framework for further insights into the remainder of the marriage and manumission laws.

Eleanor BROOKE (Leeds)

Cicero's Ancestors? History and Singularity in the Speeches

This paper offers a contribution to a topic which has long been at the heart of Ciceronian studies – Cicero's self-presentation in his oratory, here examined through the lens of his treatment of his own ancestors and of exemplary figures from the past.

Cicero's status as a *novus homo*, lacking the political capital of aristocratic ancestry, has been viewed as crucial to his public identity – both by opponents who used it against him, and by later biographers. Previous scholarship has tended to view Cicero's newness as something which he could not escape, and a stylisation largely imposed on him by others. This paper will seek to challenge that view, by placing Cicero's approaches to his own familial status in the wider context not only of the evidence we have for previous well known *novi* such as Marius and Cato, but also Cicero's rhetorical presentation of others with similar backgrounds. It will demonstrate that there was a range of representational forms available to men without ancestral status, and that Cicero's depiction of himself as a self-made new man was in fact a deliberate oratorical policy, chosen from a number of options.

It will then go on to explore the impact this must have on our understanding of *novitas* as a concept, and of Cicero's consistent representation of himself in relation to Rome's past. It will discuss the ways in which this forms part of a wider rhetorical strategy for Cicero when it comes to presenting a public persona – one where he portrays himself, across a number of speeches and time periods, as unique within history. His newness becomes a central trope for self-praise, as well as a form of invective against others.

Sarah BROOKS (Manchester)

***prima fuit rerum confusa sine ordine moles*: Finding Structure in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* 2**

Halfway through the second book of Ovid's infamous manual of seduction, the *Ars Amatoria*, the narrative is disrupted by a Lucretian cosmology, introduced by the quote which forms the title of this paper. Due to its didactic form, the poem inevitably takes such texts as Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* and Virgil's *Georgics* as its models. Yet as an erotic poem, Ovid's use of these models in the *Ars* is not always conventional.

This paper examines the depiction of *chaos* in lines 2.467ff, to find not only overt references to the poet's great predecessors, but also a subtle statement about the *praeceptor's* own didactic style. It has been recognised by scholars such as Myerowitz (1985) and Sharrock (1994) that this central passage forms a new beginning to the poem, which pre-empts the introduction of Apollo. However, the impact of this intrusive new beginning in terms of the narrative drive of the poem is striking. The poem is a very amusing one, and I would dare to see in this passage yet another literary joke, one not only directed at the poet's predecessors, but, more significantly, at himself.

Elsewhere in the *Ars Amatoria*, the *praeceptor* demonstrates the importance of order in the process of seduction. Things need to be done in the proper way, e.g. the *puella* should be seduced before the *ancilla* (1.385); each *ancilla* should be greeted in *ordine* (2.251). Indeed, Books 1 and 2 can be seen as carefully orchestrated foreplay, which culminates in sexual fulfilment. Thus, order is very important in the *Ars*, yet is treated in a much less explicitly structured fashion than texts like Lucretius', a key difference which I think this pivotal Ovidian passage exposes.

Giulia BRUNETTA (RHUL)

Laus vera et humili saepe contingit viro, non nisi potenti falsa: reflections on praise and flattery in the imperial age

How to distinguish praise from flattery in Latin encomiastic literature? The problem was already known in antiquity and discussed in specific literature on this issue, which reflected on how to distinguish between flatterers and loyal subordinates/friends both in the public sphere (e.g. Isocrates' *Ad Demonicum*) and in the private one (e.g. Cicero's *De Amicitia* and Plutarch's "How to distinguish a friend from a flatterer"). In his political treatise *Il Principe* (chapt. 17) the Italian renaissance author Nicolò Machiavelli looks back at these ancient models and gives detailed advices and suggestions to the ideal ruler on how to detect praise and, more generally, on how to select trustworthy officers.

In Roman times, the issue emerged in all its complexity during the imperial age. Encomiastic poets such as Statius and Martial developed what could be defined as a 'language of amor', a strategical set of formulae and ideas that meant to dissimulate the hierarchical (and often tyrannical) nature of the Domitianic years.

But is flattery always a sign of a bad leadership? In Seneca's *Thyestes*, Atreus makes a terrible declaration about the real essence of tyranny: adulation becomes a manifestation of power, as only the leaders can afford to have it.

After the reign of Domitian and the encomiastic experimentations of Statius and Martial, in his *Panegyricus* Pliny tries to portray Trajan as a new positive change after the disastrous years of his predecessors. His struggle to prove how praise can be genuine tells us enough about the difficulty of writing a serious *laudatio principis* after Domitian.

Rachel BRUZZONE (Virginia)

Thucydides' Homeric Corcyraeans

The first lengthy conflict in Thucydides, the struggle between Corinth and Corcyra (1.24-55), presents a number of difficulties. Foremost is the sheer bulk of text dedicated to a clash involving neither main power, unlike the far less prominent conflict at Potidaea. Thucydides in fact repeatedly sets large conflict narratives in Corcyra even though a careful reading of his own account reveals that neither the first nor the worst *stasis* occurred there. The Corcyra narrative contains strikingly Homeric features; for instance Thucydides attributes the clash to Corcyraean pride as the successors of the Phaeacians, a statement that neglects the historically relevant and "Thucydidean" concepts of power and money. Instead he casts the quarrel as one between a proud subordinate and an overbearing superior over *geras* and *kleos*, Homeric elements reminiscent of *Iliad* 1. Despite the city's participation in cooperative enterprises such as Syracusan negotiations with Hippocrates of Gela, Thucydides characterizes Corcyra as defined by isolation just as Homeric Phaeacia is.

Hermippus fr. 63 similarly implies that Phaeacian troubles in the *Odyssey* are relevant to contemporary Corcyraean dysfunction: "And let Poseidon destroy the Corcyraeans on their hollow ships, since they have a divided nature." The repeated association between Phaeacia and Corcyraean discord suggests that the dark reading of *Od.* 6-12 adopted by some modern scholars, which sees Phaeacian society as dangerous and unstable, may have existed in the 5th-century; the Greeks might even have been primed to see evidence of instability in Phaeacia if its proud successor Corcyra was stereotyped as treacherous, as seems to be the case. Thucydides' choice to set his template narrative of societal deterioration in Corcyra, then, suggests continuity with an aggressive reading of Homer and a characteristic one-upping of the bard: if Homer's Phaeacia merely threatens discord, Thucydides' Corcyra represents the shattering of a society.

Rachel BRYANT DAVIES (Oxford)

'A pleasanter way of learning [...] than out of a dull lesson-book': classical antiquity 'rendered for children' during the long nineteenth century

Between the late-eighteenth and early-twentieth centuries, even as the privileged status of classics in education was being questioned, versions of classical antiquity created for – and by – children significantly proliferated. Drawing on sources ranging from textbooks and comic histories to imaginative retellings and entertainments, this paper examines a selection of such encounters. It focuses on popular, recurrent representations of the Trojan and Punic Wars to explore how children's experiences of classical antiquity were shaped by contemporary perceptions of the relevance of the ancient world, and the ways in which children not only responded to but, as critical agents of classical reception, produced new sorts of classical knowledge.

Toy theatre props from the first half of the nineteenth century demonstrate how lavishly-staged reconstructions of antiquity in London entertainment venues could be recreated at home. Together with volumes offering 'boys at home from school not only a pleasant and entertaining book for the fireside, but a storehouse of facts from history' (Church 1881), these leisure activities invite speculation into interconnections with more overtly educational accounts.

Another, similarly didactic, preface described how the Romans 'possess one virtue which you and every British boy and girl may not only admire, but gladly imitate' (Macgregor 1912). In the context of the hotly contested analogies between Carthage, Rome, Britain and France, or between the Trojan and Crimean Wars, how could mythical and historical figures function as children's role-models? This paper will set historical and fictional accounts against their political backdrops and in the earlier context of widely-reviewed books and articles such as 'Hannibal, Buonoparte, Scipio and Wellington' (1818), as well as the imaginative role of the classics in the cultural landscape of this period, to ask what was at stake in perpetuating such unstable analogies in both educational and playful representations of antiquity.

David BUTTERFIELD (Cambridge)

The 'Fragments' of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*: False Friends?

This paper reanalyses the corpus of fragments attributed to Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* as culled from the so-called indirect tradition by editors since the turn of the sixteenth century. This secondary tradition is comparatively rich for the poem, although textual discrepancies generally impinge little upon the editor's task. Among citations attributed to Lucretius in these later authors (or their manuscripts) we find sixteen direct citations of purported elements of Lucretian verses that are not found in the extant manuscripts of the poet, thirteen of which can be found annexed to the end of Hermann Diels' monumental edition (Berlin, 1923) and are duly repeated by Josef Martin (the Teubner editor, 1934-63), Karl Buchner (1966) and Enrico Flores (2002-9). Over a century ago, in 1906, Carlo Pascal turned the tide against the partial scepticism of nineteenth-century editors about Lucretian authorship of these fragmentary verses by attributing them almost wholesale to lost elements (including whole books beyond the transmitted six) of *De Rerum Natura*. This paper shall instead offer various grounds (linguistic, stylistic, textual etc.) for rejecting the veracity of the majority of these assignments and will discuss in further detail the possibly Lucretian fragments that remain and how the modern editor should respond to the challenges they pose.

Valeria CINAGLIA (KCL)

Comic *hamartēma* in Aristotle's *Poetics*

This paper aims to clarify the concept of comic error as defined in Aristotle's *Poetics* 5. After briefly discussing Aristotle's view of *hamartia* with respect to tragedy (*Poet.* 13, 1453a8-12), I propose an interpretation of comic *hamartēma*. According to Aristotle, comedy is an imitation of people who

are inferior (*phauloteroi*), not because of an unqualified vice (*kakia*) but because they present that share of the shameful that arouses laughter (*to geloion*; *Poet.* 5, 1449a32-34): their *hamartēma* should not be painful and destructive but laughable (*Poet.* 5, 1449a34-36). In this paper I suggest i) that comic *hamartēma* in *Poetics* 5 is intended mainly as an ethical mistake and ii) that this kind of ethical mistake shares analogies with the kind of mistake typical of the *akratēs* (*EN.* 7.5-7), that is, someone who, being not completely wicked nor completely virtuous, fails to reason and act adequately being momentarily overpowered by his temper, desires and emotions. Contrary to the kind of error made by tragic figures, which brings undeserved suffering and arouses pity and fear, the mistake of the *akratēs* can be, to some extent, related with the idea of comic *hamartēma* in the following respects: i) it is not performed out of a completely evil character – it does not reflect an unqualified vice (*EN.* 7. 4-6); ii) it is more likely that such kind of error will resolve into a happy ending because it is likely (*eikos*; *Poet.* 9, 1451b9-10) that characters as such (*akratēs*) finally understand what they did wrong (because they know potentially what it is right to do) and, finally, iii) its ethical implications are easily recognisable by the audience that, from outside the stage, is able to understand clearly what is inappropriate, ridiculous (and thus should be avoided) in the characters' actions.

Jo-Marie CLAASSEN (Stellenbosch)

'You are people like these Romans were!' D.D.T. Jabavu, B.A. (Lond.) of Fort Hare, 1885-1959

Davidson Don Tengu Jabavu of the 'South African Native College' (established 1916), later Fort Hare University, at Alice in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, was the first Black African teacher of Classics at a South African institution of higher learning. First and foremost, he was an educator whose classical training imbued his thoughts and informed his conversation. He was also intensely involved in the early struggle history in South Africa against the increasingly restrictive political and economic repression that in his lifetime virtually tied South African Black people hand and foot.

From his own writings as well as two separate memoirs by his daughter, the narratives and comments of his former students and others, we gain a picture of an ebullient, kind and hearty man with a wonderful sense of humour and a sharp sense of justice. The paper aims to show how a multilingual, bicultural academic could use his learning and his knowledge of matters far beyond the ken of most of his students to broaden their horizons.

Liesbeth CLAES (Radboud)

Imperial coins reflecting the transgressive roles of the imperial women

During the Roman Empire, the emperor's consorts and his female imperial relatives became public figures embodying the State's eternal welfare and security. Moreover, already from the start of the principate, these imperial women started to play an important dynastic role. Imperial mothers or grandmothers could provide their sons or grandsons with a legitimate lineage to strengthen their imperial positions. Similarly, daughters of emperors could become an important dynastic link for possible husbands, who were in turn often adopted by their imperial fathers-in-law, so as to allow for early succession. Some imperial women, like the Severan women, could furthermore be (in)directly involved in political and military actions, though these were unmistakably manly affairs. Often, the prominent presence of the Severan women is ascribed to so-called Oriental influences. Among imperial women, then, there were different groups who crossed the borders of the male-dominated Roman society and politics.

An excellent medium to analyse the development of the different transgressive roles of these imperial women is the Roman imperial coinage. Roman imperial coinage was an important medium for broadcasting imperial representation. The coins were minted uninterruptedly, even in periods of crisis. Furthermore, they were disseminated to the farthest corners of the Empire and

were accessible to a diversity of audiences. The coins were issued in the authority of the emperor, but other members of his imperial house, like the imperial consorts and female relatives, could also be displayed on the coins. The imperial coinage presents, therefore, a coherent picture that can be used to assess historical events and processes, even over a longer stretch of time.

In the paper, an overview of the relative frequency of the imperial women on the imperial coin types from Augustus (27 BC) to Constantine (337 AD) will be given, illustrated by graphs. Furthermore, attention will be given to the coin designs and legends the imperial women received, because these may give hints about the prominent position these women played in the imperial house and its dynastic continuity. Similarly, transgressive relation of the women regarding the military and senators and the People of Rome could be visible on their types. In this way, the paper wants to contribute to the subject of women crossing boundaries.

Jonathan CLARKSON (UWIC)

Narrative, space and the role of the viewer in relation to a Roman well-head

The Roman well-head that forms the core of The Jenkins Vase at the National Museum and Gallery of Wales raises interesting questions about the assumed unity of classical artworks and role of the viewer in understanding a particular work of art.

Just over half of the well-head is given over to a narrative scene: on the left sit Helen and Aphrodite while Paris, urged on by Eros, approaches from the right. On the other side of the well-head is a non-narrative scene showing three Muses in procession. The relation between figure and ground is conceived differently on the two sides of the drum. The Muses are 'flat' all standing in the same plane, while the narrative is conceived in depth with some figures further away than others.

The non-narrative scene is best seen from a single point, and is less revealing the further the viewer moves from that point; the narrative scene, by contrast reveals more of itself as the viewer moves around. Crucially, it is the movement of the viewer that sets the narrative in motion and this is dependent on understanding the surface of the relief as simultaneously flat and curved.

The specific issues I will discuss are:

- the physical position of the viewer in relation to the well-head
- the role of the viewer in relation to the unfolding of the narrative
- the nature of the space occupied by a narrative frieze.

These issues overlay one another to produce a heterogeneous artwork, and in consequence a viewer who is mobile, restless and active in relation to the object.

Amy COKER (Liverpool)

Liverpool's Classics Graduate Teaching Fellow Partnership

This paper presents the initial results of a Classics For All funded project designed to bring Latin and Greek into schools in Merseyside which currently do not offer them, and to provide a long-term catalyst for the introduction of the Classical languages in these schools. The project does this by embedding Graduate Teaching Fellows (drawn from postgraduate students at Liverpool) within partner schools, to provide up to six hours tuition a week.

Amy COKER (Liverpool)

Greek in Contact with Foreign Languages: the example of grammatical gender

Recent years have seen much interest in the contact between the different languages spoken in antiquity and their influence on one another (e.g. Adams, Janse & Swain (2002), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society*, Adams (2003) *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*). This paper explores some aspects of these multifaceted relationships through examining foreign influence on a single part of Greek grammar, namely the gender assignment of Greek nouns. This type of phenomenon is

observed on occasion, but has not yet been the subject of systematic study, for example, σῖτος 'grain', usually Masculine, sometimes appears as Feminine in Greek papyri from Egypt, perhaps under the influence of the word of corresponding meaning in Coptic ⲉⲥⲒⲁ/ⲉⲥⲒⲓ, usually Feminine (Gignac (1981), *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* Vol. II, p. 4). Drawing evidence from the Greek papyri from Egypt and more familiar Greek authors, the paper considers how changes in gender can be ascribed to language contact rather than other factors, and shows how certain varieties of Greek were influenced in different ways, including: the effects of different languages (Latin, Coptic); the degree of influence witnessed within different registers or genres (for example, those which can be characterised as 'learned' versus texts of a more colloquial nature), and the effect of differing levels of second-language competence. In addition, the discussion touches upon the related topic of how foreign words were integrated into the gender system of Greek when they were borrowed. The result is an overview of the circumstances under which the influence of foreign languages is more or less likely to appear, how pronounced that influence is, and what it looks like for this under-appreciated grammatical category.

Lyndsay COO (Cambridge)

A poet most addicted to punning? Speaking names in Sophoclean drama

At lines 430-1 of Sophocles' *Ajax*, the titular hero understands, too late, the ominous qualities of his own name, whose sound is echoed in his cry of suffering ('*Aiai!*'). This moment earned the withering censure in 1825 of the translator Thomas Dale, who complained that 'in this drama Sophocles has descended to a pun (...) It can hardly be urged, that these conceits in tragedy are either necessary or natural, though it is certain, that the poet who, of all others, has adhered most rigidly to nature, is most vehemently addicted to the practice of punning.' My paper will examine in detail Sophocles' treatment of such puns or 'speaking names', that is, names which encode something crucial about their bearers' inherent qualities or eventual fate. By considering every tragic instance in which the connection between name and meaning is made explicit in the text, rather than being left for the audience to infer, I will show that Sophocles' use of this device is distinctive and that his interest in the etymology of names went far beyond the antiquarian or trivial (as we frequently find, for example, in the plays of Euripides). It is only in Sophoclean drama that characters draw explicit attention to the meaning of their *own* names, and hence he is the only one of the three major tragedians to present etymological knowledge as a form of self-recognition. As well as the example from *Ajax*, we have a fragment of an unknown play (fr. 965) in which Odysseus considers his own name, drawing on the well-known etymology from *Odyssey* 19. To complete the picture, my paper will also discuss two fragmentary plays of Sophocles, *Tereus* and *Tyro*, in which name-puns played a crucial role and the relationship between name and nature was thrust firmly into the spotlight.

Clare COOMBE (Reading)

Colourful language in Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae*

'Claudian...lingers fondly over his work, seeking to bring before the eye the presentment of his conception by massing colour upon colour... The reader sees in Claudian's case and feels in Virgil's.' (*Life and Letters in the fourth century*, 1901, 224)

As early as Glover, critics have drawn attention to the visuality of late antique poetry and of Claudian in particular, placing emphasis upon his use of colour. Although his attention to visual detail has aroused some interest, his style has also been the source of a certain amount of distaste, his colourful ecphrases and visual scenes condemned as indicative of the so-called 'baroque style' which distances him from his classical predecessors. For example, the 1172 lines of the unfinished epic the *De Raptu Proserpinae*, written over two prefaces and three books, contain 97 colour terms as well as 11 terms of painting and colouring. Although the visuality of such texts has drawn

comparison to late antique art, and especially to mosaics, insufficient attention has yet been paid to how the colours contribute to the poems beyond their significance for the visual effect for the description or scene in question.

In this paper I shall examine the use of colour terms by Claudian as symbolic signifiers for the wider themes of the poem, in particular their relationship to light and dark and the theme of recurring chaos in the poem. In some instances this involves a reassessment of the connotations of certain colour terms and how our translation of them affects our interpretation of the atmosphere and symbolism of particular scenes. Furthermore, the use of colours where Claudian is also concerned with colouring and artistry within the action of the poem calls for a closer reading of the relationship between the poem's internal and external artists and their respective colourful creations.

James CORKE-WEBSTER (Manchester)

Eusebius and Imperial Authority in the *Historia ecclesiastica*

Eusebius of Caesarea's attitude towards the Roman Empire is not a new topic. But it is which can benefit from a fresh assessment. The current resurgence in Eusebian scholarship directs our attention towards Eusebius' considerable literary and editorial abilities. My own thesis and forthcoming also highlight Eusebius' literary abilities in constructing and composing narratives about the first three centuries to serve the changing context of his own 4th century. In particular, I believe it is his appropriation and development of authority figures that lies at the heart of the Ecclesiastical History as a 4th C enterprise.

In this paper I would like to reconsider Eusebius' depiction of the relationship between the Christian church and the Roman Empire in the Ecclesiastical History. I will engage in a methodological thought-exercise, by looking at the historical archive with the Ecclesiastical History removed. When the dust of this dramatic (but thankfully hypothetical) removal settles we can see just how pervasive is its influence on the historical record of the period. As a case study I will focus on the nature of the emperor Domitian's persecution of the Christians in the first century AD, but the conclusions we can draw from this one example are more pervasive. Removing Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History not only deprives us of unique source material; it also removes the first and most influential attempt to fit these sources into a continuous story, a "myth of origins" for the Christian church. This "erasure exercise" can help to better appreciate how certain historical phenomena we take for granted might be constructively read as literary phenomena in a carefully composed narrative.

Hannah CORNWELL (Oxford)

The politics of peace: ideas of *pax* in the late Roman Republic

The development and use of *pax* ('peace') as a concept in the Roman world is part of the same process by which Rome understood her empire (*imperium*) in relation to a number of different situations and audiences. A history of peace as a concept in Roman political thought examines how the term was used as part of an ever changing imperial discourse and how it was used to conceptualise political relationships and identities within the Roman state.

The concept of *pax Romana* is synonymous with the idea and extent of the power achieved over the Empire from the Augustan period to the end of the second century A.D. Yet the meaning of *pax* during the Republic was something quite different from the peace of the principate. During the mid and late Republic *pax* was understood as a state-view of imperialism, set directly over and against those entering into a relationship with Rome. It was the civil wars of the late Republic that changed the ways in which political stability and peace were discussed and understood.

This paper examines the various use of *pax* from 49 B.C. down to 40 B.C. by the senate and individual politicians at Rome in the civil wars in order to establish the ways in which peace

became an important concept of negotiation, conflict and victory rhetoric during a time of social and political upheaval and change. The political developments during the civil wars of the late Republic explain why and how *pax* became a major concept for the articulation of relationships of power in the 40s.

Fiona COX (Exeter)

Mutation, Metamorphosis and Exile – Ovid and Jo Shapcott

In 2010 Jo Shapcott's volume of poetry *Of Mutability* won the Costa Book of the Year Award. It is a work written in the shadow of Shapcott's experience of breast cancer, probing the bodily metamorphoses caused both by mutating cells and brutal treatments. My paper will analyse the ways in which Shapcott draws on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Tristia* as she is exiled from the world of the well and forced to reassess her identity in the light of her illness. The paper will also examine the impact of a literary award on this reception of Ovid which is, I argue, underpinned by third-wave feminism, privileging the use of literature and/ or theory to address practical concerns and including as an audience those who had previously been deterred by an intimidatingly theoretical and self-consciously intellectual approach.

Nadia CRACKNELL (Cardiff)

Ponuntur Clipei: Shield Trophies and Roman Domestic Decoration

In this paper I will present the evidence for the use of shields in domestic decoration from Rome and the Bay of Naples. Whilst Roman domestic decoration has received extensive attention in archaeological and historical research, the role of military victory in such decoration has remained relatively unexplored.

In 1998 Eugenio Polito published his work on friezes of arms in the ancient world (*Fulgentibus Armis*), which focused on the images of arms and shields collected in disordered piles, such as those commonly known from the sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon, as well as exploring depictions of individual shields on public monuments. The role of shields as triumphal spoils has also been re-addressed by Ida Ostenberg's *Staging the World* (2010), yet a detailed exploration of representations of these shields in domestic space remains to be performed. It is this void that this paper begins to address, and in particular individual representations of shields incorporated into domestic wall paintings.

I will analyse several examples of shields in domestic decoration from domus and villae in Rome and on the Bay of Naples, noting regional variations where possible. This analysis will include both public and private examples in fresco, sculptural decoration and stucco. I will briefly address the decorative context of each example to explore any propaganda value they may hold. I will also assess the location of the relevant fresco within the home, as this may indicate how analogous the painted examples of shields are with real spolia in Roman consciousness. I will suggest that images of shields in the decoration of the Roman home could have a strong social significance and may even reflect the changing political atmosphere between Republic and Principate.

Monica S. CYRINO (New Mexico)

The Domestication of Deviance: Screening Roman Sex on Television since 2000

This paper will explore images and narratives of sexual "depravity" as portrayed in recent representations of ancient Rome shown on premium cable television. After the critical and commercial success of *Gladiator* (2000), television producers enthusiastically set their series in ancient Rome to capitalize on its spectacular luxury, glamour and power; and with the freedom of cable television paid for by domestic subscribers, they were only too happy to exhibit Rome's

visually titillating sexual excesses. This paper will focus primarily on the HBO-BBC series *Rome* (2005-2007), and the Starz series *Spartacus: Blood & Sand* (2010) and *Gods of the Arena* (2011).

As ancient Rome has always been the preferred cinematic locus for various types of sexual extremes and decadent erotic practices, this paper will analyze how these new television series, in terms of representing deviant sexuality, both follow some earlier conventions and also break new ground. This paper will explore how these series both promised and delivered plentiful nudity and sexual situations, in graphic sex scenes which were remarkable not only for their exotic nature, but also for their quantity, frequency and explicitness. Like earlier cinematic depictions of ancient Rome, sexual excess and perversion in these series are also regularly equated with the extreme hunger for power and the use of excessive violence. This paper will discuss several tropes of explicit sexual excess or deviance exhibited in these series, including group sex and other non-private sexual acts; sex that crosses class hierarchies or sex with slaves; sexual compulsion, abuse and non-compliance; lesbianism and homosexuality; masturbation, voyeurism, incest, and sado-masochism. While these tropes may have been hinted at or even shown in earlier screenings of ancient Rome, this paper will argue that each trope is escalated to an extraordinary degree of expression in response to the desires of the affect-hungry contemporary audience watching at home.

Nick D'ALCONZO (Swansea)

Chariclea Daughter of Phantasia

The heroines in the Greek novels are blessed with two gifts that make them stand out from the rest of humankind: virtue and, especially, astonishing beauty. Heliodorus, the latest novelist, whose work constitutes the most complex among the Greek novels, puts much effort into making Chariclea even more special. She was born with white skin from black parents, due to the effect of a painting: the uniqueness of her conception is the primary cause of everything that happens in her life. Strange as it may seem, not a single character in the novel is surprised by her peculiar origin, as if such a thing were completely credible. In literature there is a long tradition of special births connected to Ethiopians, which can partially explain this fact. Heliodorus follows and at the same time builds innovatively on these sources, highlighting the idea of *phantasia* as the core of the problem. How could this faculty produce such a bizarre result in a human conception? Moreover, the stress put on the painting overshadows something which is equally important yet given much less consideration, that is the fact that Chariclea was also born from a dream. How do these two aspects combine? Who or what can actually claim Chariclea's parenthood?

Anca DAN (Topoi-DAI, Berlin)

Mithridates Eupator against Rome: the Wars of Propaganda

The main effect of Paul Veyne's articles on ancient propaganda has been the proscription of this concept from many studies of Roman history. However, going back to the ancient sources read in the light of Max Weber's *Herrschaft* theories, one can perceive how exceptional leaders, like Mithridates, assimilated aspects from all Weberian authority types. This is why propaganda, intended in a wider sense (Ellul 1962, 1967), even if it is excluded from the ideal charismatic authority type to which the Cappadocian king mainly belongs, is a key factor in Mithridates' political action and image.

Mithridatic propaganda – perceivable today in literary texts, inscriptions, coins and different other archaeological discoveries – is the expected answer to the Republican regime, which forced the generals to justify their activities in the East. The decades of conflicts between Rome and the Cappadocian king can be retraced not only on the battle fields, but also in political communication. After a critical presentation of the sources available today, this paper will discuss two types of propagandist gestures assigned to Mithridates: the rhetoric arguments which can be retraced more

or less certainly to him, with their geographical and ethnographic as well as mythical and historic components (cf. Russo 2009), and his peaceful and military actions. The third part will try to identify the target of this propaganda. Thus, Mithridates will appear, far from the artificial image of an Oriental despot, as a complex political figure, not only a king, not only a charismatic hero.

Glenys DAVIES (Edinburgh)

Piranesi's vision of Roman material culture for his own times

Towards the end of his life (in the late 1770s) G.B. Piranesi (with the help of his son) expanded his use of the Roman past beyond the well-known *vedute* and etchings of fantastical recreations of ancient Rome: he collected Roman decorative sculpture in his *museo*, published choice pieces in his massive two-volume *Vasi, candelabri etc.*, and made renovated pieces available for purchase by the wealthy Grand Tourists who wished to use them to enhance their new neo-Classical homes. These objects came in all sizes, from small ash chests to the massive Warwick Vase, and the degree to which they can still be seen as 'antique Roman' also varied. Piranesi positively promoted the creation of works of decorative sculpture using antique fragments: he was convinced that he knew what these objects ought to look like to evoke the glory of Rome (even chimney pieces – which are hardly well-attested in Roman houses!).

This paper looks at Piranesi's vision of decorative sculpture in Roman style, how he used and enhanced surviving ancient fragments to create objects that were worthy of the grandeur of the Romans. That vision should be considered in the light of Piranesi's earlier meticulous study of the architectural remains of Roman Italy and his involvement (on the Roman side) in the contemporary polemical debate regarding the supremacy of Greek vs. Roman art. Or was he just onto a good money-spinner?

Susan DEACY and Fiona MCHARDY (Roehampton)

Killing Pregnant Women in Comparative Perspective

In this paper we will consider the theme of the man who kills his wife when she is pregnant, often by kicking her in the stomach. We will cover examples from mythical stories (e.g. Apollo's murder of Coronis, Apollod. *Bib.* 3.10.3, Hyg. *Fab.* 202) to 'historical' ones (e.g. Herodes Atticus' treatment of Regilla, Philostrat. *VS* 555, as discussed in Pomeroy's 2007 book *The Murder of Regilla*).

Murdering a pregnant spouse can be seen as self-destructive as the man destroys his own future by killing his offspring in the womb. Hence this behaviour is depicted as 'mad' (Hdt. 3.32-3 Cambyses) and is typically associated with tyrants, including the tyrant par excellence, Zeus, who comes as close as he can to killing his pregnant wife Metis by swallowing her, in an act that sought to prevent the conception and birth of his children. Through a comparison with modern case studies of lethal violence by men against their pregnant spouses, we shall demonstrate that other issues, too, are significant in these stories (cf. Polk 1994). Themes to be covered are the explosive anger and controlling behaviour of men in cases of domestic violence as well as their sexual possessiveness. Ideas of legitimacy and the sexual fidelity of women will also be considered both in relationship to the behaviour of spouses who react violently and in the case of other relatives who abuse a pregnant woman. We will also test the applicability of evolutionary psychological theories on a reading of these stories (Daly and Wilson 1998; Goetz 2008).

Chrysanthi DEMETRIOU (Leeds)

Comici errores in Terence

The paper will examine selected scenes from Terence's comedies with regards to the position and function of comic error. In this framework, the paper will argue that error in Terence bears mainly two different dimensions: in some cases, error refers to a character's misunderstanding, whereas in others it is an outcome of deception. In both cases, error seems to be important not only as a central

component of the plot – since it governs the characters’ actions – but also as a source of laughter. In reading Terence’s passages, I shall make use of the ancient *scholia* on Terence which survive under the name of Donatus. Donatus’ *scholia* constitute a significant guide towards the understanding of Terence’s comedies, offering the perspective of an ancient reader and illuminating aspects which often remain unseen by modern scholiasts. In this context, it is particularly interesting that the *scholia* offer a systematization of the elements which produce ‘pleasure’ for the spectators of comedy (the *delectatio spectatoribus*). *Comici errores* possess a central position in this analysis, which often seems to find parallels in the Aristotelian tradition that places deception – closely related to error – as one of the central elements of comedies. In conclusion, the parallel study of Terence’s comedies and Donatus’ *scholia* with regard to the motif of the comic error offers a new reading of the playwright’s composition and its philosophical background, while it also points to the distinctive position of Donatus’ *scholia* not only in the study of Terence but also in the study of the nature of New Comedy regarding the types of comic errors and the ‘pleasure’ these create for the spectators. Thus, the paper concludes with an overview of the comic theory which imposes that pleasure in comedy derives from the characters’ error and the spectators’ superior position.

David DeVore (Berkeley)

Direct Quotation, Character, and Speech-Acts: from Greek Historiography to Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History*

Eusebius of Caesarea is often cited as a historiographical innovator because of his frequent verbatim quotations in the *Ecclesiastical History* (*HE*). This paper nuances this commonplace by comparing the context and impact of Eusebius’ quotations with quotational practice in the Greek historiographical tradition. I argue that the quotational practices in the *HE* all appear in Greek histories that Eusebius read during his *paideia* or for research. This paper focuses on the following two Greek uses of direct quotation:

(1) It was common for historians to quote state documents verbatim. These documents acted as intratextual speech-acts, concluding narrative sequences and setting the political conditions for subsequent narrative events. Thucydides provided the model by transcribing treaties (5.18f., 5.47, 8.18, 8.37, 8.58); Xenophon and Josephus, among others, adopted this use of quotations.

(2) In the parahistorical genres of apologetic and biography, direct quotations could illustrate an individual or group’s character and cultural contributions. So Josephus uses direct quotation to illustrate Jewish character in the *Against Apion* 2, while Greek philosophical biographies, often quote subjects’ writings verbatim (e.g. Diogenes Laertius’ *Life of Epicurus*).

The paper shows how Eusebius deployed both quotational practices in the *Ecclesiastical History*: I conclude that Eusebius’ quotational innovations were two. First, he injected the practice of quoting to illustrate character and culture into narrative history, most obviously in his quotation of martyrdom acts.

Secondly, analysis of Eusebius’ quotations about “heretics” and other ecclesiastical controversies shows how Eusebius applied the quotation of state documents to the Christian nation and extended the force of quotational speech-acts beyond the situations within the text. Eusebius’ quoted voices authorize some practices, intellectuals, and virtues, condemning other practices, “heretics,” and vices, to direct and constrain Christian readers, who must conform to the quoted norms in order to remain orthodox. Quotation of Christian bishops’ and intellectuals’ compliments for the character and contributions of Christians thus lodges the authority of its quoted voices inserting these quotations into the Christian nation’s normative documents. Whereas Thucydides’ treaties set political parameters solely within his text, Eusebius’ documents lack the merely situational power of these treaties and become universally normative for all Christian readers.

Matthew DILLON (New England)

Polykleitos and the *bon sauvage*: Greek sculpture and terra australis incognita

Poised on the banks of Botany Bay with his spear aloft, the very image of Polykleitos' *Doryphoros* sculpture ('spear bearer'), a bemuscled native poised in chiasitic style assists two companions in a canoe. One sits, every inch endowed with the torso of the *Belvedere Hercules*. Closely resembling Polykleitos' *Diadoumenos* ('fillet bearer'), the other stands, with the *Diadoumenos*' fillet replaced by a length of fishing line held so that his body twists, emphasising Greek style musculature, the flexing of his biceps, well-developed thighs, and delineated calves. So reads an engraving by Cleveland published in 1789.

Australian scholars have long recognised the classicising nature of the depictions of the first inhabitants of terra australis incognita appearing in print in Britain and France in the 1780s and 1790s. But this scholarship does not go beyond generalising references. Smith's 1985 standard work on the iconography of the region's indigenous, cited repeatedly by scholars, has a few pages vaguely mentioning the drawings as 'classicizing' (p. 170), with 'neo-classicizing prototypes' (*European Vision and the South Pacific*, pp. 170, 172).

Are these drawings based on generic Greek athletic sculptures? Issues of classical chiasitic pose, Polykleitos' head ratio (his *Canon*), and the nude athlete-warrior are all pertinent. Indigenous males joined the long-established category of the *bon sauvage* ('noble savage'), becoming linked to the related concept of Edenic paradises thought to be in the Pacific.

Iconographic methodology poses challenges: many such drawings were not originally idealised in classical style (such as Webber's 1777 'Cook Meeting Inhabitants of Van Dieman's Land'), but were 'improved' upon by other artists for publication. Depictions come from a variety of sources: Parkinson's 1773 account of Cook's voyage, those of Pérouse's fatal expedition, and the more subtle versions of Péron's 1807-1817, *Voyage de découvertes aux Terres Australes*. At issue is not whether these depictions blinded Europeans to the reality of indigenous life (Smith *Thesis Eleven* 2005), but why classicising was considered important.

Jessica DIXON (Manchester)

Dressing the adulteress

The clothes that a person wears (or does not wear) are an indicator of status, morality and behaviour; a fact that is as true now as it was in the ancient world. In 18/17 BC, as part of a wider programme of moral reforms, Augustus introduced the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*. It was designed to curb the adulterous affairs and immorality which were seen as a weakness and a threat to the stability of the empire. One of the most significant elements of the legislation was that it solidified the status-hierarchy for women in the Roman world and provided clear standards of behaviour that were to be followed. The matron was maintained as the pinnacle of modesty and Roman virtue, and any woman who defiled herself through adultery or *stuprum* was to be associated with the prostitute, from whom no chastity or virtue was to be expected. An important part of this polarisation of virtue and sexual-freedom was the outward symbols of dress and appearance.

There are various pieces of literary evidence that show that the adulteress, alongside the prostitute, was associated with wearing the toga – the costume of the adult Roman citizen male, and, therefore, a symbol of the unfeminine behaviour of these scarlet women. It has therefore been suggested by a number of scholars, most notably Thomas McGinn (1998), that the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* forced convicted adulteresses to wear the toga. However, there is no evidence of this within the legal texts and the literary evidence that is used to support this theory is inconclusive at best. This paper will provide a fresh analysis of the evidence and explore the wider social implications and meaning of this practice and its relation to the moral and social reforms of Augustus.

Annemieke DRUMMEN (Heidelberg)

Dialogic resonance in Greek tragedy and comedy

Ancient Greek tragedy and comedy are, despite their literary and written status, comparatively close to conversation, which is the most basic language form. An approach to tragedy and comedy that uses concepts from Conversational Analysis may enrich our interpretation of the texts, and throw new light on some linguistic features.

More specifically, I will apply the notion of 'dialogic resonance' to some passages, and discuss how the poets may exploit this basic conversational notion for literary purposes. The theory of dialogic resonance assumes that speech is not an autonomous product of one or more individuals; rather, it is seen as jointly constructed by all participants. We can see linguistic traces of this dynamic process throughout a conversation. The same holds true, I will argue, for Greek tragic and comic discourse.

For example, in the dialogue between Oedipus and Teiresias at S. *OT* 350-69, the two speakers frequently repeat their own as well as each other's words, concepts, and constructions. Most notably, the concept of 'saying', mainly with reference to Teiresias as intended subject, occurs with remarkable frequency in this passage. Such repetition is in fact a natural part of language use: it is very common in conversation. However, this ordinary phenomenon is here exploited and even manipulated by the poet to emphasize, in a subtle way, the special nature of Teiresias' speech.

Other passages illustrating the literary exploitation of conversational patterns are A. *Ag.* 266-79, E. *Med.* 1363-71, and Ar. *Lys.* 433-55. Explanations based on dialogic resonance may broaden our understanding both of the passages in question, and of specific linguistic elements, such as the use of certain particles.

Matthew DUNCOMBE (Cambridge)

Relativism and the Puzzles of Size and Number in the *Theaetetus*

This paper examines a tension within the articulation of the Protagorean position in the *Theaetetus*, which is known as the Secret Doctrine. The Secret Doctrine is usually thought to represent an 'observer-dependent relativism'. 'Observer-dependent' relativism posits an ineliminable relationship between an observer and an object. Thus, ' x is F ' is identical to ' x is F for a '. Such relativism is supposed to be related to the solution to the puzzles of size and number at 152c-d. Socrates can go from being taller than Theaetetus to being shorter than Theaetetus, in the space of a year; six dice are one and a half times as many when placed next to four dice, but half as many when placed next to twelve dice. We will see that this solution to these puzzles neither entails, nor is entailed by, the observer-dependent relativism. How should we resolve this tension? Traditionally commentators have taken the solution to the puzzles as an analogy for Protagoreanism. But by taking the novel line that Protagoras position amounts to the rejection of non-relative properties not 'observer-dependent relativism', I show that Protagoras' position relates to the puzzles because it solves them.

Colin ELLIOTT (Bristol)

Boom and Bust: Describing a Financial Bubble during the Early Principate

Upon defeating Mark Antony and Cleopatra, Augustus' return to Rome was marked by a triumph which brought an influx of money into the city. Interest rates rapidly fell and the prices of goods increased. Both Cassius Dio (LI.21.5) and Suetonius (II.41.1) when speaking of the triumph, appear to be most concerned with what these effects reveal of Augustus' *liberalitas* and his measurement against Roman stereotypes of a "good" emperor, rather than his economic and financial prowess.

In his description, Suetonius declared that "by bringing the royal treasures to Rome in his Alexandrian triumph [Augustus] made ready money so abundant, that the rate of interest fell, and the value of real estate rose greatly..." (II.41.1). It may have been the historian's overall aim to

portray Augustus as “showing generosity to all classes” (II.41.1), as the triumph was one of many qualifying examples listed, including interest free loans, grain distributions and “largess to the people” (II.41.2). Yet embedded within Suetonius' status-driven presentation is economic information which cannot be ignored, such as the concept that an increase in the supply of money brought about a bubble in real-estate. Dio's account implies similar insight, noting that the increase in money led to a rise in the price of goods in general, not merely property.

This paper draws upon Dio and Suetonius' economic insights and reconsiders what these specific passages might imply about ancient knowledge of causal economic relationships, even if not expressed in specifically scientific terms or with a theoretical framework. Despite these sources approaching economic problems with ancient values and *mores* and hence a qualitative *difference* from modernity, they hint at a degree of economic awareness which should cause economic historians to reconsider how these texts challenge existing interpretations of the nature of economic understanding in antiquity.

Aneurin ELLIS-EVANS (Oxford)

The Actaean Cities and the Athenian Empire

Following the end of the Mytilenaeen Revolt in 427 BC, Athens confiscated Mytilene's possessions along the Troad littoral and grouped them into a new tribute district, the 'Aktaioi poleis'. However, a re-examination of the epigraphic and archaeological evidence suggests that many of the communities Athens termed poleis in the lists of 425/4 and 422/1 had not in fact been independent political communities in the period of Mytilenaeen rule. Despite this, within only a few decades many had flourishing civic identities, and later in the 3rd and 2nd centuries they strongly resisted the centripetal forces of synoikism with Alexandria Troas and Ilion which threatened their independence. This paper explores the possibility that this transformation came about as a by-product of interaction with the Athenian Empire. Mytilene and Athens approached the problem of profiting from this region in two very different ways. Mytilene treated its continental possessions as an extension of the city's chora, and so ruled it through centralized institutions which militated against the development of independent political communities. By contrast, Athens sought to keep the managerial costs of profiting from its empire to a minimum, and so out-sourced tax collection to local political entities. Along the Troad littoral, this entailed terming places 'poleis' which sometimes did not (yet) merit that designation. The suggestion made here is that the experience of being treated as poleis by the bureaucracy of the Athenian Empire had the recursive effect of encouraging polis institutions and polis behaviour in these communities. An inadvertent consequence of homogenously 'mapping' its possessions as poleis was therefore, in some cases, to make this a reality.

Kyle ERICKSON (Trinity St David)

A century of gods: a reconsideration of Seleucid ruler cult

This paper will argue for a reconsideration of both the nature and the dating of the creation of ruler cult in the Seleucid empire. I will question the standard view that civic and central cults established for the king are entirely separate entities, and suggest that they should be considered together as a diverse but a somewhat unified attempt by the monarchy to negotiate the conditions of their rule with local elites. Thus the Seleucid empire looks less like either the Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor or the Ptolemaic court, but rather it resembles the looser organisation of the rest of the empire allowing them to respond to the inherited ideologies of power in each region under their control. This reassessment of the nature of Seleucid ruler cult has important implications for the date of its creation. This model does not suggest a single moment of creation in the reign of Antiochus III, rather the development from a range of court-centred and external events combining to encourage the view of the kings as gods beginning in the reign of Antiochus I.

Luke EVANS (Durham)

Aggressive Agents: Figurines and Love Magic in the PGM

The presentation will focus on the use of figurines in the love magic recorded in the Greek Magical Papyri (PGM). Within the papyri there are thirty-two examples of figurines. Of these, only fourteen can be noted in love magic. They can, however, be seen in all four sub-categories of that genre (love spells of attraction, binding love spells, spells of separation, and charms to induce feelings of affection). I will investigate the rationalisation behind the application of these figurines in an attempt to understand why they were thought conducive to love magic.

I hope to show that although figurines were not an essential prerequisite of love magic, their role is still of great importance and should not be underestimated. The first issue to be discussed will be the aggressive nature of the figurines. Aggressive formulae in the papyri and the extant archaeological evidence both depict what appears to be a wish by the practitioner to cause harm on the victim. The latter part of this piece will look at the role of the figurine as an agent; an intermediary between the practitioner and the victim.

I will be working from the corpus of Preisendanz (*Papyri Graecae Magicae*) but I will need to resort to other corpora, such as Wünsch (*Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*), Audollent (*Defixionum Tabellae*) and Gager (*Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*). Of great importance to the study of figurines is Faraone's 1991 article 'Binding and Burying the Forces of Evil: The Defensive use of 'Voodoo Dolls' in Ancient Greece' (VD). There is also a wealth of ancient literature on the matter (including, for example, Horace, Lucian, Ovid and Theocritus) which will be fundamental in understanding that described in the Greek magical papyri.

Scott FARRINGTON (Colorado)

Rhetoric and Persuasion in Polybius' Histories

I will argue that, in contrast to the view that Polybius completely rejects rhetoric in historical composition, he in fact places a type of rhetorical persuasion at the very heart of the historian's project. He asserts that the historian's duty is to "teach and persuade" (διδάξαι καὶ πείσαι, ii.56.11). Simultaneously, he charges that Phylarchus, in lieu of instructive persuasion, arouses pity and anger. These remarks resonate with the end of Plato's *Apology*, where Socrates suggests that those who have introduced crying wives and children to arouse pity and win acquittal at their own trials might become angry because he refuses to do the same. Nevertheless, Socrates says that he will "teach and persuade" (διδάσκειν καὶ πείθειν, 35b9-c2) the jurors instead of working on their emotions. In fact, the formulation "to teach and persuade" is a common collocation. Plato uses it elsewhere to describe a loftier sort of persuasion than that which resorts to emotional appeal and rhetorical trickery (*La.* 181d6, *Prt.* 352e6, *Lg.* 885d2). Demosthenes uses the phrase twice to characterize deliberative rhetoric that rejects emotional display (7.2.6, 14.2.6). Thucydides emphasizes Pericles' ability to instruct the people through his oratory in contrast to his successors' reliance on demagoguery, and one study argues that in doing so, he anticipates Aristotle's views on the proper function of rhetoric (Yunis 1996, esp. 73). These ancient authors characterize instructive persuasion as a type of morally beneficial rhetoric that starkly contrasts sophistry. Thusly, Polybius advocates a rhetorical agenda in the *Histories*, though one that aims to instruct the reader. Further study of this question, though beyond the scope of this paper, could shed light on the role of rhetoric in Thucydides as well as the relationship between Plato's and Aristotle's views on the nature and morality of rhetoric.

Trevor FEAR (Open University)

When Cleopatra met the Warrior Princess

Cleopatra remains an enduring icon in modern popular consciousness. She is at once a historical figure and also a legend that has grown out of history and whose representation each age recreates

in its own image. Thus Cleopatra becomes a site for a creative synthesis of the past and present and her representation reflects both the anxieties and the aspirations of the age that creates her.

Perhaps one of the more egregious representations of Cleopatra in recent times in popular culture was her appearance on the TV series *Xena Warrior Princess*. This paper sets out to examine the ramifications of the Egyptian queen's appearance on this camp TV show and how this representation of her interacts with the paradigms of gender, sexuality, power and ethnicity that also accompany the Cleopatra story.

Unpicking the image of Cleopatra that is presented here involves a consideration of the background of the rise of the action heroine series on US television and the wider context of lipstick feminism and its impact on the cultural landscape of the 90s and noughties. The story of Cleopatra is reinvented here in such a manner as to map a historical figure onto a contemporary paradigm of 'sex positivity'. Here history can be trawled for examples of strong female characters who are suited to recuperation in these terms. In *Xena Warrior Princess* the past becomes an entertaining, entirely mutable, backdrop, that can be cherry-picked for entertaining and disparate highlights that can be imported into the Xenaverse. Cleopatra provides one such historical cameo. The nature of her incarnation here serves to help the audience explore contemporary issues of feminism, sexuality and power whilst enjoying the series' usual fusion of violence and camp sexuality.

Debbie FELTON (Amherst)

Apuleius's Cupid as a (Male) Lamia (*Met.* 5.17-18)

Why is Apuleius's Psyche so willing to believe that her unseen but loving husband is a monstrous serpent fattening her up to devour her? She has felt and heard him frequently. Even Apollo's oracle, which foretold Psyche's marriage to a *vipereum malum*, was intentionally ambiguous. Psyche's credulity upon hearing her sisters' falsehoods goes well beyond the *simplicitas* usually attributed to her character, and commentators point out that Apuleius greatly compounds the improbabilities in this section of the story. But Psyche's terror is more understandable if we interpret her reaction not simply via the general folkloric motif of the "mysterious bridegroom" but more specifically in light of the Lamia legend.

Lamiae figure in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* in several ways. Many common characteristics link the story's witches—Meroe, Panthia, and Pamphile—with the Lamia (Leinweber). Also, Aristomenes specifically calls Meroe and Panthia *lamiae* (*Met.* 1.17), and Psyche's sisters, too, are referred to as *lamiae* (*Met.* 5.11). In these cases the term, intended more insultingly than literally, bears not only the sense of "hag" but also indicates that these are characters who prey on other, weaker characters and do so by initially appearing to be what they are not. This Lamia imagery also applies to the character of Cupid as invented by Psyche's sisters. The amount of detail in the sisters' false story seems specifically intended to evoke the seductive, deceptive, serpentine Lamia. Moreover, various aspects of Apuleius's story appear in a lamia/empousa tale connected with Apollonius of Tyana (Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 4.25). Even though the sisters apply such descriptions to a male figure, a male lamia is not unprecedented (cp. Aristophanes *Wasps* 1035, *Peace* 758), and the gender role reversal is not necessarily unusual in Apuleius given that Psyche herself soon takes on the normally male role of questing hero.

Lavinia FOUKARA (Edinburgh)

Leto as mother: Representations of Leto with Apollo and Artemis in Attic vase paintings of 6th-5th c. BC

Representations of the Apollonian triad – Apollo, Leto and Artemis – in Attic vase paintings have been associated mainly with political affairs of Athenian life. However, my survey of 173 Attic vases depicting the above mentioned gods either alone or accompanied by other divinities of 6th

and 5th c. BC led me to question previous interpretations and to investigate the particular iconographical motif from a different perspective. Scholars focused mainly on Apollo and Artemis, often neglecting the function that Leto serves in the iconography. In this paper I discuss the significance of Leto's appearance among her children on Attic vases of 6th and 5th c. BC. My aim is to demonstrate that the representation of Leto together with Apollo and Artemis on Attic vases was not coincidental. On the basis of literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence I will indicate that Leto's capacity as a mother and her association with childbirth was emphasised not only by ancient authors but by Attic vase painters as well. I argue that the inclusion of Leto in this particular iconographical motif underlines the kourotrophic function that Apollo and Artemis had in Attica as gods who preside over youths' growth into adulthood.

Hallie FRANKS (NYU)

Sailing the symposium: Mosaics and metaphor at Eretria

Eretria's luxurious House of the Mosaics, dated to the early 4th century B.C.E., boasts two *andrones*. One of these (Room 7) is distinguished by its size, and the other (Room 8) by its mosaic decoration, which covers the floors of both the *andron* proper and a small anteroom (Room 9). The mosaics of Room 8 include a Nereid riding a hippocamp, located just inside the doorway, and, in the room's central mosaic, alternating scenes of Arimaspians battling griffins and lions attacking horses.

This iconography calls to mind the *peirata*, the distant edges of the inhabited world, where the griffins and Arimaspians live and vicious lions roam. This paper argues that this imagery of earth's outer limits, combined with the circular motion of sympotic conversation and of the wine around the perimeter of the room, sets the stage for the identification of the symposium as a journey at sea, a metaphor well-attested in vase-painting and literary sources (e.g., Timaeus, *ap.* Athenaeus 2.37b-d). Specifically, it presents the symposiasts as sailors upon the Ocean that encircles the perimeter of the earth. This imagined scenario reverses the normal Greek world-view: from this perspective, the inhabited world is seen from the outside in, so that the usually mysterious *peirata* are the most visible. In this way, the imagery of the *andron*, which encourages the figuring of the symposium as a distant Ocean journey, both contributes to the removal of the symposium experience from the quotidian and offers a counterpart for the metaphorical intellectual journey that is the event's ideal result.

While the Eretria mosaics serve as the focus here, I conclude by suggesting that the concept of the symposium as a journey might deepen our understanding of certain other mosaics and of the relationship between the imagery of Classical *andrones* and the sympotic context.

Nicholas FREER (UCL)

Vergil's *Georgics* and Philodemus' Poetic Theory

In 1989, Marcello Gigante and Mario Capasso identified several dedications to Vergil among the fragmentary papyri of the philosopher and teacher Philodemus, one of the leading Epicureans of late-Republican Italy. The discovery at last provided confirmation of the poet's youthful association with the Epicurean schools on the Bay of Naples, also attested by the biographical tradition and the Appendix Vergiliana. Philodemus dedicated three separate treatises to Vergil and his distinguished friends Plotius Tucca, Lucius Varius Rufus, and Quintilius Varus, an Epicurean circle of poets and literary critics. Given their shared interest in poetry, it is reasonable to expect that they would have been familiar with the poetic theory of their teacher Philodemus, an accomplished poet in his own right. Indeed, recent research has demonstrated the likely influence of Philodemus' poetic theory on Vergil's friend Horace, who presents himself as a member of the same Epicurean coterie (cf. especially Horace's famous Journey to Brundisium).

With this in mind, my paper aims to explore the possible influence on the *Georgics* of Philodemus' views on poetry. Although Philodemus admits poetry as a source of pleasure, he

does not consider it a suitable vehicle for moral instruction, arguing that the medium of poetry severely weakens the impact of the thoughts expressed. Even if poems may occasionally offer some small benefit, he maintains, they often cause considerable harm. Analysing Vergil's representation of the effects of poetry and repeated instances of poetic impotence or failure in the *Georgics*, I will argue that his conception of poetry does in fact bear many of the hallmarks of Philodemus' distinctive poetic theory. I will then go on to consider the implications of these findings for Vergil's own role as poet of the *Georgics*.

Laurel FULKERSON (Florida State)

Plutarch on the Statesman: Stability and Change in the *Lives*

This paper examines Plutarch's views of consistent and inconsistent behaviour, suggesting that he finds the latter deeply problematic and worthy of more explanation than the former. After a brief overview of what Plutarch says directly about fixity and instability of character in the *Moralia*, and an examination of Plutarch's treatment of characters who display opposing virtues (e.g. Aristides and Themistocles), I treat several *Lives* in which the protagonist is portrayed as inconsistent in some way (Coriolanus, Themistocles, Demosthenes, Cicero, and Alcibiades), showing Plutarch's different strategies for compensating for what he sees as a character flaw.

These include: explaining inconsistency away as preventing a greater flaw; ignoring it, either by focusing attention on other characteristics, or by omitting certain incidents; displacing it onto other characters within the *Life* or onto the subject of the *Life* with which it is paralleled; and bringing in other, more constant characters to serve as character witnesses. These techniques, and especially their range, suggest that Plutarch finds the issue both important and troublesome.

My aims are both to explore Plutarch's views on constancy and consistency of behaviour for their own intrinsic interest and to contribute to the numerous studies of how Plutarch structures his narrative in order to cohere with his understanding of heroic virtue.

Phoebe GARRETT (Newcastle, Australia)

The Trouble with Tiberius

Each *life* of Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum* follows a fairly standard formula, beginning in most cases with an account of famous ancestors and gentiles, which is implicitly or explicitly part of the characterisation of the subject proper. The Caesars are either good or bad, the opening paragraphs setting the scene by one or the other of a few strategies of relating the moral qualities of ancestor to descendant. The demonstration of vice in a Caesar is foreshadowed by a virtuous ancestor, a paragon from which our Caesar is shown to have degenerated, or a list of steadily worsening degenerates, each contributing to their descendant's moral turpitude; a virtuous Caesar, where he appears, is a self-made man, product of a respectable but lowly family. Among these lives, the *Tiberius* is problematic as the life of a man of contradictory virtues and vices, his 'true' nature difficult to pinpoint. The biographer addresses the problem of Tiberius' curious mix of virtue and vice at several points within the *life*, beginning, I will argue, with the statement that there were two kinds of Claudii, and Tiberius was Claudian on both sides. Tiberius' mixed characteristics might explain why this is the only *life* in which the maternal line and ancestors by adoption are prominent in the introduction. This paper considers the relation between the introductory section on the Claudii and Suetonius' presentation of the character traits of Tiberius, taking in the various ways in which the *Vita Tiberii* is both typical of Suetonius' *Vitae* and unique amongst them.

Amber Gartrell (Oxford)

The Dioscuri as Harbingers of Victory; The Developing Significance of Castor and Pollux in the Late Republic and Early Principate.

At the Battle of Lake Regillus, as the Dictator Aulus Postumius rallied his troops against the Latins, two young horsemen materialised and led the cavalry charge, securing the victory. Later that day, the same pair appeared at the *Lacus Juturnae* in the *Forum Romanum* and announced the Roman victory to the crowds. The pair was identified as Castor and Pollux, the twin sons of Zeus. In thanksgiving for their aid a temple was built beside the spot where they appeared in Rome's political, religious and financial centre. Over four centuries later, after the defeat of Perseus at Pydna and in the aftermath of Caesar's victory at Pharsalus, the same pair appeared again to announce the Roman victory.

These episodes provide an insight into the relationship that Romans had with their gods. Such appearances, despite the Dioscuri not always being identified by name, can be recognized through an exploration of ancient texts and a comparison to the iconography of the gods. This paper will argue that the Dioscuri developed and expanded upon their role of Harbingers of Victory in the period spanning the end of the Republic and the formation of the Principate. As a facet of their growing political importance, I shall also discuss epiphanies of the Dioscuri at other pivotal events in this period, including the funeral of Julius Caesar and at the deathbed of Drusus the Elder. My analysis of the developing significance of the Dioscuri in Rome will demonstrate how relationships between gods and mortals evolved in this tumultuous period in Rome's history.

Ifigeneia GIANNADAKI (UCL)

Narrating the law in *Against Androtion* (Dem. 22)

Forensic oratory necessarily deals with the law. Not only are specific laws cited in support of individual cases, but they are also frequently explained, interpreted and commented on. In contrast to modern systems, however, where this larger role of law is subject to rules, jurisprudence in Athenian courts is not objective but is firmly rooted in rhetoric. The orators present from their own angle not only the law itself but the 'spirit of the law' and the intent of the lawgiver, and thereby 'law' becomes a crucial element of the speech; it acquires its own 'narrative' (Brooks 2002, 2005; Gagarin 2003). Law too has its story, but little attention has been paid to the study and the dynamics of law as it is narrated in the orators (cf. Spatharas 2009).

In this paper I explore the dynamics of narrative of law in Dem. 22 and the complex devices employed to palliate the weakness of Diodoros' legal argumentation against Androtion. Demosthenes offers a coherent, vivid and superficially cogent narrative of the legal frame within which the trial is taking place, by a careful strategy of simplifying and even distorting its complexities as well as capitalizing on *ethos* arising from the political ideology. Democratic ideology and the civic anxieties regarding oligarchy are manifestly exploited, thereby becoming a significant structural element. This narrative is underpinned by a variety of structural devices employed, such as repetition and ring composition, which reinforce Diodoros' legal argumentation. The narrative makes extensive use of historical exempla and culminates in elegant (if suspect) arguments relying on the intent of the lawgiver.

Finally, having explored the variety and dynamics of the narrative of law in Dem. 22, I study the effectiveness and the plausibility of this narrative and the way in which its structural elements, recurrent topics and popular beliefs are orchestrated in the speech to maximize its rhetorical potential.

Caitlin GILLESPIE (Pennsylvania)

Poppaea Venus in Tacitus' *Annals*

This paper takes its impetus from Dio's attestation that Poppaea received posthumous cult as Sabina Venus (Dio 63.26.3). Examining Poppaea's connection to Venus allows us to access a set of problems inherent in the relationship between the Julio-Claudian family and Venus Genetrix; such issues are dramatized with particular clarity in Tacitus' *Annals*. I argue that Tacitus reinterprets the assimilation of Poppaea to Venus so as to critique Poppaea specifically, and the practice of imperial divinization more generally.

Tacitus' characterization of Poppaea evinces two Venus types: she is assimilated to the goddess of beauty and the divine *genetrix* of the Julian *gens*. The types are combined in Nero's *laudatio funebris*, in which the emperor praises her beauty and motherhood of a divine infant (*Ann.* 16.6.2). Tacitus records that Poppaea's seductive beauty enflamed Nero's desire (*Ann.* 14.1.2), and the birth of Claudia Octavia proved her merit as a *genetrix* (*Ann.* 15.23.1). The honors granted upon Claudia's birth, especially the title of Augusta, indicate the role of mother and daughter to continue the imperial dynasty (*Ann.* 15.23.2). Claudia's early death and Poppaea's death while pregnant are evidence for Poppaea's failure as an imperial *genetrix*. Nevertheless, Nero's sycophantic senate awards divine honors to mother and child.

Tacitus' critique of imperial divinization is manifested during the trial of Thrasea Paetus. Paetus is charged with disbelief in Poppaea's divinity (*Ann.* 16.22.3), and condemned in the Temple of Venus Genetrix (*Ann.* 16.27). The location symbolically connects the cults of *diva* Poppaea and Venus Genetrix. However, despite her venusian beauty, Poppaea failed as the *genetrix* of Nero's heir. Her character thus emerges as a problematic Venus. Reading Poppaea through this lens reveals the complexities underlying the practice of divinization and the legendary connection between the imperial family and Venus as emphasized under Nero, and as criticized by Tacitus.

Helen GILMORE-McVEIGH (Maynooth)

Assembly-women in Chariton's *Callirhoe*

Chariton's novel is believed to have been written in the first century AD, but is set in the late fifth/early fourth century BC. *Callirhoe* features historical figures such as the Sicilian general Hermocrates, and the Persian ruler Artaxerxes II and, while the novel clearly contains elements from fifth-century society, Chariton's representation of women might be called anachronistic. Women are included in some formal assemblies held in Syracuse and the majority of crowd scenes in the novel include both genders. Additionally, crowd debates in Babylon provide women with individual voices, though there is still a limit to women's power.

In this paper, I will explore women's participation in the novel's several assemblies and crowd scenes. The purpose of Chariton's assemblies will be discussed and Syracusan assemblies will be compared with formal meetings in Babylon. I will also examine Syracusan and Persian crowd scenes and the forms which such scenes take. The presence of women within the crowd will be investigated and I will seek to establish a pattern with regard to women's participation.

I will make reference to Egger's examination of women in the five Greek novels, in particular, her analysis of women's education and role in the public and private sphere (B. Egger (1990), *Women in the Greek Novel: Constructing the Feminine* (Diss.) (Irvine), pp.221ff.).

Liz GLOYN (Birmingham)

"Books Will Speak Plain When Counsellors Blanch": Reading as Consolation in Seneca

Seneca's deployment of reading as a consolatory strategy reveals several previously unexplored facts about his approach to consolation and to reading. Although he ostensibly recommends a different kind of reading in each *consolatio*, he suggests that literature can offer an intellectual comfort to a suffering mind, regardless of what type of work is being read. He also views reading

as an active process which spurs the reader to independent action and reflection, not a passive process in which the reader merely absorbs comfort from the text they read.

In his consolation to Polybius, Claudius' imperial freedman, Seneca recommends that he returns to his books and offers various potential literary projects that he might undertake, such as a biography of Claudius and of the brother that Polybius mourns. Claudius' biography is recommended as particularly suitable because Polybius' mind will be diverted from its own internal struggles by handling such serious and austere subject matter (8.4). In his consolation to his mother Helvia, Seneca suggests philosophical study as her most appropriate recourse. It will provide long-lasting protection from the whims of Fortune, as opposed to the mere distractions of examining her estate accounts (27.2-5) – in this case, literary pursuits trump maths for consolatory purposes.

Whether Seneca believes his addressee should be reading literature or philosophy, he clearly thinks that the process of reading plays an important and underappreciated part in the consolatory process. Properly directed reading transforms a person's mental state, helping them move beyond grief and into emotional equilibrium. Seneca sees reading not just as a simple distraction from grief, but as a dynamic way of providing comfort and restoring intellectual balance to his addressees.

Natalia GOUROVA (KCL)

What did ancient Greeks mean by 'Cimmerian Bosphorus'?

In this paper we are going to explore the transformation of the meaning of the name '*Cimmerian Bosphorus*' in the period between the 6th and the 1st centuries BC. This name came initially into use as a hydronym, denoting the strait that connected the Euxineus Pontus and the lake Maeotis. It was used in this sense from the period of the Greek colonisation of the Northern Black Sea region until the late antiquity.

The first acquisition of political connotations of the name in the 5th c. BC was related to the rise of the polis of Panticapaeum and to its rising role as the centre of the political power of the Bosporan dynasties. The use of the name by Attic orators as an alternative for Panticapaeum made it part of the official diplomatic language of the 4th c. BC, which affected also its use, in this meaning, during the 3rd c. BC.

In a clear political sense the name having been used as part of the official title of the Spartocids, came to denote from the 4th c. BC one of the three parts of their state. With the transformation of the Bosphorus into a kingdom, from the beginning of the 3rd c. BC, the name Bosphorus began to be used for denoting the entire Bosporan state. Later on, when, at the very end of the 2nd c. BC, the Bosphorus was incorporated into the kingdom of Pontus under Mithridates Eupator, the name Bosphorus acquired a new meaning, that of a geographical territory which was simply a part of a larger realm.

Thus, the transformation of the meaning *Bosphorus* reflects in fact the stages of the formation and transformation of the Bosporan state.

Gillian GRANVILLE BENTLEY (KCL)

Leucippe's Haircut: the case for the sub-literary in the Ancient Greek Novel

PBerol inv. 13927 is a papyrus that contains an apparent list of stage props for a mime performance. In 1929, Manteuffel associated it with Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, because the scene for which the items were required appeared to be titled 'Leucippe'. The relationship, now considered questionable at best, was soon doubted. But the coincidence in name has continued to tantalize scholars. Elisa Mignogna, in a 1996 article, revived the argument to speculate on the implications of such a connection. In the case that the papyrus and the novel do share more than a name, an exciting interplay between popular performance and the novel begins to appear. But

does Mignogna go too far in using the novel to paint potential reconstructions of the performance? The immediate answer is yes. The reconstruction of mime plots has been looked at with suspicion since Reich's imaginative 1903 publication, *Der Mimus*. And yet, the urge for caution may impede any attempt to place both the papyrus and the novel within a coherent context.

I will review the case of Leucippe's haircut and its tantalizing if tenuous possibilities in order to raise further questions regarding the desire to discover one-to-one correspondences between episodes in the novels and other extant works or fragments. Perhaps Leucippe's haircut in the novel and PBerol inv. 13927 do have a relationship, mediated by traditions in sub-literary performance culture. I wish to weigh the possible expansion of our views with the danger of willfully advancing the implausible. Can we open ourselves to the possibilities of dialogue, particularly in reference to performance culture and the novel, without exceeding the bounds of responsible scholarship?

David GREENWOOD (Edinburgh)

Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian: a key methodological distinction

The Emperor Julian is very popular today, but his writings against Christianity are frequently characterized as poorly argued, and both derivative from and inferior to, his predecessors Celsus and Porphyry. However, there is another aspect to Julian's rhetoric which I believe suggests him to be the most resourceful opponent Christianity faced in that era. His writings may bear superficial similarity to those of Celsus and Porphyry, but he goes beyond them in one particular. This was obscured by his death shortly after writing *Against the Galileans*, preventing the fuller development of a theme which he had begun the year before. Not only did Julian intend to immediately remove Christianity from its dominant status, he apparently engaged in a deliberate re-crafting of Hellenic deities, transferring theological characteristics from the Christian Christ to Asclepius and Helios. Indeed, Julian appeared to have borrowed specific texts to do so. I will demonstrate this by placing Julian's comments in their proper context by discussing the relevant Christian writings and previous reaction to such by Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian, followed by Julian's later borrowing from Christian texts of attributes for a Hellenic deity.

Leonardo GREGORATTI (Udine)

The Palmyrenes east of the Euphrates

In several recent studies Palmyra's evocative ruins began to appear as the geographical centre of a vast organisation aimed at the exploitation of the city's extensive territory and its potential. Despite several aspects that are still unclear, it seems that a more complex concept of Palmyra emerged based on the study of the geographical and socio-political context in which it was placed. Unfortunately, such a comprehensive point of view had not been applied to those administrative Palmyrene entities which constitute, by far, the most interesting subject for scholars dealing with caravan long-distance trade, that is, the merchant colonies the inhabitants of the Syrian town established in the cities of Arsacid Mesopotamia as attested by several epigraphic documents from Palmyra itself. In the general scarcity of sources regarding the Parthian Empire, these commercial communities are hardly considered by modern scholars more than place names without substantial reality. They tend to be considered, exclusively in their geographical connotation, as islands of "western activity" floating in the middle of that desert of knowledge that is the Arsacid Mesopotamia. Priceless information can be obtained by leaving an exclusive roman-centric approach to the matter and taking into consideration the socio-political milieu to which these colonies belonged. This paper aims to establish what we really know about the Mesopotamian Palmyrene comptoirs by connecting the information provided by the Palmyrenes themselves with what is known about the history of Parthian Mesopotamia.

Luca GRILLO (Amherst)

Self-fashioning, praise and invective in Cicero's *De Provinciis Consularibus*

One year after returning from exile Cicero was forced by the triumviri to defend their plans: to advocate for Caesar's reassignment in Gaul and to create the conditions for allotting Syria to Crassus and Macedonia to Pompey. The oration *On the Consular Provinces* (pronounced to the senate in late summer 56) is often considered one of the lowest points of Cicero's life and career, yet it granted to the triumviri what their power, influence and money was unable to achieve, thus dramatically changing the course of Roman history. This paper considers the rhetorical strategy of the speech. Specifically, I shall analyze the metaphoric language of shipwreck, subversion and contamination, considering its specific function in *On the Consular Provinces* and the specific contribution of this speech to Cicero's attempt at self-fashioning in other *post reditum* orations. I shall argue that Cicero creates a coherent narrative of a pest which, having spread from the centre of Rome to its provinces, was symbolized by his exile and countered by his return.

Hale GÜNEY (Exeter)

The self-sufficiency of Roman Nicomedia: perspectives in the *longue durée*

The Finleyan minimalist perspective on trade and the self-sufficiency of cities is one of the major points of debate in ancient economic studies. Whilst most cities were by and large taken for granted to be involved in agriculture, due to the lack of quantitative data derived from archaeological evidence (e.g. wine produce, consumption figures), the knowledge of self-sufficiency is largely qualitative, relying on ancient written sources referring to "fertile areas/rich in resources" or typological interpretation of numismatic/epigraphic material such as economic reflections on civic coins. The aim of this paper is to gauge the self-sufficiency of ancient cities in the case of Nicomedia, where systematic excavation has not yet been conducted. Taking L. Robert's approach further which qualitatively evaluates economic activities of Nicomedia and Prusias ad Hypium (Bithynia) in the light of travellers' accounts from the eighteenth and nineteenth century as well as ancient sources, I question the extent to which figures from the pre-industrial period can be used for the calculation of carrying capacity and consumption within the *longue durée*. In particular, I deal with cereals, a staple of the ancient diet, in order to estimate how much was produced and consumed in the city, determining the extent to which Nicomedia fits into a self-sufficient agricultural city type. This consequently sheds some light into civic income and expenses. The results highlight the importance of assessing the economic activities of individual cities in terms of their own features and dynamics rather than falling into over-generalisation which characterises the prevailing view of the ancient economy.

Nikolina HADJIGIORGI (UCL)

The Ageing Oedipus in Rome

This paper explores the ways in which the Sophoclean aged Oedipus insinuates himself in a new context and a new era. Seneca's *Phoenissae*, written also by an ageing author and five centuries after the Sophoclean version is the only other surviving literary treatment which deals with the fate of an aged Oedipus.

Given that the Roman drama shares the title and the immediate mythic context with Euripides' *Phoenician Women*, one expects a play which will repeat the Euripidean plot in its main lines, with Euripides being the main or even the sole influence/intertext. The Euripidean engagement is unambiguous, but precisely for that reason everything that does not fit into the Euripidean plot gains significance. Not only do we find many divergences from the Euripidean play, but we are presented also with an interesting compromise created by Seneca's desire to unite both Euripides and Sophocles; the prevailing intertextual dialogue needs some modifications in order to accommodate the combination of the two classic plays.

This paper deals with the ways in which such reshaping reflects chronological and cultural distance. For, while the Senecan drama shares a close intertextual relationship with Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus*, at the same time Seneca at certain points, especially in the delineation of the main hero challenges the Sophoclean version. The investigation of the scale and manner of Seneca's deviation from *Oedipus Coloneus*, a drama which was present both in general lines in his conception and in some key features of plot and place, highlights the inappropriateness of the Sophoclean hero for the specific educational-philosophical, rhetorical, cultural, literary imperatives both of Senecan drama and of his age.

Pauline HANESWORTH (Trinity St David)

Return Ticket: Heracles' Underworld Journey and the Eleusinian Mysteries

Having traversed the known – and unknown - world, battling monsters and dodging gods, Heracles is made to undergo that definitive heroic journey: he must face the horrors of Hades and retrieve the chthonic hound before escaping to the light of the upper world. In many accounts our ultimate hero accomplishes this through sheer superhuman strength. However, from the late archaic period onwards a different, less direct, mode of success is also articulated: that of Heracles' initiation into the Eleusinian Mystic Rites.

The links between Heracles' initiation and underworld journey are found not, as argued elsewhere, in any prescriptive *katabasis* experienced in the religious ritual, but rather in the relationships engendered by the rites between initiate and god. In so doing this link is illustrative of and, paradoxically, prescriptive for the shifting ancient Greek perceptions of heroism. By charting and reflecting on the mythmakers' choice between the two methods of success we will see how they reflect the changing levels of agency, and heroic independence, in the accomplishment of this journey and also how the choice of initiation results in a situation whereby ordinary mortals and the paradigmatic Heracles are rendered almost equal in their initiatory experiences and resultant states.

Ultimately, an analysis of the relationship between Heracles' underworld journey and his initiation has implications not only for an understanding of this ultimate heroic journey but also for an understanding of these journeys' roles in reflecting, negotiating and determining the fluctuating boundaries of hero and man.

Juliette HARRISSON (Birmingham)

The Virgin's Dilemma

See abstract for panel 'Writing the Words: Scholarship and Original Fiction'.

Greta HAWES (Bristol)

Off the Beaten Track: Heracles' Labours in Pausanias' *Description of Greece*

The striking geographical spread of Heracles' Labours meant that this hero was never claimed exclusively by any particular region. In this way, his mythology was both localised – in the sense that individual episodes were tied to specific locations scattered across the Greek world – and Panhellenic, since the Labours, taken together, constituted one of the principle narrative canons of Greek culture.

It is no surprise, then, to find Heracles as a recurring protagonist in Pausanias' *Description of Greece*. And yet, surprisingly, Pausanias does not narrate his most canonical achievements. Instead, he records minor events from the hero's life which took place as he travelled between his Labours. The obscurity of these stories has not previously been noted, nor its significance explored.

In this paper, I argue that the "local" character of these stories provides us with a glimpse of how far-flung Greek communities sought to demonstrate their place in the Hellenic world by tying their own mythical traditions to the most famous of its heroes. The geographical spread of the

Labours, then, is crucial to Heracles' fame as such travels not only confirm his exceptionalism but also express the communality of Greek identity. Further, the interplay between Panhellenism and localism in Heracles' mythology is inherent in the *Description of Greece*. Travel – and travel writing – is full of encounters with obscure lore and localised knowledge. But the significance of these traditions is expressed – even if only implicitly – in terms of broader networks of knowledge. Thus, the relevance of Pausanias' obscure stories of Heracles is only fully comprehensible when the reader understands them within the assumed framework of the canonical Labours.

Kimberley HAWKINS (Swansea)

Money, Money, Money: *Bonfire of the Vanities*, *Pompeii*, and *Petronius' Satyricon*

The Roman author Petronius has enjoyed a chequered reception history. There have been several revivals of interest in his novel the *Satyricon* since the end of the Roman Empire. The most recent revival occurred near the beginning of the 20th Century, reaching a peak in the 1920s with a public trial prosecuting the publishers Boni and Liveright for the publication and distribution of an unexpurgated translation of the *Satyricon*. This was followed just a few years later by the publication of *The Great Gatsby*, which has showed signs of having been inspired in part by the *Satyricon*.

Since then, the *Satyricon* has tended to go underground. In the America of the 1960s it enjoyed some status as a text of the counterculture. The theme of homosexuality in the *Satyricon* has also proved to be an inspiration to homosexual writers such as Gore Vidal. Most recently however, the theme of wealth and greed has once again appealed to modern Western society. In the pre-credit-crunch boom period of the 1980s and 1990s corporate investment and business dominated, and the self-made tycoon reigned supreme. There are two texts of this period that reference this cultural milieu. Tom Wolfe's 1980s novel *Bonfire of the Vanities* is a scathing satire on the driven world of law and financial investment. Robert Harris' novel *Pompeii* is a Roman whodunit that features a ruthless freedman millionaire. Both novels appear to draw on the *Satyricon* for inspiration, in particular the character of Trimalchio. This paper will look at these two receptions of Petronius and discuss how they each use the *Satyricon* as material for themes, plotlines, and characters.

Jan HAYWOOD (Liverpool)

Herodotus and the Inscriptions: A Reappraisal

In this paper I wish to re-investigate Herodotus' fairly substantial inclusion of epigraphic records. Herodotus, who is the first extant author to quote an epigraphic source (see now Livingstone and Nisbet: 2010), draws on all manner of inscribed items, from royal tombs to myriad votive offerings. But, regardless of this prescient inclusion of inscribed materials within a literary context, scholars have generally approached Herodotus' use of inscriptions with considerable skepticism. Stephanie West (1985) has well shown the many shortcomings of Herodotus' account when compared against the expectations of modern epigraphers, in part building on earlier works which question Herodotus' veracity (note especially Fehling: 1971). From a different perspective, others have concentrated instead on the difficult task of locating potential instances whereby Herodotus derived his information from an epigraphic source (so Raubitschek: 1961; Pritchett: 1985).

In contrast to these approaches, I intend to analyse specifically the manner in which the narrator introduces and explains inscriptions within individual *logoi*, and the impact that these references then have on the historian's credibility. Indeed, while there are a number of puzzling aspects to Herodotus' use of inscriptions (e.g. those attached to the mythical Egyptian pharaoh Sesostris, 2.102-106), it is nonetheless clear that inscriptions are evoked in order to persuade Herodotus' audience that his is a reliable voice. Moreover, I will also explore Herodotus' active integration of obscure contextual details surrounding epigraphic records, often emphasising their ornamental – even esoteric – nature within his text.

Ultimately, then, I will propose that Herodotus' application of epigraphic records is more nuanced than many have assumed; voiceless inscriptions are multivalent in meaning and must be unravelled in order to uncover the truth—a complex process which the “father of history” repeatedly assures his audience he has fully recognised.

Carolyn HIGBIE (Buffalo)

From Votary to Fakery: Collecting in the Greek World

In modern scholarship, Greek temples are often referred to as museums and there is some truth to the image: over centuries, sanctuaries were filled with gifts from worshippers. These offerings could be viewed by visitors who might be shown the most important objects by temple officials. Temples were not, however, really museums. Objects might have been gathered in a sanctuary and viewed, but there was no sense of conscious display, nor is there any evidence that temple authorities set out to acquire objects to create a coherent collection.

Early Greek rulers, like their counterparts in sanctuaries, did not collect so much as accumulate, then used their wealth as a mark of status. Unlike the Eastern monarchs and Egyptian pharaohs described by Herodotus, the Greeks did not lock their wealth away: Alcmaeon, for example, obtained heaps of gold from Croesus, which he used to establish his family as a chariot-racing power and to make donations to temples for his victories. Like Alcmaeon, other Greeks used what they acquired to make conspicuous displays in festivals, contests, and sanctuaries.

By the Hellenistic age, Greek rulers were becoming purposeful accumulators – collectors, in other words. Alexander the Great and his circle opened Greek eyes to the art, archives, botany, and zoology of the East, sending back not only reports of their finds but some of the objects themselves. His successors, particularly the Ptolemies and the Attalids, engaged in what I might call competitive collecting. They desired and collected certain objects like books for the status which they offered their owners, in somewhat the same way that victories in festivals and votive dedications had done for earlier Greeks.

In this paper, I examine the process by which Greeks became collectors rather than accumulators. I also take a quick look at one of the consequences of collecting: the rise of forgers and forgery as a subsidiary industry.

Louise HODGSON (Durham)

Negotiating Sulla

This paper will examine the exploitation and negotiation of Sulla's legacy during the civil wars of the 40s. In particular, it will investigate the difficulty faced by Caesar in winning hearts and minds as a prospective civil war victor, given the problematic Sullan precedent for victory in such a war. Caesar's opinion that Sulla did not know his political ABCs (Suet. *Caes.* 77) is well known; it is significant that this quotation, which links Caesar with his dictatorial predecessor, appears at all, let alone in a biography starting with Sulla's attempts to have the young Caesar killed. Sulla supposedly saw 'more than one Marius' in Caesar (Suet. *Caes.* 1) and Caesar aligned himself with Marius during his early career (Plut. *Caes.* 7), but the obvious precedent for anyone marching on Rome was Marius's opponent, Sulla. This posed an image problem for Caesar no less than for Pompey, Sulla's *carnifex adolescentulus*, as Caesar himself recognised (cf. *Att.* 9.7, 9.14). The civil wars of the 40s are therefore a historiographical crux for the construction of Sulla's reputation (cf. Dowling 2000: 309–10*) and Sulla's dictatorship is a point of tension: Caesar was obliged to engage with and dissociate himself from such an awkward precedent, both implicitly, through the pointed application of *clementia*, and explicitly, as at *BC* 1.4–5, 7, where he associates Sulla with his civil war opponents. I shall argue that the need to negotiate Sulla's precedent was an important element of Caesar's ideological strategy and that by avoiding rather than embracing Sulla, Caesar laid the ground for the resort of the triumvirs to Sullan-style proscriptions after his murder – a

tactic justified on the grounds that Caesar's ostentatious *clementia* had done him little good (App. BC 8).

John HOLTON (Edinburgh)

Two opposing *dynastai*: Ptolemy and Perdikkas at Diodorus 18.33-36

Diodorus Siculus placed huge emphasis on the *diadochoi*, the Successors of Alexander the Great. Still extant are books 18-20, which chronicle these dynasts' exercises in power from 323 to 302 BC. Widely held to derive in large part, if not exclusively, from Hieronymus of Cardia, books 18-20 occupy an important role in Diodorus' *Bibliothēke* as a whole on account of their depth of detail and characterisation of personalities.

One of the most pivotal events in the early years of the diadochan period, and in the early account of Diodorus' eighteenth book, was the attack on Egypt by Perdikkas. This invasion, by the marshal of Alexander's empire after his death, was targeted against Ptolemy, the satrap of Egypt and erstwhile companion of the late Alexander. Diodorus' characterisation of these two figures results in a contrast, and reveals qualities or defects of each dynast with specific regard to their relations with the men under their command. From each intermediate characterisation of a quality (e.g. *euergetikos*, *epieikes*) or defect (e.g. *phonikos*, *biaios*) we can discern a final and total characterisation: Perdikkas is tyrannical where Ptolemy is beneficent.

This paper focuses on the nature of this contrast in characterisation and the extent to which it provides information regarding Diodorus' conception of a relationship between ruler and subject. It is possible that, in addition to Hieronymus, an encomiastic Ptolemaic source is employed by Diodorus for the account of Perdikkas' invasion of Egypt. This paper aims to illustrate the extent to which the contrast, based on relations with subjects, was constructed by Diodorus himself. In the course of the paper I will also discuss the position that the contrastive model occupies in historiography in terms of the influences it owes or is notably free of.

Phillip HORKY (Durham)

Indo-Iranian Cosmology and the Development of Presocratic Natural Science

I propose to investigate the social mechanisms that made possible the cross-pollination of wisdom between the Indo-Iranian priests and Greek philosophers in the 5th Century BCE. It has been recently argued (Horky 2009 and Burkert 2004) that Persian *magoi*, who were the practitioners of Indo-Iranian wisdom, were diffused throughout the Persian Empire and engaged in the transaction of wisdom with elite intellectual communities in Babylonia, Egypt, and Ionian Greece following the ascendancy of Darius I. Evidence for such cross-linguistic intellectual transactions is often indirect but plentiful in early Greek historiography and philosophy, including the writings of those who extolled or accepted as legitimate intellectual borrowings from the Near East such as Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, Philip of Opus, Xanthus of Lydia, and Berossus, and those who criticized such borrowings, such as Heraclitus, the author of the Hippocratic *On the Sacred Disease*, Isocrates, and Theopompus. How did these cross-linguistic transactions occur? I argue that the diffusion of Indo-Iranian wisdom took a shape similar to the diffusion of Homeric and Orphic poetry, i.e., through rhapsodic performance of a 'priestly' caste. Songculture had been the norm in Indo-Iranian priestly traditions since the *Rig Veda*, and the presence of formulaic poetic elements in the corpus of the *Avesta* (especially the older texts such as the *Gāthās* and the *Yašna Haptanḥāiti*) confirms a persistent rhapsodic practice. Iranologists (Skjærvo 2007 and Schwartz 1991) have usefully looked to Greek rhapsodic practice as a comparative model for the composition of the *Avesta*. I would extend this approach by examining the social mechanisms that, importantly, *differentiated* the Magist priestly class from Homeric bards. Since both groups appear to have had an effect on the development of Greek natural science, it is important to distinguish the precise modalities of cultural inheritance that led to the construction of Greek cosmology.

Fabian HORN (Ludwig Maximilians)

Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes: Gifts in the Iliad

The importance of gifts and gift-exchange in archaic societies has long been recognised in socio-anthropological theory. Notwithstanding the question whether the Homeric poems may reliably be assigned to any historical time, the theory of gift economy has been brought to bear on Homeric society and enhanced our understanding of social interactions in Greek epic poetry.

The principle of reciprocity lies at the heart of gift-giving, and gifts serve a double function, insofar as they may be rewards and acknowledgement for services already rendered or create an obligation to reciprocate either in a non-material form or with a counter-gift. The relative hierarchy of the two parties involved in any gift exchange is essential to the correct understanding of such a transaction. Assuming that Homeric society knew of competitive gift giving we are presented with a further area in which Homeric heroes engage in status rivalry.

This paper focuses on three instances of gift-exchange in the *Iliad* whose interpretation is fundamental to our understanding of the work as a whole. The passages to discuss are Agamemnon's offer of compensatory gifts in *Iliad* Book 9, the actual handover of these gifts in Book 19, and the bestowal of the victory prize in the spear-throwing contest on Agamemnon by Achilles in Book 23. It will be argued that Agamemnon adopts a potlatch strategy to assert his economical superiority, but Achilles successfully deflects this gift attack by first declining and later displaying a studied indifference to Agamemnon's wealth. In assigning him a victory prize by default, Achilles then turns the tables and socially subdues Agamemnon by means of an insultingly minor gift.

I hope to demonstrate that beneath the surface of apparently straightforward (trans)actions Agamemnon and Achilles continue their quarrel and engage in an acrimonious struggle for socio-political supremacy which is ultimately won by Achilles.

Joseph HOWLEY (Columbia)

Book "production" in Imperial Rome: irruptions of materiality into the textual plane

This paper seeks to understand the significance of the fortuitously-available material text in the intellectual world of Antonine Rome. It takes as its focus the peculiar and rare moments in the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius in which a character is able to *produce* from somewhere on his person the right book for a situation, with sometimes improbable specificity. It shows that these moments not only advertise the book-carrier's authority and expertise, but also are indicative of key Imperial values around engagement with textual media.

These moments of materiality are all the more interesting for the way Gellius usually elides the mechanics of reading: a *liber* may be a volume or a work, and one may *legere* with ears or eyes. But he just happens to be carrying the right volume of Varro's *Satires* to expose a fraud (13.31); his friend wins an argument by flourishing Book 25 of the *Human Antiquities* (17.3); and, in response to questions, a philosopher pulls Epictetus from his satchel (19.1). Material texts are summoned from libraries (1.2, 19.5), settle arguments (2.3, 9.14, 13.21, 18.5, 18.9), risk violation (1.7), and serve as potent metaphors (4.18, 9.4, 9.15, 10.27, 14.6).

This paper surveys the most significant of these episodes in Gellius to better understand the dynamics of the moment of material production, and how it differs from, observing monumental text, happening across a book by accident, or citing text from memory. It makes brief comparison to Suetonius's production of primary documents, and draws on recent work on ancient literacy and ebook culture (in which one might produce *any book at all* from one's toga). Not by accident is the book in Gellius's hands of which a Greekless friend demands explanation is Plutarch's *Περὶ Πολυπραγμοσύνης*, which itself uses textual media as a potent metaphor (520E) for control of the mind's attentions.

Steven HUNT (Cambridge)

An investigation into the supply of Classics teachers in the secondary schools sector, 2011-12

This report is based on an investigation funded by the CA into the teacher supply for Classics in the secondary schools sector. It results from concerns that the number of trained teachers supplied through the traditional routes of the PGCE and PGDE will not keep pace with demand. This has been occasioned by the following factors: a reduction in the number of funded places on the PGCE by the Training and Development Agency (TDA), the closure of the PGDE course in Scotland, the high numbers of Classics teachers leaving the profession each year, and the likelihood of increased demand in the future by state schools which have recently started Classics teaching as a result of incentives such as the Gifted and Talented programme and the English Baccalaureate.

The report examines the training received through the Graduate Teacher programme (GTP), which is the other main route into teaching apart from the PGCE by means of evidence received from the TDA, interviews with school tutors and questionnaires and interviews with GTP trainees. It investigates the following features: the factors which encourage trainees to follow the GTP route, the nature of the training which GTP trainees receive, and the factors which affect the training provision which schools can provide as part of the GTP route.

As part of this investigation the author has worked closely with a GTP school consortium which has recently been awarded "Training School" status by the Department for Education, with one of its aims to focus on Classics teacher training. The report focuses therefore on the sort of provision that such a school could make as a regional centre for organising effective training for Classics teachers on the GTP route and for providing other sorts of INSET training.

In conclusion the report identifies the factors which are affecting the supply of Classics teachers by the PGCE, PGDE and GTP routes and makes recommendations as to how government and the classical organisations should respond.

Ersin HUSSEIN (Warwick)

Localizing the Global in Roman Cyprus

The culture of Roman Cyprus has traditionally been considered as obscure, uniform and anonymous. By comparison, Cyprus' prehistory has been long recognised as one of connectivity, innovation and transformation. With the impact of Greek culture across the region, the concept of Hellenization became synonymous with Cyprus' Archaic and Hellenistic periods, and later, Romanization with the Roman period. Having been absorbed into the phenomenon of the 'global' Greek and Roman Empires, Cyprus, like many other dominated regions, produced material culture, practiced religion and engaged in a society which reflected the many wider themes and concerns of these empires. However, it seems unusual that as an island geographically positioned at the crossroads of the eastern and western worlds, Cyprus and its peoples were suddenly incapable of driving, or at least influencing, the shape of their culture and identity.

This paper seeks to challenge this unfair interpretation of Roman Cyprus' culture and identity by presenting the Cypriot Oath of Allegiance to Tiberius. A re-examination of the inscription will aim to demonstrate that Cyprus was in fact politically savvy in aligning itself with the wider, global concerns of the Roman Empire. The inscription shows innovation and acute awareness on the part of the Cypriots in expressing their loyalty to the Roman emperor, while managing to maintain their local identity. The prominence of Cypriot deities in the inscription gives a sense not only of their national identity, but also highlights the concept of micro-identities and regional variation in the island; thus contradicting any previous notion of the homogeneity of Roman Cyprus, which ultimately contributes to the overall picture of Cyprus' history as dynamic and evolving.

Alex IMRIE (Edinburgh)

A Manipulative Matriarch?: Re-evaluating the image of Julia Domna

It is often assumed that within the Severan imperial household there was a thinly veiled factionalism in which Julia Domna tried to promote the interests of her younger son, Geta, against Caracalla. Some have argued that she pressured Septimius Severus into elevating Geta to the rank of Augustus in AD 209. Sharing the principate was an uneasy arrangement that both Caracalla and Geta found impossible to bear after their father's death. It ultimately resulted in Geta's murder at Caracalla's order in late AD 211.

This paper will challenge the historically accepted view of Julia. In addition to exploring the possible reasons that Septimius Severus may have had for promoting Geta himself, it will question the notion that Julia would have attempted to promote her younger son to imperial power when Caracalla had been established as the heir apparent for over a decade. I will argue that the image of Julia as a manipulator is based upon little primary evidence and a problematic analysis of that which does survive – namely the erroneous and often contradictory account of the *Historia Augusta*.

Kazutaka INAMURA (Cambridge)

Justice in Exchange: Aristotle's Theory of Gift-giving in NE V.5

My paper will examine ancient Greek practices of gift-giving from a philosophical perspective with reference to Aristotle's concept of 'justice in exchange', formulated in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book V, Chapter 5. In particular, I will consider what element Aristotle has in mind as a criterion for estimating the value of a product to make things commensurable with each other in exchange, and how Aristotle defines a 'just' price of a product.

Usually, three elements have been considered to be the criterion: the relation between the supplies of and demands for a product (neo-classical economists), the labour cost necessary for making a product (Marxian economists), and the 'status' of a producer in a community (Karl Polanyi). My paper however argues that Aristotle has in mind the benefit a recipient will have from a product as a criterion for estimating the value of the product.

To this end, I will draw attention to the notion of 'reciprocity', one element of an ordinary Greek view on justice, helping friends (reciprocity) and harming enemies (retribution). Although Socrates criticises this view on justice in Plato's *Republic* I (335B-E) and his criticism had great influence on the thoughts of Christian philosophers, Aristotle thinks that reciprocity is indispensable for maintain civic relationship even in the exchange of goods. My paper therefore clarifies that in *NE* V.5 Aristotle has voluntary gift-giving between citizens in mind, although many commentators on this chapter presupposes the exchange in a market economy. In addition, in the light of the concept of reciprocity, the most enigmatic passage (1133a31-b3) in *NE* becomes intelligible in the sense that Aristotle regards the reciprocal benefit citizens will gain from the product of each other as a necessary element for making gift-giving possible between them.

Lucy JACKSON (Oxford)

The *Rhesus*, fourth-century tragedy and the development of the tragic chorus

It is generally held now that the *Rhesus*, originally attributed to Euripides, is unique in being our only extant example of a fourth-century BC tragedy. Dogged by questions of authenticity and date, the play has frequently been evaluated from dogmatically negative or defensive viewpoints. The partial nature of the resultant bibliography has, until recently, eclipsed a more ahistoric evaluation and appreciation of this thought-provoking example of Greek drama.

In this paper I focus on the nature and role of the chorus within this play. I argue that the *Rhesus* displays a remarkable array of choral dramaturgical functions and, returning it to its likely

historical context, the text provides a valuable corrective to a common but unexamined assumption about the role of the chorus in late-classical drama.

When placed in dialogue with the choruses of fifth-century tragedy, it is possible to discern marked alterations in certain choral conventions. Most striking perhaps is the increase in single lines being assigned to individual chorus members, a technique that changes the aural texture of the drama, but also what the chorus embodies on stage. Finally, I explore what the reasons behind such a fragmentation of the choral voice might be, going beyond the usual argument concerning 'the rise of the actor' and taking into account the practicalities of big-business theatre in the fourth-century.

Paula JAMES (Open University)

Hercules as working class hero

Amongst many motifs and characters 19th century Labour Movement banners claimed from the Classical world, Hercules was the only one to become a visually arresting symbol of Trades Union struggle. In the early 1890s the Greco-Roman superman was portrayed in the Dockers' banner as a liberator strangling the snake of capitalism. The design was clearly inspired by Lord Leighton's 1877 bronze, *Athlete Struggling with a Python* (see Ravenhill-Johnson and James, forthcoming) but this naïve rendition epitomised the militant mood of the workers at the wharfs and converted a hero of Labours to a labouring hero. In an industry where coal heavers could be admired for having the 'strength of a Hercules' (see Loomis, 1994, p.59) the aristocracy of muscle amongst sections of the Dock workforce was wonderfully illustrated in the banner. This paper will demonstrate that the Dockers' Hercules also brings the baggage of Christian proselytising into the struggle against casualisation and was a much more multi-layered and culturally complex symbol of the strike and the strikers than first meets the eye. What seems like a sea change from the collaborative discourse of emblem design aimed to reassure the ruling classes (the monumental, sanitised and intricate certificates and banners of Bricklayers, Carpenters, Stonemasons etc) to a confrontational statement about the exploitation of labour ultimately affirms the legitimacy of the British empire abroad while heroising the labouring masses at home. How might we re-assess Hercules' cultural trajectory in the light of this particular appropriation and are classical symbols bound to be two edged swords in the development of revolutionary consciousness?

Theodora JIM (Hong Kong)

Eleusis and the Athenian empire: the economic dimension of the Eleusinian First-Fruits Decree

It is a well-known fact that in about the late fifth century B.C., Athens issued the famous Eleusinian First-Fruits decree to the whole of the Greek world, requiring the Athenian allies, and encouraging all other Greeks, to send first-fruits of grain to Demeter and Kore. Although this important historical document is mentioned in almost every study of Athenian imperial politics, historians have traditionally interpreted the decree as a religio-political measure to reinforce Athens' control of her empire, whereas its economic dimension has been given little or no consideration. In this paper I will suggest that the decree's significance was twofold: not only was it ideologically important for the empire, but it might also carry real economic significance for Athenian democracy and society.

In mythology the gift of agriculture first appeared in Eleusis, and was spread to the rest of mankind by the hero Triptolemus. For this reason Athens was sometimes described as 'the mother-city of the crops', and could justifiably demand the Panhellenic contribution of grain to the two goddesses. Paradoxically, however, the Eleusinian First-Fruits decree betrays an overwhelming Athenian concern for, and dependence on, other cities' supply of grain. By situating the practice of bringing first-fruits to Eleusis in a comparative religious context, drawing on current anthropological theories of gift-giving, I will suggest that the decree might have been a

strategy to increase Athenian grain supply, and that the amount of grain envisaged might have been substantial had the decree been successfully implemented. It is the intertwined relations between religion, politics, and economics which make this inscription so intriguing.

James JOPE (Independent Scholar)

Lucian and philosophers

Lucian satirised every philosophical sect, but treated Cynics and Epicureans more indulgently than Stoics. Attempts to determine his own philosophical leanings have been unconvincing (Hall 35 ff.), and it is said that he will take whatever stance suits him.

Lucian insists that he does not favour any *doctrine* (e.g., *Hermotimus* 86), but if we consider personal ethics instead, a pattern emerges. He denounces greed, suggesting that philosophers should not seek financial gain; but even beyond this, he insists that they should charge nothing at all for teaching (*Nigrinus* 25). However outlandish this view may seem to modern professors, it was popular among the philosophers' rivals, rhetoricians (Trapp 249-250); and it was practised by Socrates.

Recent findings concerning Hellenistic philosophical schools' finances (Haake 2007, Joyal *et al.* 2009, Maffi 2008, Toulouse 2008) support its relevance.

While Stoics courted wealthy clients and prospered as educators of the Roman ruling class, Cynics withdrew from society. Epicureans withdrew into alternative communities, which could prosper with patronage but could not rival Stoics' financial success. Lucian objects less to Stoics' teachings than to their ambition and wealth.

Niki KARAPANAGIOTI (Reading)

Cross-Dressing in Herodotus' *Histories*

Cross-dressing can be perceived as a way of manipulating one's gender identity, since it disrupts binary categories such as man/woman by creating a disjunction between the anatomy of the male or female and the gender performed. In this paper, I will focus on Herodotus' narratives of cross-dressing in order to show how manipulation of gender renders one powerful. The classical world provides many opportunities to examine the connection between cross-dressing and the acquisition or reinforcement of power. In their majority, these ancient sources refer to male-to-female cross-dressing and concern Greek ephebic rites where, after appropriating and then casting off the feminine, the young man is permitted to enter the realm of adulthood and masculine power. Such a traditional and generally neglected story of male-to-female cross-dressing appears in Herodotus' book 5, where the adolescent son of king Amyntas, Alexander, dresses his men as women in order to punish the Persians for being disrespectful to Macedonian women and customs (5.18-20). In this story I will argue that the masculine power, temporarily concealed underneath female dress, ultimately emerges triumphantly as the male character/s is rendered stronger by his appropriation of the feminine. But, in Herodotus' *Histories* one also encounters a more complex case of cross-dressing. That is the story of the female-to-male cross dressers, the Amazons (4.110-117). Since they are dressed as men and behaved in a 'manly' way, they are able to enter the realm of masculine power. Their female sex in connection with their inconsistent dressing and behaviour enables the Scythians to see them not as enemies but as desirable mothers-to-be, likely to produce excellent children. Hence, their confidence that they would convert those 'manly' women into legitimate wives and mothers. Yet in the end, it is they who are trapped and enter the Amazons' world. Though generally neglected, these two Herodotean narratives constitute a fertile ground for the investigation of cross-dressing and its relation to power in the classical world.

Eleni KECHAGIA-OVSEIKO (Oxford)

Plutarch's 'heart': emotions, medicine and philosophy in the *Lives* and the *Moralia*

What does Plutarch mean when he says that Socrates 'turned the heart' (τὴν καρδίαν ἔστρεψε) of Alcibiades (*Quomodo adulator* 69F) and why does the heart 'jump' when in fear (*Quomodo in virtute profectus* 83B)? What exactly is the role of *thymos* (θυμός) in Plutarch's psychology and how does it relate to the soul and the heart? The usage and/or development of such psychological terms within ancient Greek literature can be difficult to delineate, as these terms are often hazy and can sometimes be applied interchangeably. Plutarch's work presents similar challenges, but also an excellent opportunity to see Plutarch's theory, as found in some of his essays (for example, *De tranquillitate animi*, *De cohibenda ira*), put into practice in his colourful narrative of great men in action in the *Lives*. This paper will explore Plutarch's use and understanding of psychological concepts as seen in a selection of passages on human emotions both from the *Lives* and the *Moralia*. In particular, my aim is to see a) how far Plutarch's usage of psychological terms reflects a coherent Platonist approach to the emotional part of a human self and b) whether his approach on the function and physiology of emotions was influenced from advances in medical knowledge in his times. Given Plutarch's firm Platonist allegiance and his good grasp of ancient medicine, it is unsurprising to discover that in dealing with concepts and terms such as the heart, the soul and the spirit, Plutarch creatively, and perhaps inevitably, conflates philosophical and medical principles.

Tony KEEN (Open University)

My Name is Nobody

See abstract for panel 'Writing the Words: Scholarship and Original Fiction'.

Elizabeth KEITEL (Amherst)

Caesar and Thucydides at Massilia

Scholars have detected echoes of Thucydides 7.71 in Caesar's account of the naval battle and siege of Massilia (BC 2.3-17, 22) (Carter, Powell and Kraus), but have not done much with this. This paper will analyze the Thucydidean elements in the structure and content of the scenes at Massilia with special attention to Caesar's deployment of the *urbs capta* motif.

Like Thucydides, Caesar describes a crucial naval battle fought near a besieged city. Each emphasizes the emotions of the bystanders and gives a less satisfactory account of the battle itself (Carter; Hornblower). Both accounts feature an unusually large amount of exhortation to the troops with reiteration of key themes from speech to speech (Luschnat). Each author increases the tension by describing the troops as embodying the safety of their city, of being the city itself. While both build up other battle scenes with speeches, Caesar never uses elsewhere this particular combination of technique and themes.

The long, dramatic narrative ends not with Massilia sacked but spared, a splendid example of Caesar's *lenitas* (Carter). But Caesar also underlines the perfidious rhetoric of the Massilians, who surrender and beg for mercy only to break the truce, by stressing the *miser cordia* (another key part of *urbs capta* scenes; Quint. 8.3.67) their pleas arouse in the Roman troops.

Finally, Caesar deploys the *urbs capta* topos in this narrative as part of his counterattack on Pompeian propaganda. On the eve of war, Rome is full of soldiers (BC 1.3.3). He mocks the passage of the SCU, normally invoked when the city was almost ablaze (BC 1.5.3; cf. Quint. 8.3. 68). Finally, the Pompeians took money from temples and overturned all laws of gods and men (BC 1.6.8; cf. Quint. 8.3.69). Caesar uses his own *urbs capta* rhetoric to warn the reader against the Pompeians'.

Steve KENNEDY (The Maynard School)

Plautus the Philosopher

Although the comedies of Plautus were modelled on Greek originals, it is hard to believe that these Greek plays would have appealed to a Roman audience of limited culture unless they contained elements which were readily recognisable and intelligible in everyday Roman life. Though none of Plautus' plays are didactic in nature, nevertheless many of his monologues are moralising, and frequently have little connection with the main plot of the play. At times Plautus is sententious, and attempts to convey moral instruction to the audience; the majority of such instructions are proverbs, other commonplaces, or doctrines familiar from Greek philosophy. In a similar vein as Leo Gourde's article which discussed the more serious aphorisms in Terence, and Beede who briefly examined the use of proverbs in Plautus, in this paper I will survey all the plays of Plautus to categorise his philosophical thought to show that Plautus was more than just a translator of New Greek comedy, but also as a comic philosopher made original contributions to Roman ethics.

Rober KETTERER (Iowa)

L'inclemenza di Tito: Translating Livy in Vivaldi's Tito Manlio (1719)

There is a peculiarly republican Roman narrative about a commander who, in a time of crisis, executes his son for disobedience or treachery. Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* names three fathers who ordered the public execution of their sons and watched it happen: Lucius Junius Brutus (2.5), Aulus Postumius Tubertus (4.29), and Titus Manlius Torquatus Imperiosus (8.6-7). The uniquely Roman combination of *imperium* and *patria potestas* with a stoicism forbidding mourning made the Livy's stories difficult to depict on stage without significant translation from the Roman cultural context.

Vivaldi's opera *Tito Manlio* makes such a translation of the Manlius Torquatus episode for eighteenth-century Italy. Its libretto, written by Matteo Noris for Venice in 1696, saw several revivals. Vivaldi's setting for a ducal wedding in Mantua in 1719 was notable for the lushness and variety of its orchestration and vocal settings. Noris's libretto and Vivaldi's music create a Baroque drama from Livy's narrative by turning Manlius Torquatus from a stoic Roman consul to an inflexible and tyrannical autocrat of the 18th-century type, who invokes the powers of the underworld to support his harsh judgments against both his son Manlio and his daughter Vitellia. Manlio's battle against the Latin Geminio (=Geminus Maecius in Livy) is characterized not as arrogant disregard of consular orders, but as medieval, chivalric heroism familiar from Ariosto or Tasso. The happy ending in which Manlio is rescued from execution by Decio (=Decius Mus) becomes a lesson in clemency and public law for the tyrannical ruler, its arguments influenced by Corneille's *Horace*. *Tito Manlio* itself exerted influence later in the eighteenth century on operas written about Lucius Junius Brutus and Metastasio's very successful *La clemenza di Tito*.

Scarlett KINGSLEY (Princeton)

Explaining Time: Age Distinctions and Historical Causation in Thucydides' *History*

Unlike the *Histories* of Herodotus, which do not connect age-groups to causality, Thucydides' *History* introduces and focuses on age-groups, the νέοι, and πρεσβύτεροι, as discrete entities with their own agendas and dispositions. Thucydides uses these to illustrate the mechanisms of human nature which result in historical process; indeed behavioral patterns that arise from generational distinctions are a foundational, though neglected, explanatory structure that is closely connected to causation in Thucydides' *History*. This paper, which builds on recent research on age-groups (Reinhold 2002; Bertman 1976; Strauss 1993; Dunn 2007), but differs by employing a historiographical rather than historical analysis, illustrates how these two groups propel the narrative forward at pivotal moments. For example, during the initial assembly scenes in both Athens and Sparta in Book I, the rhetoric of age division is carefully employed; and the narrator

himself includes the dynamic again in his own analysis of the psychological dispositions of the two leading powers at the beginning of the war (i.42.1; i.72.1; i.80.1; ii.8).

The main focus, however, is on the debate prior to the Sicilian expedition, between Nicias and Alcibiades (vi.12.2-13; vi.17-24), which particularly foregrounds the explanatory paradigms of age-divide. In particular, I look at the rhetoric dealing with the fervor of the νέοι, and Alcibiades' claims that such youthful spirit is responsible for Athens' successes, and then measure it against the yardstick of the narrative itself, in order to illustrate Thucydides' own negative assessment of Athenian youthful vigor. I also address Thucydides' negative assessment of the elders, as bastions of experience, knowledge, and good judgment, and I suggest that their regime of wisdom is explicitly challenged through the narration of their failures to anticipate correctly for the Athenian state.

Jacqueline KLOOSTER (Amsterdam)

Solving the *Vitulus*: An Aratean Echo in Horace *Ode* 4.2

Horace's *Ode* 4.2, (*Pindarum quisquis* ...) has been extremely influential in forming the Romantic image of Pindar (e.g. Goethe's *Wandlers Sturmlied*). Besides, as scholarship has amply recognized, the poem casts intriguing light on Horace's poetical creed. In Sapphic strophes, he seems to reject (while echoing its style) the Pindaric model in favor of a small-scale, subtle and modest ideal, firmly rooted in Roman tradition, but with Hellenistic overtones (*ego apis Matinae*... vs 27 sq). By this mixture of elements from various poetic styles and creeds, Horace arguably claims a kind of universal poetic talent for himself. A poet of Hellenistic refinement, who is capable of including references to the whole history of poetry.

Besides the images of the Theban swan and the Matine bee, the votive offering the poet promises at the end of this poem for the safe return of the Emperor underlines this. Whereas Iullus, the addressee, will offer ten bulls and ten cows on this occasion (53), Horace will offer only a tender calf, with on its head a mark resembling the moon on its third rising (54-60). Evidently this is a metapoetic image, but scholarship has never convincingly explained it. Apart from the obvious Callimachean opposition of small and refined versus big and pompous, I propose to refine this reading by recognizing that the mark on the calf's forehead is a precise reference to Aratus' *Phaenomena* 783-787, where the third rising of the moon is described. It is no coincidence that these lines are the site of Aratus' famous acrostic ΛΕΠΙΤΗ. By alluding to the most subtle marker of Hellenistic poetic subtlety, Horace claims for his own accomplished Roman poetry an even more exquisite Hellenistic λεπτότης than has hitherto been recognized.

Dimitra KOKKINI (UCL)

Gender and space: Jason's 'movement' in Euripides' *Medeia*

The purpose of this paper is to examine the interaction between themes and dramatic space in Euripides' *Medeia*. Jason's dissociation from his *oikos* is played out in physical terms, as well as in terms of duty and responsibility. The focus of my discussion is on the transgressive nature of Jason's physical abandonment of his *oikos* and his incorporation into the *oikos* of his new wife. This movement, the physical withdrawal from the house, is seen in opposition to Athenian (and Greek in general) marital practices and indicates a unique departure from patterns of male behaviour. A man (unlike women) does not simply join an *oikos*, he is the *oikos*. He is at liberty to leave his father's household and establish a new one, but he never abandons his own to join his wife's. Jason, however, does precisely that, leading to the conceptual paradox of an *oikos* without a *kyrios*, whose representative, moreover, is a woman. He has created a distance from his *oikos*, which is further supported by his movements in theatrical space – he is never seen entering or exiting the house; he remains visibly an outsider. I intend to show that the implications are twofold: on a first level, the physical distance from the house indicates a betrayal not only of his former wife and

children, but arguably of his *oikos* as a whole. But more importantly, the passivity of the moving points to the passivity that seems to characterise his life as a whole and aligns him with behaviour patterns associated more with female than male conduct. The paper argues that Jason's failure to comply with male expectations and patterns in spatial terms underscores his failure in behavioural terms and helps to align audience sympathy and judgment.

Roel KONIJNENDIJK (UCL)

'Neither the Less Valorous Nor the Weaker': Persian Military Might and the Battle of Plataia

A great deal of our modern understanding of Greek warfare and tactics is based on what might be termed stock explanations. Some of these explanations have not been questioned for decades; others have never been questioned at all since they were first written down thousands of years ago. Herodotos, for instance, declared that the Greeks won the battle of Plataia due to their superior equipment - they wore more armour and carried longer spears than their foes. His explanation of the event remains the only current one to this day. However, a closer look at the text of Herodotos produces very little to support the statement. The author himself describes Persian armour in some detail; neither their outfits nor their weapons would have put them at a significant disadvantage. Furthermore, at Plataia the Persians were for the most part fighting exactly the kind of battle they were most suited for, and it was the Greeks who had the worst of it due to their many military shortcomings. Hoplites in heavy equipment proved hopelessly inadequate against mobile Persian cavalry and archers. The unlikely Greek victory cannot be understood simply in terms of military technology. This paper seeks to show that the battle of Plataia was won through a combination of logistics, luck and sheer stubborn determination on the part of the Greeks. Once the battle had devolved into a clash of heavy infantry, it was this Greek tenacity that eventually caused Persian morale to shatter.

Ariadne KONSTANTINOOU (Jerusalem)

Dionysiac Landscape: The "maenadic mountain" between myth and history, art and literature

In this paper I compare the "maenadic mountain" in Euripides' *Bacchae* and in Late Archaic red figure cups, in order to inquire whether maenadism was known or even took place in fifth century BCE Athens. In addressing methodological questions regarding maenadism's historicity, Osborne suggests that a comparison between textual and visual sources could effectively expand our definition of "historical" sources. I take a similar approach to explore the spatial aspect of maenadism.

Classifying "maenadic mountains" as "imaginary" according to Buxton's distinction, I open with the "mountain" in Euripides' *Bacchae*, where it is a natural location opposed to the *oikos* and outside the boundaries of the *polis* (e.g. Eur. *Bac.* 32-8; 114-9; 723-7). Next, I discuss a small group of Dionysiac scenes depicted on Late Archaic cups attributed to the Brygos painter and his circle, in which the maenads are located next to what has been termed a "rock" (e.g. ARV² 406.4; 413.26; 406.3; 406.2; 393.39; 378.135). Contrary to the interpretation of such "rocks" as caves, I argue that these "rocks" primarily allude to the space of the "maenadic mountain", and that they depict the same conceptual landscape of Dionysiac ritual as the *Bacchae* over half a century later.

If tragedy and vase paintings denote "myth" rather than "reality", can the comparison of the two help us reach "historical" assumptions? Can we plausibly argue that Attic vase painters of the first half of the 5th c. and their clientele were acquainted with the "maenadic mountain" as the landscape of ritual maenadism, exactly because this ritual was known and performed in Athens at the time? Consistency in repetition would certainly support such a hypothesis. Dionysos blurs spatial boundaries, and the "maenadic mountain" also remarks on the limitations of binary categories, ascertaining how close the Dionysiac can be to our post-modern thinking.

Cezary KUCEWICZ (UCL)

Honour War and Body Parts: the mutilation of the dead in the *Iliad*

The attitude of ancient Greeks towards the dead could be best described in terms of respect and piety. The obligation to bury the dead was seen as one of the most powerful moral duties, constituting the key theme of many Athenian tragedies (Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Ajax*, Euripides' *Suppliants* and *Trojan Women*). In a similar manner, the treatment of war dead by the Greek armies was governed by a set of unwritten rules which allowed the defeated armies to retrieve and bury their dead. Any attempt at violating those rules was considered to be a serious war crime and an offence against the gods. Particularly condemned was the practice of disgracing or doing outrage to the corpse (*aikia*), which was widely regarded as the most unholy and barbaric act. And although we hardly encounter any instances of the mutilation of the dead in Classical Greece, its prominence in Homer's *Iliad*, with Achilles' maltreatment of Hector's body in the foreground, is puzzling, to say the least. This paper aims to investigate the importance of the mutilation of the dead theme in the Homeric epics, setting it in the context of the Archaic Greek concepts of morality, death and afterlife.

Asako KURIHARA (Osaka)

Pity and *Charis* in the Athenian Popular Court

Apollodorus, the eleventh Attic orator, explains his citizenship as being based on *charis* (goodwill) toward the polis. One possible explanation for his strong emphasis on the reciprocal aspect of citizenship could be his unusual status as naturalized citizen. His father Pasion, the wealthy ex-slave banker, had made enormous benefaction to the Athenian community and as a sign of gratitude he and Apollodorus were granted Athenian citizenship.

In this paper, I will concentrate on the reciprocal nature of pity in the Athenian forensic speeches. Appeal to pity is a well-known habitude of the defendants in the Athenian popular court. This kind of plea to emotion could be seen as a somewhat inappropriate intrusion of non-legal argument, but recently it has become clear that this form of appeal was valid only when the defendant did not deserve the punishment.

The notion that the defendant was innocent was, however, just a precondition of pity. Prosecutors often argued that the defendants didn't deserve to be pitied because they failed to show pity on previous occasions, or because, based on their character, they were seen as unlikely to pay the *charis* back in the future. Here pity was reciprocal, as was *charis*.

The Athenian popular court was a battlefield where litigants fought to draw a line between friends and benefactors of the community who deserves to be pitied, as opposed to public enemies who should be punished. Pity was thus far from functioning as a superfluous element in the court; rather it was an essential component within the central framework of persuasion.

Ioannis LAMBROU (UCL)

Competitive Singing as Competition in ΚΑΕΟΣ

Oral performance in a variety of settings, both private and public, was in all likelihood the predominant model for the production of early Greek epic poetry. It would be natural to suppose that an open market of this sort created scope for vigorous competition among singer-poets, even if we did not have evidence attesting to this (e.g., Hes., *WD* 25-26). So far, however, an appreciation of the synergy between individual identity and oral song tradition has not yet been attempted with respect to this agonistic milieu, given the paucity of direct evidence for the circumstances of the early Greek epic poets' performative framework. However, read with care, Homer's *Odyssey* through its self-reflexive interest in the poetics of performance offers us a core text to explore the dynamics of this competitive environment.

This paper argues that the two aspects of oral song culture, poetic itinerancy and performance upon invitation, have particular implications for competitiveness among oral bards, together with the existence of agreed criteria used by an audience to evaluate a singer poet's performance (e.g., the criterion of *vividness*) upon which subsequent dissemination of his reputation is based. Finally, this paper argues for the vital function of individual fame –*kleos*– as the motivating force and highest ambition for a travelling poet's endless itinerancy: only those bards who could succeed within such an openly, highly competitive framework, would see their prestige increasing and thus their fame disseminated. This spread of reputation in turn may have been their passport to aristocratic circles and a wide range of public occasions, and, also, what may have ultimately lured both private and public audiences into listening to them with the sort of unfailing attention idealized in the *Odyssey*.

Rebecca LANGLANDS (Exeter)

Roman Exemplary Wisdom

Ancient Romans of all classes and backgrounds would have encountered, debated, memorised and internalised the significance of a great many historical *exempla* in the course of their life, through rhetorical exercises at school, public funerals, urban statuary and architecture and literature. They would have encountered many alternative and often conflicting versions of the same story, and many very different stories illustrating the same moral principles. Focusing on key passages in a range of ancient Latin authors this paper will explore the way that the ancient Romans used heroic tales from their past as an important cultural resource for learning about, and thinking through, key moral issues (for instance about the ethics of war, sex or politics), and investigate how these *exempla* offered guidance for moral decision-making and behaviour

Bridget LANGLEY (Washington)

Absent presents: desire, distance and the *donum* in Ovid *Amores* 2.15

This paper examines Ovid's *Amores* 2.15, addressed to a ring the poet is giving to his mistress. The poet fantasizes about becoming the ring, realizes that, in ring form, he would fail as a lover, then sends the gift hopefully. I argue that this poem highlights a connection between gift-poems and *exclusus amator* poems in the *Amores*, both of which use intermediaries to communicate with the mistress. The sexual metaphor and gender inversion of 2.15 receive most scholarly attention in their own right (Booth 1991: 83, 171; McKeown 1998: 326). Yet they also emphasize the central theme of this intermediary poetry, indeed of love elegy itself (Connolly 2000: 73-75): the difficulty of effecting desire from a distance.

The importance of intermediaries in the *Amores* is clear from the choice of addressee. Traditionally, dedicators of gifts address the recipient (Murgatroyd 1984: 51), and the *exclusus amator* the door or mistress (Lyne 1980: 247). Yet Ovid's gift-poems are addressed to the gift (2.6, 2.15) or slave-functionary delivering it (2.11), and the *exclusus amator* addresses the slave-functionary-doorkeeper (1.6). This focuses attention on and attributes agency to the intermediary.

Besides the agency of their accompanying slave-functionaries, intermediaries have communicative properties themselves: messages written on tablets (1.11-12), a talking parrot (2.6), a door's helpful crack (1.6). These poems develop a metonymy between the poet, his words, and the intermediary. In contrast, 2.15's ring communicates physically with the mistress, and the poet's metamorphic fantasy pushes the metonymy between poet and intermediary to the limit. The gender inversion, poet-ring penetrated by mistress-finger, inspires a sexual fantasy which ends in absurd failure; communication from a distance thus also seems absurd. Like a closed door, the ring can become a barrier to contact (2.15.18), but despite anticipated failure the poet hopes the gift will be welcome, communication successful.

Kerry LEFEBVRE (Wisconsin)

Fake Philosophy: Lucian, the Stage, and the *Nigrinus*

Lucian's *Nigrinus* poses difficult questions of interpretation: is this work serious or satirical? If Lucian is writing satire, what or whom exactly is he mocking—the city of Rome, Nigrinus himself, or the convert who listens to him? I believe that Lucian has given us linguistic clues about how to interpret the *Nigrinus* through his use of words related to the stage, theater, and performance, and I argue that Lucian uses this language at key moments in the *Nigrinus* to expose and mock a variety of figures, including Nigrinus, the convert, false philosophers, and perhaps his readers as well.

The *Nigrinus* opens as the convert employs an extended theatrical metaphor to describe his conversion; unlike poor actors who get hissed off the stage, he does not wish to play his part in a laughable fashion, nor does he wish for his 'performance' to be judged unfavorably (*Nigr.* 8-9). Although the convert refers to his narrative as a performance and to himself as an actor in it as an attempt to legitimize his narrative and his conversion, in the world of religion and philosophy, to be a performer is a negative characteristic—Lucian uses similar language of performance in two other, negative philosophical lives to highlight the superficial and fraudulent nature of false philosophers (e.g. *Alex.* 12-35; *Peregr.* 36-45). By creating an image of himself as a philosopher and performer, the convert reveals himself as a duplicitous character and eventually implicates Nigrinus as an inauthentic philosopher (*Nigr.* 9, 18).

Finally, it is possible that Lucian mocks us as his readers—will we see through the illusion of the theatrical language and notice that Nigrinus is a fraud? Are we, as Lucian describes at the end of the *Alexander*, included among those who are able to understand his works correctly (*Alex.* 61)?

Jack LENNON (UCL)

The Polluted Table and the Cannibalistic Gaze: Marius, Caesar & Beyond

The insatiable appetite of the tyrant was a well-known motif in ancient literature. Through an inability to control the most basic of human urges and desires, the tyrannical soul quickly becomes a slave to its hunger, an all-consuming monster and, ultimately, a cannibal. Modern scholarship has shown particular interest in this topic, and especially the theme of cannibalism, both physical and through the tyrant's gaze. This paper focuses specifically on Roman presentations of tyrants within civil war, where the tyrant's gaze was directed against his own people. The tyrant's internal corruption may be revealed in the distortion of physical features, especially in the cases of Sulla and Pompey. We also see repeated references to the display and ocular consumption of the heads of illustrious citizens, an image loaded with symbolism, in which the tyrant transforms into a savage animal, decapitating and subsequently consuming the Roman state.

A new dimension may be added to this motif, however, by considering the extensive use of pollution within the depictions of those *generalissimi* who plagued the late Republic, and later, the Principate in A.D. 69. It lent itself to the themes of cannibalism and civil war, appearing frequently in references to the tyrant's appetites, and especially the dining table, which is contaminated by death and bloodshed. Furthermore, the use of pollution-vocabulary highlights the infectious nature of tyranny. The Roman tyrant pollutes himself, but also forces others to debase themselves, and attracts similarly corrupt individuals whose own appetites thrive during the periods of proscription and civil strife. Pollution is a language of crisis, and so was ideally suited to depictions of Rome's most turbulent periods, and the men who caused them through their ambition, greed, and insatiable appetites.

Victoria LEONARD (Cardiff)

Orosius and the Construct of Time in the *Historia adversus paganos*

The *Historia adversus paganos*, an apologetical work written in the early fifth century AD by the presbyter Paulus Orosius, has been described as ‘the first universal Christian History’, in temporal as well as geographic terms. The focus of this paper will therefore be two-fold: to explore the philosophical treatment of ‘time’ and to examine the physical structuring of time in the *Historia*. In opposition to Augustine’s psychological account of time the concept is not interrogated in the *Historia*, but is nonetheless fundamental to the political theology developed in the text, giving all history a purpose which transcends the narrative of events to complement the polemic of ever-worsening or ever-improving time. Beginning with the creation of the world and ending with ‘the present day’ (ca. 417 AD), Orosius calculates a total of 5199 years from the Creation to the birth of Christ, a precise dating scheme which gives authority to the division and subdivision of history. The organisation of world history is centred around empire, with the rise and fall of the Babylonian, Macedonian, and Carthaginian empires culminating in the Roman empire, preordained for the coming of Christ. This paper will seek to question how numerous methods of dating such as *ab urbe condita* (‘from the foundation of the City’) as well as Consular and Olympiad dating are synthesised in a Christian History and how the work anticipates dating from the birth of Christ (*anno domini*), not officially established until the sixth century. The absence of stratified time and predominance of linear time contributes to the broad eschatological consciousness of the text and accounts for the postmillenarian premise of ever-improving time under the (universal) peace of the Christian Roman Empire.

Charlotte LEROUGE (Paris-Ouest)

Fictitious Genealogies in the Legitimacy of Mithridates VI Eupator’s Ancestors

Thanks to Polybius and other classical authors, we know that Mithridates the Great’s ancestors claimed to be descended from one the Seven who killed the false Magus in 522. I would like to demonstrate that this particular pretention, if it shows that the Mithridatids truly established a strong link with their Persian past, is also a testimony of the Hellenization of the dynasty.

The concept of freedom, as a central value in the Greek narratives connected with this Persian lineage, is in contradiction with the image of an Oriental despot. In Max Weber’s terms, it could evoke an authority which legitimizes itself, in the same time, through the tradition of the genealogy and through the charisma of a revolutionary origin.

David LEWIS (Durham)

Slave Marriages in the Laws of Gortyn: A Matter of Rights?

Several provisions in the laws of Gortyn mention the marriages of slaves and property held by slaves. This has been frequently interpreted as evidence that slaves in Gortyn differed from the Athenian slaves of the classical period insofar as the former enjoyed a right to marry and a right to own property whereas the latter had no rights at all. This paper takes a detailed look at these provisions in a comparative perspective in order to throw light upon this complex problem. A close reading of the text shows that nowhere in Gortyn’s laws are slaves granted enforceable rights to marry, maintain a marital relationship or own property. Rather, the marriage and property provisions are concerned with clarifying the property rights of the slave’s master in complex scenarios where the slave is either married to the slave of another person or to a free person. These ‘marriages’, unlike those of free people, must be informal arrangements permitted by the slave’s owner. Mixed ‘marriages’ tangle the issue of property possession and the status of children, and it is with the clarification of these issues, rather than a grant of rights to slaves, that Gortyn’s laws deal. The paper looks at slave ‘marriages’ in other slave systems to explore (i) the complexity of legal interests generated by the ‘marriage’ of a slave to the slave of another person or to a free

person; and (ii) the rationale behind allowing a slave to form such a relationship. It is shown that permission of this sort is often used by slaveholders as a tool to control their slaves and guarantee good behaviour, and should not necessarily be read as a concession of rights based on humanitarian feelings.

Maxine LEWIS (Sydney)

Queering Catullus: Ethical pedagogy, (un)ethical translations

This paper explores the reception of Catullus' poem 63 in a gender-queer teaching context. First, I highlight the ethical difficulties inherent in teaching this poem, before providing inter-disciplinary strategies that allow us to transform those difficulties into a productive conversation about sex and gender. The paper ultimately demonstrates that poem 63 presents a unique opportunity for 21st century Latinists to raise crucial methodological and political questions with their students: questions about translation, language and the perpetuation of structures of gender.

In part one of the paper I show why this poem engenders a difficult classroom situation for modern students and teachers. In poem 63, a young man violently removes his own genitals and is henceforth consistently described as "she" (through feminine adjectives and pronouns). Catullus' message is that a man without his genitals is a woman; this moral is not explicitly stated but is embedded in the poem at the structural level of the gendered vocabulary. I present a selection of examples from the text to show that there is no way to read/translate Catullus' poem *accurately* in linguistic terms without becoming complicit in a depiction of a gender binary that is deeply problematic.

After establishing the potential problems inherent in reading and translating poem 63 in a modern context, I provide an inter-disciplinary perspective on these issues using ideas from Queer theory and cultural studies. I re-cast my first reading of the text in the light of an alternative interpretation, one that uses the tools of cultural studies to respond to the linguistic conundrum posed by transgender identity. This re-reading reveals that the politically thorny elements embedded in teaching this poem can be put to fruitful service, allowing us to open a dialogue about language, gender and transgender issues not often dealt with in the context of Classics.

Nathalie LHOSTIS (Ecole Normale Supérieure de Lyon)

The Menandrian "Comedy of Errors"

This paper will focus on the opposition between the Menandrian "comedies of errors" and the *Aspis* in order to explore the key importance of the error motif in Menander and the function of Menander's comedies as practical ethical exercises. In most cases, Menander's characters are fallible but not vicious. In fact, ignorance, due to rush and momentary lack of correct ethical reasoning, is the principal cause of mistakes. Thus, Menander's characters are observed with a certain indulgence. The audience shares with them human fallibility and, therefore, a sympathetic laugh is aroused by their mistakes that can be eventually rectified by sound reasoning. The *Aspis* can be considered as a counter-example that confirms this reading. The play's blocking character, Smikrines, is the only extant Menandrian character clearly mentioned as *kakos*: he is aware that what he is doing is wrong but he chooses to do so. The plot, then, is not based on disclosing a truth which can explain and rectify his mistake but on a trick that leads to the denouement of the plot by overcoming and punishing the bad character: laughter, in this particular case, is associated with the pleasure of the victory over the blocking character. Through the use of the error motif, Menander advocates the use of prudence when someone has to understand a situation and make a (moral) decision. This paper suggests that each Menandrian comedy can be seen as a practical exercise for the audience and suggests that understanding and making judgements is a difficult process to be considered carefully if one wants to achieve the happy ending. Thus, comic pleasure, in Menander,

is linked to a didactic and ethical function. In conclusion, the analysis of the error motif reveals the philosophical and ethical essence of Menander's comedy.

Vayos LIAPIS (Open University, Cyprus)

Compound Evil: The Economics of *Hubris* in Solon and the Theognidea

This paper proposes to revisit some of the most prominent moral ideas of the poetry of Solon and the Theognidea (*hubris*, *koros*, *ate*, *tisis*) in light of the development of monetization in archaic Greece (cf. R. Seaford, *Money and the Greek Mind*, Cambridge 2003).

Monetization makes possible the accumulation of capital, which (contrary to landed income) is potentially limitless: "there is *koros* (surfeit) to all things except wealth" (Theogn. 595-6, cf. 1157-8). As well as 'surfeit', *koros* also comes to mean 'insatiability' in Solon and Theognis (E. Irwin, *Solon and Early Greek Poetry*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 211-20): it is a condition that stems from an inability to perceive 'proper limits' (*metron*, cf. Solon fr. 4c West). Insofar as it ignores *metron*, insatiability – which is usually fed by ill-gotten wealth (Theogn. 751, 835-6) – is bound to "beget" *hubris* (Solon fr. 6. 3-4 W ~ Theogn. 151-2, cf. 749-52), which in turn leads to ruin (Theogn. 605-6, 693-4, 1173-4), specifically conceived as financial loss (Theogn. 205-6; cf. 133-4, cf. 119-20).

The imagery of birth and growth is inherent in the concepts of *koros* and *hubris*. As we saw, *koros* is an engendering force that can "beget" (*tiktei*) *hubris*, a word that may also denote rank and luxuriant foliage in plants (Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 2.7.6); and the main consequence of *hubris*, namely *ate*, is conceived as a plant growing flowers in Solon fr. 4. 34-5 W. (cf. further A. Michelini, *HSCP* 82 [1978] 35-44). Like *koros*, money has the capacity to make more money – to reproduce and multiply itself limitlessly – through monetary interest, called "offspring" (*tokos*) in Greek (cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 1258b1-8). However, excessive gain can grow into its opposite: surfeit at an early stage may be balanced by financial loss at a later stage. The apparently interminable growth of capital ("there is no limit of wealth visible to men", Solon fr. 13. 71) will eventually implode, and financial loss (*ate*) will be used by the gods to "exact payment" (Solon fr. 13. 76, Theogn. 204) of "an evil debt" (Theogn. 205), either from the debtor himself or from his descendants (cf. also Solon fr. 13. 25-32 W). Money can produce "offspring", *tokos*, but insatiable desire for it (*koros*) can also lead to excessive growth (*tiktei hubrin*), which may turn into debt and loss, thereby ruining one's physical offspring (*tokos*).

The notion that descendants may be punished for their ancestors' failures would not have been conceivable before the development of monetization; likewise, the complex of moral ideas glimpsed above (the interrelation between *koros* and *hubris*, the mechanics of *ate* and *tisis*) owes much to the dynamics of interest and debt.

Becky LITTLECHILDS (KCL)

'Finding' the holy at late antique Rome: some remarks on pilgrim itineraries

In this paper, I will briefly discuss several examples of the late antique/early medieval 'pilgrim itinerary' texts which described routes and features of Christian pilgrimage at Rome (e.g. *Notitia ecclesiarum*, *De locis sanctis*, *Notitia portarum* et al). Listing martyr tombs, shrines, and catacombs as they would have been encountered along various pedestrian routes, the itineraries have frequently been used as evidence for the physical shape of late antique Rome. I propose, though, that the itineraries are also suggestive for less tangible points of their historical context – namely, for late antique ideas about 'mapping-out' knowledge and the personal discovery and apprehension of the divine. In this paper, having briefly contextualized the itineraries in the history and topography of martyr cult at Rome, I will argue that they can be read as embodying certain late antique notions of 'finding' the holy – more precisely, they provide a specific historical and textual locus for the larger contemporary question of to what extent the holy could be found by reliance upon humanly acquired and transmitted knowledge. Any response to this question must grapple with the issue of

the agency possessed by the itinerary's 'users' (the pilgrims): should they be regarded as active participants, co-creators of the route as they 'use' the text, or as the passive recipients of transmitted knowledge? I will also describe the language of *inventio/invenire* in the larger context of Christian relics in late antiquity, using contemporary examples such as Damasus at Rome and Ambrose at Milan, and draw possible implications for our understanding of the Roman itineraries.

Genevieve LIVELEY (Bristol)

The Public Role of the Humanities: developments at Bristol

The Public Role of the Humanities is a new course offered by the School of Humanities at the University of Bristol and available to undergraduate students in all disciplines in the School (i.e. Classics, English, History, History of Art and Theology and Religious studies). The aim of the course is to help students contextualize their discipline within broader debates about the public role of the humanities, and the assessment includes a practical project, which may involve participation in the University's outreach and WP activities in schools. This paper will present the course and reflect on its first year.

Lloyd LLEWELLYN-JONES (Edinburgh)

Perverted Emperors and Screaming Queens: Roman Sexual Degeneracy in Pre-Code Hollywood

This paper explores cinematic images of Roman sexual degeneracy in the period 1914-1934 and in particular examines representations of homosexuality, which were deeply embedded within the 'ancient world' films of Hollywood's golden age – although homosexual images were only passively present. The emphasis was always on homosexuals as people who deviated from traditional gender roles, particularly from 1930 with the passing of the Production (or Hays) Code which forbade explicit any implication of 'sex perversion', that is, homosexuality. Nevertheless, images of homosexuals in Hollywood films were not difficult to find: the 'pansy craze', a pop-culture phenomenon of the 1920s and 1930s had erupted in countless movies, plays and nightclubs of the era, while lesbian chic was also a marketable facet of the period.

In this respect, the Biblical movie mogul, Cecil B DeMille, was very much of his time when his film *The Sign of the Cross* (1932), set in the reign of Nero, presented the emperor's court as a kind of Weimar cabaret act or avant-garde burlesque turn, or a Fifth-Avenue fetish club: the film uses images of homosexual sadomasochism and perversion to contrast the moral and sexual probity of the Christian characters and entices audiences with scenes of Roman orgies and debauchery while simultaneously (allegedly) denouncing such excesses. In DeMille's *The Sign of the Cross*, as in his *Cleopatra* (1934), Roman homosexuality gives licence to thrill.

This paper, then, explores the construction of the homosexual image in early epic cinema and notes the presentation of 'perversion' in the American world of the 'Jazz Age'. It examines the licence which ancient Rome afforded the filmmaker to deal with issues of sexual preference and reveals the techniques – in narrative, dialogue, mis-en-scene, and design – which were used to craft the on-screen Roman homosexual as a shadow of the real-life American homosexual.

Dunstan LOWE (Kent)

Towards a Politics of Body Modification in Antiquity

In many Western societies, tattoos and piercings are now widely acceptable. Among small but growing minorities, more extreme modifications such as cosmetic implants, branding, and even voluntary amputation are valid forms of self-expression. In ancient Greece or Rome, most such acts would count as shameful mutilations. The 'law of Pozzuoli' (probably of Augustan date) excluded several types of person from pallbearing. These included the one-eyed (*lusci*), those maimed in the hands or legs (*manci* and *clodi*), the blind (*caeci*)—and the tattooed (*signatibus inscripti*). Permanently marked individuals were not monsters (*monstra*) in the religious or

biological senses, but they provoked aesthetic offence, frequently combined with scorn, since such markings often represented subordination into non-citizen categories. As modern attitudes evolve it is becoming increasingly relevant, and for the same reasons increasingly difficult, to understand the nuances of these attitudes in antiquity.

Taking a period for which our evidence is especially rich—Rome in the late Republic and early principate—I attempt in this paper to establish some conceptual categories for long-term body modification. Excluding accidents and medical treatments, these may be broadly divided into involuntary and voluntary procedures. Those involuntary endured include punitive injury; punitive markings, in the form of tattoos, brands and piercings; and (more controversially) modifications for other purposes, most prominently castration. Remarkably, each of these procedures was also performed voluntarily, albeit under highly specific conditions and almost never by male citizens (the major exception is plastic surgery, which came to be used to treat perceived flaws such as blemishes, a missing foreskin, or enlarged breasts). Scars on male citizens deserve special study, forming a ‘language’ of their own. Although not self-inflicted, they could be flaunted, and their location on the body radically affected their aesthetic and social implications.

Ellen MACKAY (OCR)

Classics Cluster Groups: facilitating cooperation and communication between schools

OCR began the Classics cluster group project in response to a growing number of requests from Classics teachers across the country for contact with other local schools. Cluster groups are regional groups for teachers that provide a forum for discussion and for sharing ideas with other teachers within a local area. There are several very active regionally organised teaching groups for Classics in certain parts of the country, but in other areas these groups do not yet exist. The aim of this project is to facilitate and support new Classics cluster groups which are then owned and run by participating teachers. This paper presents the progress made so far in the cluster group project and considers the opportunities for university departments to engage with schools through the cluster group model.

Cary MACMAHON (Independent Scholar)

Art or Experience? Reconstructing Scythian Archers' Clothing

This paper arises from a collaborative attempt to recreate a Scythian archer's costume, and considers the methodology, sources, materials and techniques required to create these close-fitting, highly-patterned garments. The presentation, and ensuing discussion, will be supported by the modelling of the life-size reconstruction.

Methodological and substantive problems with recent reconstructions by non-classicist experimental archaeologists are identified, raising socio-historical, linguistic and technical questions. An approach combining experimental archaeology with a philologically and historically informed understanding of the multiple cultures involved and their interactions is proposed, which poses new questions in debates ranging from the Athenian construction of Otherness and ethnicity, to the development of ancient textile-working techniques.

The relationship between depictions of Scythian archers in Attic vase painting, Aegina statuary, and Scythian self-representations is discussed and the accuracy of Attic representations assessed. Evidence for cross-cultural contacts suggests variations in Scythian dress in Attic vase-painting may indicate more detailed awareness of Scythian sub-cultures, in line with Herodotus' account, than generally acknowledged.

The selection of colours for the reconstruction's distinctive patterning references Brinkmann's experiments in ancient polychromy, and textiles from Black Sea and Siberian sites. An identification of 'Scythian Yellow' (*thapsos*) and an appropriate dyeing technology is suggested, and *thapsos* as a signifier of Otherness is raised. A recently proposed technique (*sprang*) for

creating the costume is critiqued, and (two-needle) knitting is considered as a potential alternative, supported by grave-goods from areas characterised as Scythian by ancient authors. The problematic historiography of looped textile-working techniques in antiquity is discussed, and an alternative future methodology is proposed.

In conclusion, Attic representations of Scythian dress, often viewed as entirely reliable or highly suspect, can be useful sources when supplemented by and tested against extant Scythian artefacts, and can extend our understanding of textile-working in antiquity.

Bruce MACQUEEN (Atheneum College, Gdansk)

The erotics of writing in the Prologue of Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe*

In the brief Prologue to *Daphnis and Chloe*, Longus, speaking only here in the first person as the author, tells the reader how he once found a remarkable painting, on Lesbos, where he had come to hunt. The brief ekphrasis of the painting that follows is literally framed by Eros (ἱστορίαν ἔρωτος at the beginning, πάντα ἔρωτικὰ at the end), whereupon the author speaks of his longing (πόθος) to respond to the painting in words (ἀντιγράψαι τῇ γραφῇ). Particular attention should be given to the word πόθος, which, oddly enough, never recurs in *Daphnis and Chloe*. In Plato's *Cratylus* (420a), Socrates explains that πόθος is an erotic desire for an object that is absent, as opposed to ἴμερος, the desire for an object that is present. It would follow from this, at least, that the affect experienced by the author of *Daphnis and Chloe* towards the writing of this text is erotic in nature, and that the object of his longing is absent – even though the verb ἐξεπονησάμην would seem to imply that the text already exists. The proposed paper will attempt to connect this peculiar πόθος with the “healing” claim made later in that same paragraph, and the author's baffling prayer in the last sentence of the Prologue: Ἡμῖν δ' ὁ θεὸς παράσχοι σωφρονουῦσι τὰ τῶν ἄλλων γράφειν. It is the absence/otherness of the text, and its particular relation to time, that gives πόθος its particular meaning, while at the same time allowing the author to keep his wits. Like the two erotic teachers of the novel, Philetas in Book 1 and Lykainion in Book 3, Longus knows when to approach Eros, and when to keep his distance.

Flora MANAKIDOU (Thrace)

Callimachus' *Iambus* 4 reconsidered: Iambic voices, identities and origins

The *Iambi* of Callimachus is one of the more fascinating compositions of Greek poetry. Thanks to the survived *Diegeseis*, despite their fragmentary preservation, we are confident about their multi-levelled variety in form, subject matter, as well as their poetic voices. Identifying the poetic voices is one of the most intriguing problems as far as it is connected with the priorities Callimachus established in his recreation of the iambic idea.

In the fourth *Iambus* Callimachus introduces a Lydian fable on an agon of a laurel and an olive on mountain Tmolus and makes a nearby bramble (βᾶτος) intervene in a conciliatory manner. According to the *Diegesis* the poet is in dispute with one of his colleagues and a certain Simos mediates. Although it is recognised that the poem has an allegorical nature concerning different poetic attitudes, and although all possible identifications have been proposed, the problem remains open. Recently D. Konstan and L. Landrey have made a strong case that the peacemaker bramble stands in for Battiades Callimachus himself (or his persona).

To this, we may add that Hipponax was mentioned in connection with βᾶτος (T 17 Deg.=AP 7.536=13 G.-P.) and Callimachus has been accused of having a thorny nature by later critics of his work (AP 11.20=20 G.-P., AP XI 321= T 69 Pf., AP XI 322= T 71 Pf.).

The aim of this paper is to reconsider the problem by focusing upon two questions: a) what is the role Callimachus (or his persona) assigns to himself in this poem? b) what is the significance of the Lydian setting of the fable? This double survey will take into account other *Iambi* and shall review, firstly, the general attitude Callimachus adopts in respect of the voices of λοιδορῶν and

λοιδορούμενος and, secondly, his relationship to the Iambography of his Ionian model, Hipponax (13.11-13; 63-66).

Kleanthis MANTZOURANIS (UCL)

The politics of largess and Aristotle's *megaloprepeia*

In *EN* IV.2 Aristotle articulates magnificence (*megaloprepeia*) as the virtue that pertains to large expenditures, and distinguishes it from liberality (*eleutheriotēs*), the generic virtue concerned with one's overall disposition towards wealth. In this paper I aim to present magnificence as an illustrative example of the way in which Aristotle incorporates common beliefs (*ta endoxa*) into his work, and reshapes them to fit his own philosophical framework.

My argument is twofold. First, I will maintain that Aristotle's articulation of magnificence as a particular virtue of character is not grounded merely in contemporary morality and beliefs, but reflects a traditional ideal. The immediate context of Aristotle's discussion is the Athenian liturgy system. However, the ethos of lavish public expenditure by men of status is an ideal engrained in Greek ethical thought, rooted ultimately in the aristocratic values of archaic Greece. The connection between traditional aristocratic outlay of wealth for political purposes, the 'politics of largesse', and Aristotelian magnificence has been noted by some Pindar scholars, but is largely neglected in Aristotelian scholarship. As a result –the second part of my argument intends to show– Aristotle's reshaping of magnificence has been underrated.

The politics of largesse operated within the framework of a reciprocal relation between individual and the *polis*: the wealthy would confer tangible benefactions upon the city, and would expect in return some *charis*, favour or reward, in the form of popular support either in courts or in the political arena. Aristotle, in contrast, in applying the principle that virtuous actions should be performed 'for the sake of the noble' transforms the framework within which magnificent actions should be viewed and evaluated, and shifts the focus away from reciprocity. The requirements of *to kalon* bring to the fore the intrinsic goodness of the magnificent action and the appropriateness of its display.

Gesine MANUWALD (UCL)

Roman Emperors on the Venetian Stage: *Il Vespasiano* (1678) and *Il Nerone* (1679)

The pair of librettist Giulio Cesare Corradi (d. 1701/02) and composer Carlo Pallavicino (born Carlo Ballottini; c. 1640–1688) produced two operas on Roman emperors of the first century CE for the opening seasons of the new theatre 'Teatro di S. Giovanni Grisostomo': *Il Vespasiano* (1678) and *Il Nerone* (1679). This was the most luxurious and prestigious venue owned by the Grimani family, and both operas take advantage of this by exploiting spectacular features of the modern stage. At the same time, in terms of subject matter, it is a rare case of two operas on two Roman emperors written for the same venue by the same team, while the relationship to ancient sources is slightly different: for the period of Nero there are the detailed account in the *Annales* of the historian Tacitus and also a Roman dramatic version in the shape of the pseudo-Senecan history play *Octavia*, but Tacitus' *Histories* only cover the beginning of Vespasian's reign; both emperors are included in Suetonius' biographies and later Greek accounts. Besides, the picture of the two emperors that emerges from those sources shows distinctive features.

This paper will look at similarities and differences between the operas in terms of topic and staging and discuss whether the presentation of the two Roman emperors has been adapted in the same way to make them relevant to an audience in the Venetian Republic. Within this context it will explore how the ancient sources have been used and whether the variations in availability affect the shape of the operas. It is hoped that such an analysis will contribute to a better understanding of the role of topics from ancient Rome in Venetian opera.

John MARINCOLA (Florida State)

The Fairest Victor: Aristides' Leadership in the Persian Wars

The leaders and actions of the Persian Wars were topics dear to Plutarch's heart and he has much to say about them both in the *Lives* and in the *Moralia*. As befits a moralist and philosopher his interests are not in military or political actions *per se* but rather in what such actions reveal of the nature and character of the individuals who performed them. When writing of the Persian Wars Plutarch stresses especially the harmony amongst leaders as they fought for a common cause (Marincola 2010).

Even within this group of leaders Aristides stands out. Plutarch (uniquely) places him at the three major victories of the war, Marathon, Salamis and Plataea. At Marathon and Salamis Aristides is distinguished by his grasp of the best strategy and his willingness to forego his own leadership in favour of others (Miltiades at Marathon, Themistocles at Salamis). At Plataea, Aristides (whom Plutarch designates *stratêgos autokratôr*) has a more active role as he works incessantly to ensure Greek unity: he calms the Athenians when they are angry with the Tegeans, puts down a plot against the democracy, and persuades his fellow citizens that they should exchange wings with the Spartans; he even tries to win back the medising Greeks (*Arist.* 12-16, 18.6). Aristides is thus the embodiment of the qualities Plutarch praises most vigorously in his *Political Precepts* and which he held most dear in a leader: control over the common people; a willingness to work with others, even political enemies; and the preservation of civic harmony (*praec. ger.* 3, 4, 14-15, 19-20).

Emeline MARQUIS (Sorbonne)

Perception of Cynicism in the second century A.D.: Cynics in Lucian's works

Lucian's relationship to philosophy is conflictual and philosophers are usual targets of his satires. His attitude towards Cynicism appears especially complex, as Lucian strongly attacks some Cynics of his time, but shows himself sometimes very close to this movement, dealing with Cynic themes and arguments, and using Cynic characters. Consequently, scholars mostly underlined the variations in Lucian's opinion towards Cynicism, explaining them either by a supposed evolution in his attitude or by the opportunism and adaptation of a man depending on his public.

The aim of this paper is to show that Lucian's attitude towards Cynicism is subtle and constant. To better understand his judgment, we intend to concentrate on one specific aspect: the way Cynics are described and put on stage in Lucian's works.

Firstly, the number and role of Cynics in the different works must be noticed; they can be categorized as follows: venerable figures of Cynicism (as Diogenes, Crates or Antisthenes); contemporary Cynics; invented characters. Most of the time, Lucian puts on stage respectable Cynics as main characters, narrators of his texts and even spokesmen. These characters are very positively presented to attract the readers' sympathy. Lucian's harsh critics are reserved for contemporary people that he considers as charlatans and pseudo-Cynics. That the image he draws, however, is not limited to an opposition between ancient and modern Cynics is supported by his praise of Demonax, a contemporary authentic Cynic. The panorama of Cynics presented by Lucian enables finally to determine the qualities he appreciates in Cynics and therefore the elements which attract him in Cynicism as well as the limits of his adherence: he does not approve its most extreme tendencies. Thereby, he offers an interesting example of the way Cynicism was perceived in the second century.

Alex MCAULEY (McGill)

Historicising Foundation Mythology: The Case of Antioch

Modern scholars tend either to dismiss the foundation myths of Hellenistic cities outright as embroidered, fictionalized artefacts, or consider them thematically in total isolation from historical

context. Although especially in the Hellenistic context such mythology is unquestionably the product of propagandistic manipulation, this does not automatically discount their value as historical evidence. My aim in this paper is to use the remarkably robust mytho-historical tradition of Antioch-on-the-Orontes as an exemplary case study of how such myths might be ‘historicised’ to provide insight into contemporary dynamics of power, favour, and identity. Using the accounts of the city’s foundation in Libanius, John Malalas, and Strabo, I shall attempt to date the composition of various aspects of the mythical tradition and hypothesize who – or which groups – composed them and why. The peculiarities of the Antiochene mythology as a whole, I argue, divulge the presence of two general categories of myth: the ‘royal myths’ of the city’s foundation by Seleucus, and the ‘ethnic myths’ set in the archaic path that relate how various Antiochene *ethne* arrived in the region. I aim to examine the political valence, ideological function, and recurrent themes of each body of myth in order to shed light on the relationship between *basileus* and *demos* in the adolescent city. Considering the evolution of the mythical tradition in relation to political and strategic developments reveals the responsiveness of emergent civic identity to contemporary context. In the same vein, I will consider the development of the mythical tradition in relation to the monumental geography of the city as another vector for the analysis of practical function, agency, and intention. Such myths emerged neither independently nor in isolation, and rather by considering when, how, and why these ‘embroidered’ artefacts were composed, we might gain some insight into the relationship between religion and civic identity in Hellenistic foundations.

Gwynaeth MCINTYRE (Manitoba)

Republican heroes, Imperial propaganda figures: Castor and Pollux in Maxentian ideology

The interaction between myth and history played an important role in the political landscape of Rome during the Imperial period. The Republican heroes, Castor and Pollux, who traditionally symbolized the city of Rome and her ability to overcome adversity, were co-opted by Augustus and Tiberius to promote the new system and the position of the imperial family. The use of these brothers by the imperial family came to highlight the relationships of the emperors’ families (promoting fraternal *concordia* and the divine nature of members of the imperial family) and also served to mask some of the familial dysfunction.

This paper examines the later uses of the figures of Castor and Pollux during the Tetrarchy. Beginning with a brief summary of the use of the brothers to symbolize *concordia* amongst members of the imperial family and ultimately amongst the *Augusti* and *Caesares* of the new system ushered in by Diocletian, I then turn to the use of Castor and Pollux on the coins of Maxentius. Maxentius’ use of these brothers does not serve to promote “fraternal piety” (with his fellow emperors, especially considering he was never an official member of the Tetrarchy) as they had been used in the past but instead serves as a reaction against the ideology of Domitian and the Tetrarchy. Through his re-introduction of these “republican” heroes (along with other traditional symbols of Rome (the goddess Roma and Romulus, Remus and the she-wolf) into his own ideology, Maxentius sought to legitimize his own claim to the throne and gain the support of the people of Rome.

Katerina MIKELLIDOU (UCL)

***Psychagōgia* in fifth-century Athenian drama: Power-play between the living and the dead**

The fascination of fifth-century Athenian drama with the power of the dead to intervene in the earthly affairs is aptly reflected in the diverse dramaturgies of the practice of *psychagōgia*, namely the temporary revival of the dead for consultation. In moments of extreme desperation, the dramatic hero feels the need to resort to the inhabitants of the Underworld for practical and mental support. *Psychagōgia* therefore becomes a recurrent dramatic motif, which underlies episodes like Darius’ apparition in Aeschylus’ *Persae*, the “stranger’s” activities by the “awesome” lake in

Aeschylus' *Psychagogoi*, the necromantic prayer in Euripides' fr. 912 Nauck, and Peisander's search for his soul in Aristophanes' *Birds* 1553ff.

This paper aims to explore the aforementioned dramatic examples of *psychagōgia*, focusing on the dynamics of interaction between the living hero and the summoned dead. The notion of power occupies a central place in the texture of this motif. On the one hand, it constitutes the primary motivation and the ultimate purpose of the living hero, who intends to overcome the current crisis by exploiting the mental capacities of the infernal powers; on the other, it is an integral quality of the summoned dead, who features as a powerful and exceptional individual. Therefore, the living and the dead develop a contrasting relationship, which is primarily dependent on the concept of power – its lack or possession. While the necromancer moves within a profoundly disruptive milieu, featuring as ultimately desperate and weak, the summoned dead, embodying the mysterious power of the Underworld, counterbalances his problematic surroundings and functions as a foil to the weakness of the living. Paradoxically, in the context of *psychagōgia*, the states of being dead and being alive become somehow equivalent to the opposing notions of possessing and lacking power.

Alexander MILLINGTON (UCL)

Ares and Enyalios on the Battlefield

War, literary sources frequently state, is the domain of Ares. The ruler of war is presented as a warrior archetype: in art and epic alike he is depicted wearing the panoply and bearing the arms of a hoplite, and countless fierce warriors are compared to him. Many others are said to be dear to Ares, and in Plato's *Laws* (833b), the hoplites run to the temple of Ares, just as the archers run to the temple of Apollo and Artemis, their patrons. Ares thus appears as a patron of warriors. Yet Ares' role on the battlefield is sparsely and tenuously attested. A pre-battle cry to Enyalios, a god identified with or used as an epithet for Ares in the *Iliad* and by Apollonius of Rhodes, does appear several times in the works of Xenophon. This literary identification of Ares and Enyalios, however, does not seem to have been reflected in cult, and was not consistent in literature, as was pointed out by the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Peace* 457.

In this paper I will argue that the lack of attested battlefield rituals relating to Ares derives from his role as a patron of war and of the warrior-craft, rather than of individual combatants. I will argue that the literary connection between Ares and Enyalios was derived primarily from a shared warlike identity and iconography, as opposed to a shared function.

In contrast to Ares Enyalios was not identified with war, or with any part of it. Rather, Enyalios was a helper in battle to the Dorians, and to the Peloponnesians in particular. Ares was the patron of the warrior, but Enyalios was a patron of warriors.

Hannah MITCHELL (St Andrews)

Asinius Pollio the orator

C. Asinius Pollio, well-known as the consul of 40 BC, broker of the Pact of Brundisium and historian of the civil wars, was also considered one of the two most brilliant orators of the post-Ciceronian age. This paper will discuss the challenges he faced in establishing and maintaining his oratorical reputation and the strategies he employed to overcome them. Creating a brilliant reputation entailed the construction of a persona which was distinctive enough to invite study and attract imitation. Pollio constructed himself as an archaising stylist, an expert on linguistics and literature, a fierce critic, an artist in his approach to swaying an audience and a specialist in how to win a case. This persona advertised the most important features of an orator: authority and credibility.

Focusing on Pollio the orator, rather than the historian, provides us with a different view of his political career and motivations, particularly in the years after his consulship. In the writing of

history he continued to fight the battles of the past, but in oratory he could not avoid being involved in the battles of the present. He was far from 'retired'.

Jillian MITCHELL (Trinity St David)

The Case of the Strangled Saxons: Spectacle and sport at the games in late fourth century Rome

Quintus Aurelius Symmachus (340-402), orator, senator, writer of 900 letters and one of the last pagans of Rome was also the instigator of consular games for himself (391) and quaestorian and praetorian games for his only son Memmius in 393 and 401 respectively. This paper will examine, by means of Symmachus' extensive correspondence, what games would have meant to a late fourth century audience in terms of both sport and spectacle. While unfortunately no letters dealing with his own consular games have survived, there are many letters dealing with those relating to his son which give a vivid picture of the kinds of acts, gladiatorial and animal fights and spectacle that a late fourth century audience expected. There is also relevant iconographic evidence from this period relating to the role of the consul and the games, which extends our knowledge of this activity. It was still as essential as ever to placate the masses by means of *circenses* as well as by *panem*.

By this period, four hundred years after the initiation of the principate, the old ranks of the *cursus honorum* were largely honorary, the lower offices of quaestor and praetor were often held by children, and the main function of all these posts, including that of consul, was to put on superb games which often could cost the equivalent of a year's income. While most of this paper will deal with the games and their associated spectacle in Late Antiquity, as evidenced through Symmachus' correspondence, these will be compared and contrasted with those of earlier periods.

Kit MORRELL (Sydney)

Cato and the Courts in 54

'Cato will have achieved more single-handed than all the laws and all the jurors' (Cic. *Q. fr.*2.15.4). Much work has been done on the late Republic in the last few decades, including a lively debate on the nature of Roman politics. However, the central political narrative of conflict between 'optimates' and 'triumvirs' has changed little since the 19th century, thus limiting our understanding of an admittedly complicated period. A case in point is the year 54, which has defied analysis in terms of 'triumviral' politics. I propose instead to examine the events of that year in terms of problems and attempted solutions. In doing so I hope to show a republic thinking deeply about its condition and attempting to heal itself. Key to this is a reassessment of M. Porcius Cato, who is too often seen simply as an 'obstructionist'.

Electoral bribery and provincial extortion were two sides of the same coin. That was never clearer than in 54, a year which witnessed both a shocking electoral scandal and the high-profile extortion trial of M. Aemilius Scaurus. Scaurus' prosecutor summed up the problem: he was afraid Scaurus would buy the consulship with the money he had stolen and then plunder other provinces. The same principle underlay the notorious *pactio* made that year by the consuls and two of the consular candidates.

Cato attacked the problem in quite radical ways: in the senate, he proposed a new judicial process to combat electoral corruption, and, as president of the extortion court, he allowed the prosecutor to hurry through a case that was as much about *ambitus* as *repetundae*. This paper will explore these initiatives which, while they did not produce immediate victory, helped lay the groundwork for future reform.

John MORGAN (Swansea)

An operatic reception of *Daphnis and Chloe*

Joseph Bodin de Boismortier's pastoral opera-ballet *Daphnis et Chloé*, to a libretto by Pierre Laujon, was staged in Paris in 1747. It is an astute cashing-in on the taste of the French nobility in the circle of Madame de Pompadour for idealised pastoral, manifested also for instance in the paintings of Boucher. The title of this entertainment indicates that Laujon had Longus' novel (which he would have known through Amyot's celebrated translation) in mind, but it is far from being a straightforward setting of the story. In fact, there is little attempt to convey the (or indeed any) narrative as a whole. The emphasis instead lies in presenting a series of stereotypical situations (lovers separated, lovers reunited, rustic festivity) around which Boismortier could compose charming and touching songs and elegant or burlesque dances. At times the scenario loses touch with Longus altogether, incorporating motifs derived from Theocritus or Virgil, with a fair amount of free invention. For classicists the interest of the piece lies in the sense in which the opera presents a 'reading' of classical texts, refracted through the aesthetics of Rococo France to provide an undemanding entertainment that allowed its urban aristocratic audience to define and position themselves within a specific socio-political context. In this sense, Boismortier's work embodies an approach to pastoral which Longus' novel, as we read it in the 21st century, has already deconstructed.

Michael MORRIS (Open University)

'The schoolmaster is deranged in his mind and wanders abroad': the inspection reports of the Dick Bequest on nineteenth century Scottish parochial schools

The Dick Bequest was established in 1835 by the Will of James Dick, 'the Dominie's Maecenas'. He was born in Forres, Morayshire in 1743 and made his great fortune, as a storekeeper, in the West Indies. The aim of Dick's benefaction was to 'elevate the literary character of the Parochial Schoolmaster' who taught in the north eastern counties of Moray, Banff and Aberdeenshire. His Will, quite deliberately, excluded the larger and better endowed burgh schools in Aberdeen, Elgin and Banff.

The fund, initially some £120,000, was to be used to supplement the teachers' salaries and for those who successfully applied the rewards were significant: the average annual schoolmaster's salary in the prescribed three counties in 1853 was £54 5s 4d but with the addition of the Bequest this was raised, on average, to £85 12s 3d. Those eligible to apply had to submit to a diet of written examinations held annually in Edinburgh and to undergo an unannounced inspection by the 'Visitor to the Trustees'. The examinations, held over a two year period were ten in number: English, Latin, Greek, Geography [including 'Classical Geography'], History [including 'Biblical and Roman History'], Physics, Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra and Trigonometry.

Using the surviving records of the Dick Trustees this paper will explore three issues: the conditions under which the village dominie laboured in Victorian Scotland; the classical curriculum pursued in the classroom and to suggest that there was, perhaps, a distinct but neglected Victorian Scottish tradition in the learning of Greek and Humanity [Latin].

Peter MORTON (Edinburgh)

Eunus the Cowardly King: Suitable for his Subjects?

Diodorus Siculus' narrative of the so-called First Sicilian Slave War in Books 34/5 of the *Bibliothèque* has been in the past described as 'sympathetic' to the rebels involved in the conflict (Farrington 1936: 23; Momigliano 1975: 34; Bradley 1989: 133-4; Urbainczyk 2008: 81-9). The care taken in the narrative to demonstrate the causes of the conflict, as well as the remonstrations in the text that dictate the correct behaviour that should be shown to both slaves and free, has been cited in support of this argument.

This paper offers a reconsideration of this stance through an analysis of the characterisation of the leader of the rebels, a Syrian named Eunus. The narrative will be shown to be unremittingly hostile to Eunus, portraying him as unsuitable to be king on a number of grounds. Eunus is described as deceitful, unwarlike and most importantly a cowardly man. Key moments in his narrative will be analysed to show the consistency of this portrayal throughout the so-called First Sicilian Slave War. In particular, the vocabulary chosen to describe Eunus (*andreia* and *strategia*) will be shown to be peculiar to Diodorus' own conception of what constitutes a good leader. Moreover, the depiction of the relationship between Eunus and his subjects will be examined in order to understand how they are presented to us by the narrator. It will be shown that the narrator, far from viewing the rebels sympathetically, in fact had a disdain for them that is best exemplified by their choice of leader.

Fiona Mowat (Edinburgh)

Creating the antique: the restorations of G.B. Piranesi

The Piranesi workshop took fragments of marble sculpture, such as those excavated in the Pantanello region of Hadrian's Tivoli Villa, and worked them into new creations in the style of Roman art. These 'classical' antiquities reflect Piranesi's particular reception of Roman art, but raise some questions: can these pieces still be regarded as examples of Classical art in themselves? Or is it appropriate to regard such heavily restored monuments as the Warwick Vase, as simply fake? In short, how should we receive the restored?

This paper will discuss the various techniques for identification of 18th century restorations, and will specifically explore the stylistic attributes of the hands of individual sculptors within the Piranesi workshop. It will argue that we should celebrate restored marbles as a unique form of neo-classical art in their own right, which are extremely important to the study of the 18th century reception of Roman art. This paper will demonstrate that a more accurate identification of restored antiquities will ultimately enhance our understanding of the ancient art which they emulate and that in turn this will enrich our knowledge of the 18th century sculptors' contemporary vision of the antique.

It is suggested that this paper could be presented as part of a panel on concepts of authenticity and the fake, or ancient ideas and their reception, and that it may be paired with that of Dr Glenys Davies which is also on Piranesi and 'enhanced' Roman sculpture.

Shaun Mudd (Exeter)

Alcohol and Environment in Roman Culture

When prescribing an agricultural workforce's diet, Cato advised that corn and wine rations should vary according to intensity of labour and the seasons. Accordingly, both rations were to be increased in summer, reflecting the need for more food-energy because of this season's heavier agricultural workload and longer daylight/working days. However, Cato's advised wine rations had far greater seasonal variation, with a winter to summer increase of 1:3, compared to corn's 8:9 or 4:5. This was almost certainly due to the hot Mediterranean summer climate, and the need for a far greater intake of fluids, compared to winter, to maintain hydration. Indeed, as water (not rationed by Cato) was usually drunk mixed with wine, larger wine rations also imply more water consumption. Therefore, for some Romans at least, normal and acceptable wine consumption was considered to be significantly influenced by the climatic demands of the environment.

My paper will accordingly investigate how the Romans' alcohol consumption, and their attitudes towards drinking, varied according to the environment that they drank in. I shall primarily focus upon the 'natural environment', particularly: the season, climate, and geographical location. I also intend to investigate the differences between rural and urban drinking, and how urbanisation affected the natural environment's influence over drinking.

A useful case study with which to lead my investigation is the Roman military, as they were posted throughout the Empire's various environments, yet usually had a relatively uniform type of Roman culture and diet. A particularly important issue is the literary *topos*, outlined by Wheeler, which portrayed the Principate's Syrian legions as especially lax troops, and unusually heavy drinkers. I intend to explore the extent to which this alleged drinking behaviour was linked with environmental factors, such as the climate (noting Syria's hot and arid regions), local viticulture (including *terroir*), and urbanisation.

Georgina MUSKETT (Liverpool Museums)

Recognition of 'girls' in 5th century BCE Athens: the evidence from painted pottery

The definition of 'girl' as a female who is not yet an adult woman should be straightforward, but how is a girl distinguished from an adult woman on Athenian painted pottery of the 5th century BCE?

The absence of the veil worn by females at the onset of puberty, as noted in the 5th century BCE written record, is widely accepted as a straightforward way of identifying a 'girl'. However, the veil is rarely depicted in ancient art.

The dilemma becomes apparent when researchers attempt to provide definitive descriptions of the iconography of Greek painted pottery, whether for a catalogue or searchable database. Should any depiction of a small figure presented as female be automatically classified as a 'girl' or are there any other ways in which the modern viewer can securely identify a female who has not yet achieved the status of a woman? For example, can iconographic features such as hairstyle give information about age, in the same way that young people can be identified in Aegean Bronze Age art by means of a partly shaven scalp? Alternatively, is the context of the representation (that is, the setting in which females are depicted, the occasion shown, their companions, etc.) the crucial factor?

This dilemma is addressed by considering the depictions of females described in publications as 'girls' which appear on 5th century BCE Greek painted pottery, particularly Attic white-ground lekythoi. The paper includes examples of the presenter's own experience as a museum curator and university researcher, with particular reference to white-ground lekythoi in the collection of National Museums Liverpool, some of which have not been published.

Dario NAPPO (Oxford)

Policy and trade in the Red Sea during the first and second century AD

Since the annexation of Egypt in 30 BC, the Romans came to have direct access to the Red Sea and the maritime route to the Far East (Ethiopia, Arabia, India). Scholars agree that, since then, the trade between the Mediterranean World ruled by Rome and Asia reached peaks never experienced before. To the Roman Empire, silk, spices, and other exotic merchandise came, opening up new commercial opportunities for traders who were brave enough to engage themselves in such a dangerous commerce. Still, the risks were balanced by the huge profits that were available for the traders, as attested by several ancient authors. Also for the Roman state, such trade must have been of crucial importance. Recent studies prove that the revenues levied upon the eastern merchandise were a significant share of the annual revenues of the Empire and contributed greatly to its annual budget. For this reason, it would sound reasonable to think that the Roman emperors displayed a proactive policy in order to facilitate such trade, and consequently increase the amount of revenues. Traditionally, the scholarship has generally discarded such hypothesis claiming that in a preindustrial, primitive economy, such level of economic policy would be anachronistic. Still, a few scholars tried to point out to the available evidence to prove the existence of a proper economic policy in the Red Sea. This paper will examine the available evidence, greatly increased over the last 10 years by new archaeological excavations, to prove that it is indeed possible to

reconstruct an economic policy displayed by the Roman government in the Red Sea to foster the trade, and also that the Roman emperors were likely to be personally involved in such trade, although through the means of middlemen.

Nigel NICHOLSON (Reed College)

Athlete Legends and Epinician in Western Locri

Through a case study of Western Locri, this paper will argue that the athlete legends disseminated in the fifth century were a form of politics, and a form of politics that stood in opposition to epinician. At stake in the development of a hero-athlete figure was a vision of the victor's place within his community, and the community's place within the wider world, that was sharply differentiated from the Panhellenic and integrationist ideology of epinician.

Along with Kurke ("Economy of Kudos," 1993), Currie (*Cult of Heroes*, 2005) has established that athlete legends offer a key context for epinician, but his vision of epinician and athlete legends as elements in a larger negotiation of heroization, misses the conflicts between the two forms.

The case of Western Locri is illustrative. The legend of Euthymus—and his decision not to commission an epinician (Hornblower, *Thucydides and Pindar* (2004), 189)—should be understood not in personal terms (as Currie, "Euthymos of Locri," *JHS* 122 (2002): 24-44), but in political ones, as a rejection of Pindar's *Olympian* 10, an ode celebrating a Locrian victor of 476. This ode represents Locri as a Greek city, at home to Greek forms (myths, coinage, epinician itself) and aligned with Syracuse, the dominant power in the west. By contrast, the legend of Euthymus stresses a spiky insularity: local territorial integrity and Locrian tradition (Redfield, *Locrian Maiden* (2003), 245-51) are the focus, with Euthymus, through synecdoche, representing the dominance of Locri. Euthymus' Locri is the lord of an inland empire, not the bride of Syracuse.

The case of West Locri thus suggests that heroization and epinician served very different goals for the athletes. Both represented political interventions, but they encoded very different visions of the community. It thus made no sense to aim at both.

Smaro NIKOLAIDOU-ARABATZI (Thrace)

Maiden Choruses in the Epinician Odes of Pindar and Bacchylides: Poet's Choral 'I'.

First-person statements in epinician odes have caused vivid discussion on either the monodic or choral character of the real performance, also involving the identity of the celebrating *komos* (Lefkowitz 1963, 1991, 1995; Lefkowitz-Heath 1991; Burnett 1989; Carey 1989, 1991; Morgan 1993; Robbins 1997). This paper argues for a Choral 'I' of the poet by considering the function of maiden-choruses descriptions in the context and purpose of the epinician poetry. The *parthenoi* choruses have been studied as a pattern of choral projection in Bacchylides' 13 (Power 2000); but the choral character of the performance of the *epinikion* is taken there for granted.

The paper examines selected passages from the epinician odes of Pindar and Bacchylides in which imaginary choruses of *parthenoi*, mythically known as dancing, function as a ritual prototype that enriches with choral excitement the praising *logos*. In the Pindaric odes, in particular, it is the divine groups of the Muses or the Graces that are mostly depicted as dancing. In these instances they stand as exemplary *komoi* (in the *komos* vocabulary) that link with ideal dancing the encomiastic strategy of the poet.

I propose that in the epinician odes first-person statements move between two levels: the first level concerns the poet's official duty to highlight the success of the honored person (**poet's praising 'I'**); the second level is about his awareness to compose an ode of analogous – but not informal – choral excitement with the celebrating community (**poet's choral 'I'**). Thus, while composing his ode, the epinician poet feels as if leading himself a professional chorus and, without disturbing praise, he plans *khoreia* elements on an imaginary level, regardless of the character – monodic or choral – of the real performance. Pindar, especially, 'the professional' (Morgan)

authorizes the choral reception of the *epinikion* by projecting to the dance of divinities who inspire the poet.

Marcello NOBILI (Rome "La Sapienza")

Martial Book 12: a textual reassessment

The textual tradition of Martial's *Epigrams* as a whole enjoys relatively healthy conditions. It has often been claimed that a new examination of circumstances of the manuscript tradition of the *Epigrams* is likely to bring only a few novelties to the *constitutio textus*, but this is not entirely true for Book 12: the text has its own specific problems in comparison to other Martial books. Moreover, the investigation of the medieval tradition of an author such as Martial is always rewarding. Such analysis might help clarify the relationships and the descent of those less thoroughly investigated classes of manuscripts, α (the *florilegia*) and γ (the "vulgate" family), that vouchsafed and disseminated the knowledge of Martial's poetry during the Middle Ages, hopefully helping to single out and define the characteristics of two or more sub-families within them. I will focus specifically on a group of neglected *florilegia* first described by B.L. Ullman in 1932 and collated by U. Carratello for his edition of the *liber spectaculorum* (Parisinus 7647; Parisinus 17903 [excerpta Parisina 188]; Escorial, Q.I. 14; Arras, Bibl. Municipale 64) which, however, has never been used in a critical edition of the twelve books of the *Epigrammaton libri*. They contain excerpts of one tenth of the poems in Book 12, often the same poems as the other more important *florilegia*, T and R. The editor will thus have to choose between Carratello's hypothesis (1974: 151-153) that our *florilegia* are not dependent on the same intermediate source (hyparchetype) as T and R, and Reeve's (1983: 241), according to which their archetype stems from the third family. A discussion of two textual problems in Book 12 is offered as a specimen of the problems the next editor will have to face.

Peter NORRIS (Liverpool)

The Experience of Frontier in the Provinces of Hispania

It took the Romans more than 200 years to conquer the Iberian Peninsula. Though such an achievement has been seen as the progression of the line of conflict, it was in fact far more complex and multi-layered than a clash of arms. The experience of the frontier entailed the integration of communities in terms of social, economic, religious and political complexities. Such a process has been viewed through the straight jacket of 'Romanisation' in whatever varied forms this takes. The frontier experience is normally written with reference to; military conquest, urbanisation, countryside and mines, but as stand alone concepts. However, the change/evolution of a region following contact and/or conquest by Roman arms did not necessarily involve a mimicking of the Roman way of life. It simply consisted of an adaption to the conditions/influences of the time, whether that is architectural, fashion, or social. Indeed, the interaction of differing population groups provided the catalyst for change, not so much in the format of pursuing a goal of imitation, but of evolution. In essence, creating something that was not there before, but has traces of multiple and varying involvement.

The idea of an evolutionary process was first espoused by F.J. Turner in the late 19th century as a framework for understanding the development of the frontier as a process of change. In frontier studies, this comprised a staged developmental concept, of increasing cooperation of populations in response to the conditions they found themselves. The influence of the homeland was mitigated by the distance from the frontier. The result of this lack of dominance was the creation of an evolutionary dynamic which produced inertia of its own, eventually controlling the actions of the central government itself.

This paper will discuss the lengths to which the process of change is recognisable in Hispania in terms of social and economic development, and in what ways these events became an imperative of change on Rome itself.

John NORTH (UCL)

Divination in action: Cicero and Clodius on the *haruspices*

Cicero's speech on the response of the *haruspices* provides our only substantial opportunity to see how the interpretation of prodigies affected political argument in late republican Rome, though there are plenty of other occasions where we can see that it must have done so. We can use the speech both to reconstruct some elements, though not the full text, of the priests' response and also the rival interpretations offered by competing politicians, even if Clodius' view can only be seen through the distorting lens of Cicero's derision. What becomes perfectly clear is that it was a political necessity that the response had to be taken seriously in the context of public debate and Cicero uses considerable skill in exploiting the opportunities that the text under consideration offered him. The 'religious' views of the participants, interesting though they may be to us, are quite irrelevant to this issue. This paper will examine the question of how Cicero sought to manage this situation, of both opportunity and risk for him, to defend his position and fight off threats to his recovered dignity and status. It will also consider the role and position of the *haruspices* themselves and the question of whether we should attribute political motivations to them as well. The underlying proposition is that issues of ritual, ceremony and the interpretation of the gods' wishes were so tightly enmeshed in Roman life that they must form part of any proper understanding of politics.

Daniel OGDEN (Exeter)

Looking for Lamia

The Graeco-Roman evidence for a series of individual Lamia monsters is reviewed. Renewed emphasis is placed upon their fundamentally anguiform nature, and they are contextualised against other female anguiforms of myth. On the basis of this, we look again for extant images of (a) Lamia: 'There are no certain representations' (Boardman); 'there is no undisputed Greek representation of her' (Burkert); and indeed none of the images LIMC offers as representations of Lamia(s) (LIMC Herakles 2834-7, Lamia 1-3) can be accepted as such. But in fact a good case can be made for a lucid image of her surviving on an early fifth-century BC pot, currently misassigned to a quite different monster.

Eleanor OKELL (Leeds)

Inheriting Thebes in Athens: Sophocles' *OC* and Euripides' *Phoenissae*

In Attic tragedy families and family relationships are routinely disrupted and redefined by the deaths of family members. Inheritance, therefore, is fundamental for comprehending tragedy. Since inheritance was a sphere of *oikos* influence in which the *polis* intervened legislatively from an early period, inheritance is only fully comprehensible with reference to the practices of individual *poleis*. Hence, inheritance provides a test case for considering Attic tragedians' techniques for creating a framework for the development of the drama and for managing audience members' engagement with their tragedies' content.

OC and *Phoenissae* both dramatise an undesirable inheritance scenario that arises because an element of an estate is not readily divisible between co-equal heirs, which then develops in a way that threatens the continuity of an *oikos*. Both dramatists have chosen to stage this scenario in such a way that: i) the sons have inherited from a living father who is legally incapable, and ii) non-violent means of conflict-resolution, whether public (appeal to the assembly in *OC*) or private

(arbitration by a family member in *Phoenissae*), fail. In addition, iii) both tragedians feature primogeniture as both grounds for dispute and as potential solutions.

This paper considers these tragedies in the light of evidence for the individual inheritance practices of a range of *poleis*. It asks to what extent and how reference to these practices made the tragedies realistic and comprehensible to a Dionysia audience composed of both Athenians and non-Athenians.

Folake ONAYEMI (Ibadan)

Transculturalism in the choral songs of Euripides' *Trojan Women* and Osofisan's *Women of Owu*

The incorporation of ancient Greek drama especially of Sophocles and Euripides in adaptations within the Yoruba culture is particularly large and growing. Femi Osofisan's *Women of Owu*, which is an adaptation of Euripides' *Trojan Women* is one of such.

Choral songs, which is an integral component of ancient Greek tragic drama diminished in importance as Greek drama advanced in development. However the flavour of the choral songs is enhanced in the transmission of these plays to African/Yoruba setting.

The objective here is to do an inter-textual analysis by examining the choral songs of the original Greek play in comparison with songs of the chorus in the adapted play by a dramatist of Yoruba origin and to demonstrate the cultural mechanisms employed thereby interpreting the socio-religious implicating of the cultural interplay between the two cultures which the songs effect.

Robin OSBORNE (Cambridge)

The construction of conflict: archaeology, epigraphy, and religion in fifth-century Athens

Accounts of cult activity in Athens, and particularly on the Athenian Acropolis, in the fifth century have repeatedly found features in the epigraphic and archaeological evidence that are hard to understand. Decisions to create cults seem to be taken and not followed up, buildings seem to have altered in the course of construction, shadows of political interference have seemed to darken the fragments of inscriptions. The problem in every case is that the neither the archaeological nor the epigraphic context of the material and inscriptional evidence is clear. This paper re-examines the epigraphic and archaeological contexts for three famous episodes, the decree concerning the Praxiergidai, the creation of the priestess and temple of Athena Nike, and the building of the Propylaia, and suggests that if some traditional prejudices are discarded, a coherent and largely conflict-free history can be reconstructed.

William OWENS (Ohio)

The Greek novel *Callirhoe*: By a freedman author for freedman readers?

Chariton, the author of *Callirhoe*, was himself a freedman. His novel appealed in particular to the literate freedman elite who contributed significantly to the culture of the late Republic and early Empire, a period that included *Callirhoe*'s mid-first century C.E. composition.

Chariton signals his own status when he describes himself as an assistant secretary (ὑπογραφεύς) to a public speaker (1.1), an occupation associated with freedmen. Later (8.1.4), Chariton implies the freedman status of his readers, promising them a cleansing (καθάρσιον) of the grim events that began the novel (τῶν σκυθρωπῶν). Unlike Aristotle's catharsis of pity and fear, Chariton's καθάρσιον is produced through a transition from slavery to freedom. Grim events associated with the protagonists' slavery (piracy, war, capture) are displaced by lawful marriage (νόμιμοι γάμοι), something permitted only to free individuals. Chariton intended this καθάρσιον as encouragement for his intended readers, that their present freedom could displace grim memories of their former lives.

The novelist's sympathies are accommodated to the experience of freedmen through the depiction of the protagonists' acts of servile deception and violence as necessary to their survival in slavery. The heroine Callirhoe is forced to marry her owner Dionysius while she is still married to Chaereas and pregnant with his child; she further deceives Dionysius that the child is his own (2.11). The brutal conditions of an agricultural estate drive Chaereas and his fellow slaves to violent resistance (4.2.5-6). Curiously, the protagonists themselves feel shame at these necessary actions. Callirhoe assigns to the absent Chaereas and her unborn child responsibility for deceiving her master (2.11.3). Chaereas later obscures his participation in the slave outbreak (8.8.2).

This curious mixture of sympathy and reservation for the protagonists' actions as slaves suggests an author and primary readers who had experienced slavery both as slaves and as slave owners — elite freedmen.

Eleni PACHOUMI (Thessaloniki)

Is Dionysus ever invoked in the *Greek Magical Papyri* from Roman Egypt?

The paper examines the invocations to Dionysus in the *Greek Magical Papyri* from Roman Egypt. Dionysus was assimilated by the Greeks from the classical period to Osiris, an Egyptian god often invoked in the magical papyri in relation to Isis, Horus, or his enemy Seth. The questions to be addressed are: Are the references to Dionysus in the magical papyri explicit, or implicit? Is the assimilation between Dionysus and Osiris testified in magic? If so, how is it presented and what does it imply? Finally, another issue I shall examine in relation to Dionysus is the use of ritualistic language and the tension to assimilate the magicians and their magic rituals with the initiated in the mystery rituals.

Athina PAPACHRYSTOMOU (Patras)

Comedy's report on post-classical Athenian society

More than a decade ago James Davidson archetypically defined sex and fish as the “consuming passions of classical Athens” and explored their catalytic role within the Athenian society.

In the present paper I intend to demonstrate, analyse, and attempt to interpret the following, multifaceted, paradox: despite the fact that the *hetairai* and the fishmongers were indeed the major purveyors of the most conspicuously sought after pleasures (sex and fish) for the Athenians, and despite also the fact that the majority of Middle and New Comedy fragments champion pleasure, nonetheless, the *hetairai* and the fishmongers are the only two professional/social groups that are singled out and parodied by the comic playwrights. Comedy's grievance, better say indignation, regarding these individuals invariably stems from the thorny question of money. The comic poets incessantly complain about the preposterously high prices charged by these professionals, and they clearly communicate a bitter feeling of resentment and antipathy against them both. In short, it would not be a hyperbole to talk of Comedy's obsession with money, in regard to these individuals.

Reading between the lines of this orchestrated attack there hides a concrete phenomenon: the unprecedented economic advancement and, consequently, the social emergence of *hetairai* and fishmongers, which takes place, as an aftereffect of monetization, in contemporary (i.e. fourth and third century BC) Athens.

The paper's first section shall look into some comic stereotypes applied to these professionals; e.g. they are portrayed as ἀνδροφόνοι (“murderers”). The second section shall attempt to reconstruct the social milieu that surrounded and favoured the emergence of the marginal – until then – figures of *hetairai* and fishmongers. Simultaneously, we shall evaluate Comedy's role in registering and commenting upon the new social and economic landscape.

Ioanna PAPADOPOULU (Thrace)

Aeschylean views on Landscape and Environment: Plays without Space or Plays on Space?

In the surviving plays of Aeschylus sometimes occurs a vast and in other cases a close connection of the action (or the plot/mythos) to certain environmental imagery or scenery. This paper will exploit the connection between the dramatic space and the use of landscapes/environmental references in the Aeschylean dramaturgy. Two main questions will be explored: a) How (and why) had Aeschylus to stress these references; in other words: does a 'hidden' use of the landscapes/environmental references, apart from the dramatic space, apply, and b) Can be concluded that, according to Aeschylus, the environment affects, in any way, not only the process of the plot but also the ethos of the heroes and the heroines?

The oral communication will consist of two main parts: a) Some passages will be singled out and discussed shortly in order to underline the importance or the indifference of the landscape in Aeschylean tragedy, and b) these observations will be incorporated in the theatrical 'opsis', and its possible -indented and studious- 'reinvention' by the tragic poet.

Robert PARKER (Oxford)

Religion and politics in Caria

Religion and politics intersect in Caria in several ways. Internally, Caria offers one and perhaps two model examples of the 'politico-religious' league, in the Chrysaorean and the Carian leagues. It is also a region where the imprint on cults of external control (by e.g. the Seleucids and Rhodes, to say nothing of Rome) is particularly clear. The paper will explore aspects of these intersections and influences.

Joanna Paul (Open University)

Coding Roman Sexual Deviance in Fifties and Sixties Hollywood

The Motion Picture Production Code, popularly known as the Hays Code, had a significant impact on the content of Hollywood movies from the early 1930s to the late 1960s, an era which also coincides with the 'Golden Age' of ancient world epic filmmaking. This paper explores the complex interactions between this system of censorship and cinemagoers' enthusiasm for ancient narratives, arguing that the resulting tensions are part of a wider discourse on our competing urges to embrace, and censor, a titillating or even depraved antiquity. That the ancient world should become a particularly contested area is not surprising: on the one hand, its biblical-era stories were ideal material for filmmakers adhering to the Code's injunctions to censor immoral material and uphold traditional values; on the other hand, the distant ancient setting, and the moral imperative of its narrative, compensated for and positively legitimated spectacular displays of eroticism and violence that were often more risqué than those typically allowed. Even the relatively safe depiction of Rome in *Quo Vadis* (1951) draws attention to the virility of its hero and the erotic temptations of Nero's wife Poppaea. Hollywood epics also provided a testing ground for the screen presentation of homosexuality, as in the famous 'oysters and snails' sequence of *Spartacus* (1960), or Gore Vidal's *Ben-Hur* (1959) script-note which suggested that Ben-Hur and Messala were once lovers, an inference coded so heavily that not even Charlton Heston was made aware of it until many years later. Hollywood's Roman films may not have succeeded in openly flaunting the Code – and their images of sexual deviance could be starkly contrasted with what was on offer in Europe only a few years later, with *Fellini's Satyricon* (1969) – but nevertheless they offer interesting examples of how the moral circumscriptions of mainstream 20th cinema could shape receptions of antiquity.

Ayelet PEER (Tel Aviv)

Sibi semper primam fuisse dignitatem vitaque potioem: Julius Caesar's self-representation in the speeches of the *Bellum Civile*

Julius Caesar's enigmatic character has been the subject of scholarly research for centuries, his name being almost synonymous with the might of ancient Rome. For centuries scholars have debated Caesar's real intentions, his military and political strategy, and his literary talent.

My aim is to discuss how Caesar the author of the *Bellum Civile* (BC) meticulously creates the literary image of Caesar the emperor through a series of speeches. I will examine the ideas that Caesar consistently emphasizes, his vocabulary, and his presentation of himself and the Pompeians through various means in his orations. Caesar's intricate relations with the *populus Romanus* and his ambivalent perception of the *res publica* will also be probed.

Like every skilled orator, Caesar carefully tailors each speech to its particular audience, although his main arguments are always the same. As an author he exhibits consistency, which contributes to his credibility, and displays versatility in his approach to different crowds.

Caesar faced a complex task: he had to create a credible image of himself and portray his motives convincingly since he was perceived (and blamed – especially by the Roman *nobiles* he wished to sway) as the instigator of a civil war.

He had to convince his audience that the real blame lay with Pompeius and the senate, while he himself unwillingly resorted to battle only in self-defence. Yet he could not appear too vindictive or hateful.

The BC with its the speeches emerges as a document of its time, as dynamic as its author and the changes he wrought, the product of a brief period of time in which Caesar transformed Rome, himself, and the world.

Andrej PETROVIC (Durham)

Geography of Magical Beyonds: Eschatological concepts in Greek Magic

Surviving magical papyri, tablets and amulets (available in PGM, Supp.Mag., DT, Gager and Kotansky) provide a unique insight into syncretistic processes which have forged the eschatological concepts adopted by performers of magical rituals (and/or authors of ritual instructions) from late Hellenistic epoch until early Byzantine period. Next to each other (although, perhaps, not always on equal footing) we encounter the ideas of beyond which stem from both different cultural and diverse educational backgrounds. Of particular interest, therefore, are those magical instructions and spells which simultaneously incorporate and/or merge originally distinct ("high" and "low", "philosophical" and "vulgar") and sometimes also culturally unrelated eschatological concepts into the solidified patchwork that is performer's notion of magical beyond.

In this sense, my paper will in the first part concentrate on the geography and stratification of magical underworld: rather than to concentrate on cultural exchangeability of eschatological features and figures in Greek spells (e.g. the role of Abraxas vs. Mithras vs. Seth in individual spells), I will first offer an overview of the paradigms of Beyond (including both the Below and the Above) attested in the Greek magical material (partly resulting from my study of typology of magical sacrifices), which will be followed by an analysis of diversity in the Jenseits-geography represented in the magical papyri. In the final part of my paper, I will investigate the liminal contexts of the performance of the incantations and will posit that the magical dramaturgy demands of the performer to create settings / place themselves in environments which, in a number of situations, are either clearly marked by features normally reserved for the beyond, or strongly resemble landscape-features of the netherworld(s).

Ivana PETROVIC (Durham)

Posidippus' travelling stones

I propose to discuss the presentation of space in the first sequence of epigrams in the collection ascribed to Posidippus containing 20 fictional inscriptions on stones entitled *Lithika*. The epigrams depict the travelling of precious and semi-precious stones from faraway places such as Hydraspes, Persia, Arabia all over the (now) Greek world and their journey sees them carved with intricate pictures, set into rings and necklaces, placed on the fingers of Darius III or tyrant Polycrates, only to end up together in the book which contains them all, like a treasure-chest. The displacement of the stones evokes the travels of its genre, the epigram, which originated as an inscription on material objects, such as grave stones and dedications in temples, only to be fictionalized and transformed into book poetry in the Hellenistic period. The fascination with the initial, practical use of the epigram remains its main hallmark, but the Hellenistic epigram features fictive instead of real objects and invokes – or rather, creates the places in the phantasia of the reader. Apart from a poetological reading of Posidippus' epigrams on stones, a political reading is possible, one that emphasizes the sway of the Greeks over distant, fabulous and mysterious areas previously known only from the stories of adventurers and travellers. Who owns the stones now? King Ptolemy, who is mentioned in the last poem of the collection (20) and whose areas are symbolized through poems and the stones containing them. Thus the collection of epigrams resembles the Ptolemaic empire en miniature and evokes each individual area the Ptolemies rule. Space and time collapse in the collection, precious stones are emblematic of the rich cultural and political influence of the Ptolemies and of the powers of poetry to encompass them all and compress both time and space in mere 20 poems.

Kerry PHELAN (Maynooth)

Women, War and Work in Demosthenes 57

With a primary focus on citizen women, the purpose of this paper is to construct an image of female public labour in classical Athens. It will thereby challenge the still fairly standard ideological belief that women of civic birth were isolated from Athenian society and restricted in terms of mobility in public spaces. Despite growing interest in women's social history since the first half of the twentieth century, the many scholars who have emphasised conflicting evidence against the traditional view of comparative female seclusion have made little of the sources that indicate the employment of citizen women outside of the οἶκος. Moreover, current Classics courses and academic publications, often broadly entitled 'Women in Ancient Greece', tend to focus on female representations of the upper-classes, specifically those who adhered to the social norm of separation. One reason to account for the neglect of this topic might be the wide dispersion of the source material throughout a large number of ancient texts. This paper will offer a complementary view to the 'respectable' role of women by gathering such material and thus painting a picture of the lesser-discussed female social group, those who worked in order to make a living for themselves and their families. These citizen women were undoubtedly compelled to work by poverty or the social hardship of war. Indeed Cohen and Brock briefly visited the matter in respective articles. However, I will attempt to present an overview of my research with particular reference to Demosthenes' oration, *Against Eubulides*, which offers a secure starting point for the appreciation of the complexity of the female role in Classical Athens. Euxitheos, the disenfranchised citizen for whom the speech was written circa 346/345 BC, states that the accusations against him particularly concerned his mother, Nicarete, and her employment as a wet-nurse and later in the sale of ribbons. This paper will briefly discuss these and other professions mentioned by Euxitheos that were undertaken by citizen women in similar situations, and ultimately conclude that their contributions to public labour should no longer be overlooked.

Philip PRATT (Harvard)

Weathering the storm: Statius, Domitian, and the Kalendae Decembres.

In *Silvae* I.6, Statius commemorates a festival that Domitian held on the *Kalendae Decembres*. The poem records the gifts, banquet, and games that were provided by the emperor.

After listing the gifts distributed at the festival's opening, Statius likens this *sparsio* to Jupiter's rain (21-7). Although the eulogistic force of the comparison is obvious, scholars have struggled to explain the violence of this imagery: Domitian's storm batters the people with "serene hail" (*plebem grandine contudit serena*, 24).

This paper will argue that Statius' metaphor provides a particularly nuanced example of "pre-emptive criticism." Passages of this sort, though rare in the *Silvae*, endeavor to correct unflattering stories that were already in the public sphere. The story here, I shall suggest, is to be found in Dio LXVII.8.2-4, which describes a *naumachia* given by Domitian despite heavy rain. Suetonius also mentions this storm (*Dom.* 4.2), but Dio goes much further, stating that Domitian had compelled his audience to remain seated without a change of clothes. Several spectators subsequently died.

Dio goes on to report that Domitian had hosted a public banquet as consolation for these deaths. It has been suggested elsewhere that this banquet matches Suetonius' description of the *Septimontium*, a festival in honor of the Seven Hills (*Dom.* 4.5). Suetonius' passage has, in turn, been linked to Statius' *Kalendae*. But these three texts have not been considered together.

In short, this paper will argue that, in 89, Domitian had held a *naumachia* during a thunderstorm and that this had, at the very least, occasioned a negative response. The meteorological imagery in I.6 thus makes good sense as a positive spin on an unfortunate event at an earlier spectacle. Moreover, it does this without explicitly identifying the original incident. Finally, this paper supplies further evidence for a link between Statius' *Kalendae* and Suetonius' *Septimontium*. This link has previously been overshadowed by an interest in the text's Saturnalian tone.

Nancy Sorkin RABINOWITZ (Hamilton College)

Marriage or Rape? Aeschylus' *Suppliants* and Charles Mee's *Big Love*

Feminist politics in the 1970's and 1980's focused on changing the legal definition of rape, which until then went back to Blackstone's "carnal knowledge of a woman forcibly and against her will." As a result of that movement, consent became the salient factor in making a case, not the demonstration of force. When you look to ancient Greece from this perspective, problems emerge. First of all, there is no one word corresponding to our "rape." Second, given the norms of Athenian women's lives, consent might seem to be anachronistic.

Though consent has been taken to be irrelevant to oratory and comedy (Omitowoju 2002; Ogden 2002), in this paper, I will argue that it is highly relevant to tragedy, in particular in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* (Sommerstein 2006). Though rape and forced marriage are prominent in the play's action, the discourse presents significant ambiguity as to whether this is rape, and who is entitled to protection from unwanted sexual contact. This ambiguity is based on differences in point of view and status respectively, and it raises questions for the modern reader, especially one with a feminist orientation.

The troubling audience response is related to present-day contests over the term "rape." I will highlight this relevance by an analysis of Charles Mee's *Big Love*, his version of Aeschylus' play, which he interestingly enough labels one of his "comedies and romances." Mee takes contemporary themes of rape and asylum, found in the ancient play, and puts them in a modern context. As with many modern works, his version may lead us to look back at the ancient play with new eyes.

Holly RANGER (Birmingham)

A critical analysis of Ali Smith's lesbian feminist reception of the tale of Iphis and Ianthe in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (9.666-797), with comparisons to feminist contributions in Philip Terry's anthology *Ovid Metamorphosed*

The Roman poet Ovid has been aligned with antifeminist rhetoric since the medieval period, and has been frequently misinterpreted and appropriated by those with an anti-feminist agenda. In the 1980s and 1990s feminist classicists still accepted this view of Ovid's inherent misogyny, with Amy Richlin's *Pornography and Representation* (1992) most notably claiming the *Metamorphoses* to be an epic of rape. Feminist archetypal theorists also argue that the archetypes of women presented in myth have oppressed women throughout history (see, for example, Pomeroy's 1975 *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves*), but by exposing and reworking these archetypes women can create new identities for themselves.

I propose to present a case study of some recent work of reception by contemporary women writers who are reclaiming Ovid for feminists, focusing primarily on Ali Smith's lesbian reinterpretation of the story of Iphis and Ianthe at *Metamorphoses* 9.666-797 in her 2006 novella *Girl meets boy*. I will be examining how Smith reworks the narrative of Ovid's original yet is faithful to his style with the use of recurring water-imagery and classical allusions throughout the work. Smith uses Ovid's theme of metamorphosis as a starting point for her presentation of the fluidity of gender, but I will also be looking at how queer theory, particularly the work of Judith Butler, has influenced her treatment of gender and sexuality, and the influence of the creative writing of French feminist Monique Wittig on her style. I will be comparing the influence of feminist theory on Smith's reception of Ovid with the selection of short stories by women with a feminist agenda in Philip Terry's 2000 *Ovid Metamorphosed* (including Margaret Atwood, A. S. Byatt, Joyce Carol Oates, Suniti Namjoshi, Michèle Roberts and Marina Warner), looking at how or if feminist theory has influenced their reception of Ovid and writing style.

Benjamin RAYNOR (Oxford)

Macedonian Expansion and the Polis in the Fourth Century: Alteration and Diversification

The expansion of Macedonia saw a multitude of different communities come under the sway of the Macedonian king, including many formerly independent Greek *poleis*. The Macedonian kings had to find a way to integrate these communities into their kingdom while deriving maximum benefit from them for a minimum of cost and disruption. This paper examines the structures established for the integration of these communities, largely established by Philip II (360/59-336 BC), and their effect on the characteristics of those communities over time. Building upon recent studies which have rightly stressed the spread and vitality of Hellenic civic institutions in the wake of Macedonian expansion, this paper stresses the fundamental contrasts expressed in the administrative regularisation of a kingdom containing diverse communities with proud histories. There is a cursory regularity of administration on a local level apparent in the (admittedly patchy) surviving sources for the Macedonian kingdom of Philip and his successors. But upon closer inspection this apparent homogeneity conceals a multitude of enduring local variations, fostered and maintained by royal policy that was at times autocratic and at times sensitive. Such variations included, for example, the articulation of the activity of loose regional organisations through *polis*-style institutions, and the establishment of administrative *sympolities*. Other aspects of royal policy curtailed or stopped altogether the deployment of civic resources in some arenas, but encouraged (directly or indirectly) the development of other vectors for expressions of civic vitality by groups of or individual *poleis*. By further exploring the nature of the institutional arrangement of the Macedonian kingdom after Philip, this paper argues for a nuanced understanding of the changes in the civic identity and energy of Greek *poleis* after their absorption into Macedonia.

Eleanor REEVE (Oxford)

Rustic Sensibilities in Rome's Cosmopolitan Comedy

The 3rd and 2nd centuries BC saw Rome rise from a rural township to the ruling *Urbs* of the ancient Mediterranean. The adaptations of Greek New Comedy so popular during this period reflect Rome's increasingly cosmopolitan outlook and sophisticated tastes. However, these plays also attach great significance to the countryside and a simpler, rustic life. This paper looks at the representation of rural life in these comedies and, in particular, at its distinctly Roman dynamics. While clearly a part of wider comic and classical tradition, the rustic jokes, language and imagery of these productions are profoundly involved with contemporary changes in the city of Rome and the Italian countryside. This portrayal of rural life, more involved with its historical context than has previously been acknowledged, offers valuable insight into Rome's relationship with her rural surroundings and illuminates the growing importance of her rustic origins and development for Roman identity and ideology. This paper focuses on the works of Plautus and Terence, while also including the *fabulae togatae* and touching upon later literary mime and farce. Three major rustic elements will be highlighted within these texts: the humorous references to contemporary changes in agricultural management and infrastructure; the widespread use of language and imagery derived from the agricultural world and the representation of rustic speech. These elements, it will be demonstrated, enhance our understanding of contemporary agricultural advancement, its impact on the Roman *populus* and upon popular perceptions of the countryside. Such elements do not, therefore, merely reproduce classical *topoi*, but offer a unique glimpse at a city caught between country town and cosmopolitan capital. The paper will conclude that the representation of rusticity in Roman Comedy relies heavily upon its historical context, revealing something of the evolving position of the *rus* in Rome's increasingly cosmopolitan outlook.

Sofie REMIJSEN (Leuven)

The city and the end of the ancient *agones*

The typical Greek athletic contests came to an end in the course of the fourth and early fifth century AD, under the influence of a changing mentality toward physical exercises and competing, and of broad economic and political changes that affected the role of these contests in late antique society. This pivotal cultural evolution has thus far received little attention in scholarship. This paper – forming part of a broader study of the *agones* in late antiquity – will discuss how changes on the level of the *polis* and the local elite were an important factor for the end of the games. While some studies stress the involvement of Roman emperors in the continual expansion of the agonistic circuit in the Principate, the reasonably well-documented procedure for the institution of new contests clearly shows that emperors were mainly trying to keep the expansion in financially sane limits, while the cities planned, financed, organized and promoted the games. Therefore, it was the cities and in particular the most influential families within their councils that carried the tremendous success of athletics in the first three centuries AD. In the fourth century, cities lost much of their income, and city councils much of their power to act independently. This could not but impede their role in the organization of *agones*. In order to understand what happened in the fourth century, this paper will start from an analysis of the way *agones* were financed and of how decisions concerning the games were taken and carried through during the Principate. In a second part, it will study how economic crisis and political centralization affected these organizational aspects. Particular attention will be paid to how political evolutions changed the ambitions of the local elite.

Ian REPATH (Swansea)

A Swarm of Intertextuality: Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, and Plato

When Achilles Tatius' anonymous narrator meets Clitophon, he asks him what he has suffered; the latter replies that he is stirring up a swarm of words. The anonymous narrator takes him to a grove, where there are plane trees and a cool, clear stream, to listen to his story (*Leucippe and Clitophon* 1.2). When Heliodorus' Cnemon meets Calasiris, he asks him what he has suffered; the latter replies that he is stirring up a swarm of evils. They leave the riverbank to find some shelter from the midday sun so that Calasiris can tell Cnemon his story (*Aethiopica* 2.21).

In both situations, we find allusions to Plato's *Republic* (the swarm) and *Phaedrus* (aspects of the setting). It does not seem likely that it is a coincidence both novelists allude to the same parts of the same texts in the introduction to their principal internal narrations, and so the reader is confronted with intertextuality between Achilles Tatius and Plato, between Heliodorus and Plato, and between Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, including the latter's intertextuality with Plato. The two scenes are in various ways programmatic for the narratives to come, and the intertextualities suggest possibilities and raise questions about the ways in Plato, and Achilles Tatius, will be important. This paper will outline the similarities and significant differences between the two scenes, and suggest some of the factors and dynamics involved, such as: role-playing, unthinking enthusiasm and apparent reluctance, the reliability of narrators, manipulation of narratees, and, most importantly, attitudes to women and sex.

Luke RICHARDSON (UCL)

Prometheus in Algiers: Albert Camus, revolt and the role of the mythic.

Albert Camus, in a reference in his notebooks, delineated his major intellectual projects in terms of Greek myths:

'I. The myth of Sisyphus (Absurd) – II. The myth of Prometheus (revolt) – III. The myth of Nemesis.'

His major essay on the Absurd famously concludes with a retelling of the story of Sisyphus and the work on Nemesis remained only conceptual at the time of his death. Yet the most varied and recurrent mythic figure in Camus' literature is that of Prometheus who he imagined both as the prototypical rebel and as the ultimate humanist. The figure of Prometheus is central to the 1951 the essay *L'Homme révolté* but one of Camus' earliest literary projects was a reimagining to the Aeschylean tragedy. Prometheus spans Camus' entire career, appearing in many differing guises and situations, and is in many ways more essential to his literature than the more familiar figure of Sisyphus.

The Promethean theme in Camus is currently underexplored. This paper will discuss Prometheus and Camus in some important contexts. Firstly, Camus' use of Greek myth in his philosophical essays its relation to the long tradition of this in European literature (of which Prometheus was an important figure). Secondly the nature of his reception: few of his incarnations of Prometheus bear much relation to ancient sources. Is Camus' Prometheus a reception at all or rather personal philosophy presented in the guise of Greek antiquity? Finally, what does Camus' insistence on the use of Greek myth reveal about the cultural tensions of French Algeria during its final volatile years? This paper will discuss Prometheus in the context of Camus' philosophy of Revolt and what this consciously idiosyncratic reception of Greek myth can demonstrate to us about the role of classics in Twentieth Century literature in both Europe and colonial Africa.

Andrew ROBERTS (KCL)

The turn to Alexander: Britain and Asia from William Robertson to George Grote

Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 left commentators and politicians aghast at the vulnerability of British trade interests in Asia to the aggression of European powers. Faced with a land invasion

of India, Alexander the Great was an obvious parallel for their antagonist's ambition towards the subcontinent. Athens had been used as a model for sea-based imperialism from the eighteenth century, and Greece and Rome would to be seen as touchstones for empire and civilisation in the coming decades. Less well understood is how Alexander's martial achievements and their legacy would have growing relevance for imperial discourse and foreign policy given the swing to consider the lands that he had once conquered as imperative to empire. This paper will analyse the incipient genre of Greek history to understand how Alexander became an indispensable paradigm initially for protecting empire, and then later ruling in Asia.

Alexander's vision of a commercial empire was praised by William Robertson, and his aims for 'civilising' his empire were unavoidable considerations for John Gillies, William Mitford and their successors. His perceived ideological approach to the acculturation of conquered and conquerors, and his own character development were considered germane to notions of how, and if, *mores* could change, degenerate or improve. He could be a hero of European cultural hegemony according to E.A. Freeman or an annihilator of civilisation as written by George Grote, and eventually his cultural and political strategy was even cited in discussions of India's reconstitution in 1858. This paper will place emphasis on the importance of the historical genre in shaping Alexander's legacy, and how as a singular, albeit changeable, character (as opposed to the conglomerates of Athens and Rome) he provided a unique if ambivalent partner in imperialism.

Helen ROCHE (Cambridge)

'Youth of Sparta and of Mars': Uses and Abuses of Classics at the Prussian Cadet-Schools (1818-1920)

Above the grand entrance of the Central Cadet-School in Groß-Lichterfelde, Berlin, there stood the inscription '*Martis et Minervae Alumnis*'. However, the cadets who passed under this portal were well aware that their lives were more likely to be dedicated to war than to wisdom.

Nevertheless, the Prussian Cadet-Corps' syllabuses and curricula placed a strong emphasis on Classics, even though the schools followed the curriculum of a *Realgymnasium* (Latin was taught, but no Greek). In particular, ancient history was a major ingredient in the curriculum of the eight preparatory cadet-schools (*Voranstalten*) for boys aged 10-15.

Using sources such as textbooks, memoirs and newly-researched archival material, this paper would aim to explore the ways in which Classical literature and ancient history were taught at the cadet-schools, and to demonstrate that the treatment of Classical subject-matter in lessons led the pupils in question to embrace Classical models (the more war-like and self-sacrificing the better) even outside the classroom.

For instance, an enduring trope among cadets of all ages was the idea that they were true '*Spartanerjünglinge*' (Spartan youths). The boys identified their educational experiences with those of young Spartans, and even coined a verb '*spartanern*' to describe their competitive strivings to endure extremes of self-inflicted suffering without flinching.

The cadets' ideas of the Classical world also strongly influenced their choice of games and recreations – as well as the imaginative devices employed by senior boys to bully their juniors. Role models were drawn not just from Sparta but from a wide range of episodes in Roman as well as Greek history. Many boys were even inspired to write dramas based on Classical subjects for performance by their classmates, ranging from comedies set on Olympus to tragedies based on the Jugurthine War, or the defeat of Varus by Arminius in the Teutoburg Forest.

Thom RUSSELL (Oxford)

The Athenian Empire and Local Identity: The Bosphorus Straits

Polybius, in the context of the third century BC, described the inhabitants of Byzantium as 'common benefactors of all' (*koinoi euergetai panton*), on the grounds that they maintained

freedom of shipping between Greece and the Black Sea. Byzantium, according to Polybius, could do so because of a unique, unsubstitutable strategic position which allowed it to dominate the straits. In fact, the geography and hydrography of the area did not favour the site of Byzantium in itself, but instead required for any one power to dominate the straits control over the whole Bosphorus-Gebiet with its approaches: the context of Byzantium's third century career as 'common benefactor' is a period when it possessed precisely this kind of regional control. In the fifth century, when such control lay with Athens, it is possible to observe how imperial financial policies at the straits were designed to tax the area as a zone, intended to centralize control over the area at an arbitrarily chosen entrepôt. This much has been well documented by Vincent Gabrielezen, in his important paper 'Trade and tribute: Byzantium and the Black Sea straits' (2007). An unexplored consequence of this is the theme of the present paper: how the Athenian Empire impacted on local identity at the straits. It is argued that the centralizing tendencies of an external empire exaggerated feelings of regional association, expressions of which can be observed in Byzantium's early coinage, the mythological history and local traditions of the Bosphorus, funerary epigrams, and in onomastics. Such a regional identity encouraged Byzantium, the city chosen as Athens' entrepôt in the fifth century, to view itself as the legitimate mistress of the Bosphorus; and set up the institutional framework for it to act as such in the third century.

Cressida RYAN (Oxford)

Plugging the Teacher Training Gap? PG students in the classroom

There are many graduate students who would like to go into Classics teaching, and many schools lacking Classics teachers. Yet the TDA has kept PGCE places capped at what we all realise is an unhelpfully low level. Post-graduate students undertake a range of training courses during their studies, designed to help them complete their work and prepare them to transfer those skills to the marketplace. In the absence of sufficient formal ITT places, what value is there in offering units of teacher training to equip PG students to manage particular courses or classes, such as GCSE or primary Latin groups, and are these of sufficient benefit to schools to merit investment? What role might the AHRC's 'researcher in residence' have in such training, and is this a situation particular to Classics, or a model which could be applicable to other Humanities subjects?

Francesca SAPSFORD (Birmingham)

Readers and Reading In Martial's *Epigrams*

In the last couple of decades of the first century AD readers read books, they used their eyes rather than their mouths to read, and the most important thing they could read was a serial epigrammatic post-Vergilian epic.

Or, at least, this is the case in the Martialverse, the literary world created within the *Epigrams*. This is Martial's self-fashioning masterpiece, a world where epigrams can become epic, and books of trifles can aspire to become an interconnected epic narrative; a series created to be read and reread in the same way as the great works of the past.

In this paper I will show how Martial directs his readers to read his books in a different way. Related to this is the interconnectedness created throughout the twelve books whereby the reader is constantly reminded of how and what they are reading. The main strategy used for this is the use of three main themes: the book and writing, oral sex and *os impurum*, and food and dining. Martial creates a way for the *lector studiosus* to be led through the books of poems; they are reminded what they are reading, where they are reading, and what they are using (and not using) to read. In this way, Martial creates not only a counterpoint to contemporary authors who emphasise the importance of recitation (such as Pliny), but, more importantly, shows a new way of using inter- and intratextuality. He creates a new kind of serial work, one which connects in the same way as the highbrow epic but at the same time uses lowbrow poetry to do so. Martial's

following and subversion of earlier authors and genres produces a new type of text which, in my opinion, has yet to be appreciated as such by modern scholars.

Maria Chiara SCAPPATICCIO (Naples)

Learning Latin: Artes Grammaticae in Papyri and Parchment Scraps

The PL III / 504 is a small *lacinia membranacea* presumably written in IV d.C.: there are just a few and fragmentary lines concerning a grammatical topic and containing the citation of Vergilian exameters (*Aen.* 11, 12-13). Even if there are sever analogies with what can be read in the section *de tropis* in Charisius' grammar about the *dialysis* or in Sacerdos about the *parenthesis*, the author of the *Ars grammatica* of the PL III / 504 has to be considered unknown: the only certainty is that a grammatical text was know and, maybe, circulated in classrooms in the Oriental part of the Empire. In the same direction have to be seen other documents, such as the *PLit. Lond.* inv. 184 + *PMich.* VII 429 (containing another Vergilian quotation), what remains of an *Ars* talking about the speech's parts and other grammatical features, written on the *verso* of a military document (II d.C.) and the *PBodl. Libr.* inv. Gr. bibl. d2 (III-IV d.C.), while the grammatical *PLouvre* inv. E 7332 (V-VI d.C.) or the *PLouvre* inv. E 7401 (VI d.C.; inedit) involve the more complex matter of bilingualism and bi-graphism. These documents make our knowledge of teaching and learning Latin in the Eastern provinces grown, together with all the annotations in Latin literary papyri – from Vergil to Cicero and Sallust – which have to be considered as a comment to texts, and all information they train have to be linked to what we know thanks to Late Antiquity's 'teachers', the *Grammatici Latini* and the *Auctores'* commentators.

Katia SCHORLE (Oxford)

Bu Njem: Soldiers, Tribes and Desert Trade along the Tripolitanian Border

This paper explores the relationship between the desert fort of Bu Njem and local tribes, and Bu Njem's position in the long-distance trade into the Sahara. Located 300 km from Lepcis, on the frontier of Roman Tripolitania (modern Libya), Bu Njem was built upon the arrival of the third Legion Augusta on the 24th of January AD 201, and remained occupied by a garrison consisting of c. 208 to 360 men until shortly after AD 259 and before AD 263. The fort was located on the main trade routes of Tripolitania, and oversaw the key trade routes to the South towards the Fezzan oasis belt, but also to the southwest towards Zella and the Giofra region, which were routes towards Egypt. Rather than acting as a closed defensive border, the evidence from Bu Njem suggests cooperation with the Saharan tribes. Bu Njem's role cannot therefore be simply explained as a military one; it also regulated long-distance trade. The development of a town around the fort further suggests that the fort served as a caravan stop. Ostraca (written potsherds) found in the process of excavations revealed considerable information on the fort's activities, on the transport organization of goods between local tribes and the army, but also on the contacts with the Saharan tribe of the Garamantes, which we now know traded with the Roman Empire on a considerable scale. This paper will therefore re-examine the ostraca in light of further literary evidence concerning transactions in the region, but also discuss the wider significance of the fort in the long-distance trade with the Sahara.

Michael SCOTT (Cambridge)

Title: Final moments? Representing death on tombs in the Geek and Roman worlds

Grave-reliefs 590 and 594 from the archaeological museum on Delos depict images of sailors flailing in the water, desperately trying to reach their ships from where they have fallen. The images depict the final moments of the lives the steles now commemorate, perhaps even the moment of death itself. Within the context of the range of imagery usually presented on Greek and Roman grave markers and sarcophagi, these images are very unusual. In the Greek world the most

popular scenes for tomb markers were that of the dead being mourned by the living or greeted by other deceased. More rare were the scenes of the dead in heroic moments of their life (often fighting on the battlefield), or contemplating their own deaths. In the Roman world, the same range of scenes was complemented by a plethora of mythological stories, animal scenes and reclined banqueting. How then should we understand this unusual choice to depict the final moments of the deceased in the case of the two Delian sailors? This paper looks at the implications of these images for our understanding of the particular individuals, their temporal and physical context. Given that the most plausible comparisons to other (themselves very rare) scenes of death are with women who die in childbirth and child deaths, this paper argues for the importance of the sudden, unexpected, tragic nature of the sailors' deaths in explaining the choice of imagery. But it also argues, given the comparanda, that the images go further and problematise the masculinity of these individuals and, more widely, the ultimate fragility of (even male) humanity in relation to the power of the sea and the Gods.

Davide Antonio SECCI (Oxford)

Fateful toys: Zeus' ball revisited (Ap.Rh. Arg. 3.131-41)

The ball (originally belonging to the infant Zeus) that Aphrodite promises to Eros in exchange for his help at Ap. Rh. Arg. 3.1129-44 has generated a number of different interpretations that try to explain the apparently irreconcilable elements of its description. Most of the efforts have focused on the technical description of the device, in the attempt to provide a coherent description of its components. The aim of this paper is to focus instead on the symbolism of the components of the ball, which appears to portray specifically the sky covered with storm-clouds, behind which the lightning awaits to be released. Particularly important, within this perspective, is the concept of *κρυπταὶ ῥαφαί* (Arg. 3.139) as 'locks within the sky', which Apollonius hints at by means of a composite allusion to two Homeric passages: *ῥαφή* and *κρυπτός* are *hapax legomena* both in Apollonius and in Homer (respectively, at *Od.* 22.186 and *Il.* 14.168). The description of the ball acquires thus the function of portraying of Zeus' future dominion and his future trademark weapon, and of portraying Adrasteia's gift for the infant Zeus as something more than a simple toy.

Eivind SELAND (Bergen)

Pliny, Appian and Palmyra

The Syrian city of Palmyra is famous for its role in the caravan trade between the Roman and Arsacid (Parthian) empires and between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. This trade is primarily known from a corpus of ca 35 so-called caravan inscriptions. In contrast, there is a relative paucity of literary sources, with only two surviving references from the pre third century period, one in Pliny (*NH* 5.88), the other in Appian (*Bell. Civ.* 5.9). Most modern scholarship considers both accounts as ridden with anachronisms. Pliny's report is also claimed to be badly informed on local conditions and is regarded as a likely example of a literary *topos*. Recent archaeological work by the Syrian-Austrian mission has brought the problem of the early phases of Palmyrene urbanism to the forefront, while the surveys of the Syrian-Norwegian mission north of Palmyra are revealing extensive agricultural activities in the hinterland of the city. These results alone warrant a reconsideration of Appian's claim that Palmyrene trade was underway by the mid first century BC, and Pliny's report that the city was surrounded by fields, but other parts of the texts also deserve fresh attention, which arguably shows that their contents is quite compatible with what we know about the history of the caravan city from other sources.

Matilde SERANGELI (Köln)

Greco- Lycian Bilingual Inscriptions: a case of *Diglossia*?

The relationship between the Greek and the language of the ancient Lycia in the fifth and fourth century BCE is controversial. Lycian is attested almost solely on coin legends (200 pieces) and short inscriptions in a Greek-derived alphabet (191 pieces); 20 Graeco-Lycian bilingual inscriptions show some similarities between the two languages as for phonetic (e.g. *s>h*, i.e. **k^w>t* before front vowels), morphological (e.g. *genitivus adiectivalis*), syntactic (the word order SVO/OVS) and lexical aspects (e.g. *θθê* "stele" < **tasê*, Greek *θεός*). It is especially noteworthy that all such features are in contrast with the other Anatolian languages; indeed, the position of the Lycian in the Anatolian family and in the Aegean area is still disputed. I explore these connections by a synchronic and diachronic perspective in order to determine whether they may represent the result of an independent linguistic evolution, or depend on a cultural influence (superstrate). Another point at issue is how this relationship can be traced back to its origins: even the very way the Anatolian world came to interfere in Hellenistic Greek is still obscure - could we possibly speak of a *Überlagerungs-* or *Ersatzungsprozess*?

Julia L. SHEAR (American School of Classical Studies at Athens)

Civil strife, the gods, and the city: the Artemisia at Amarynthos

In about 340 B.C., the people of Eretria decided to add competitions in music and other cultural events to the existing festival of Artemis at Amarynthos and they inscribed the necessary decree on stone (RO 73). Cited as comparanda for the parallel contests at the Panathenaia and as an example of a festival celebrating a city, the document also encourages the greatest participation possible, but scholars have not particularly focused on this issue. As I argue, the emphasis on taking part in the proceedings must be seen in the political context of the years after 341, when the city was again democratic after a period of tyranny and *stasis*. Through changes to this festival, the Eretrians recreated their relationships both with themselves and with the divine.

After the political disruptions, the lack of restrictions on participation allowed all Eretrians to take part in the festival irrespective of their previous political actions. Consequently, at the Artemisia, they will have displayed themselves as a united people and their earlier divisions will not have been visible. By changing one of the city's most important existing festivals, the *demos* also demonstrated its control of the city and it put its rule on display. In addition, its actions renewed the reciprocal relations between Artemis and the people of Eretria which had been disrupted by the previous regime and the civil strife. In this way, they assured themselves of divine support for the newly democratic city. The Artemisia thus demonstrates how, in the aftermath of civil strife, politics and religion had to interact on multiple levels in order to bring the city back together again and to rebuild her relations with the divine. In this way, both processes worked towards the same end: harmony in the city and with the gods.

Cara SHELDRAKE (Exeter)

Searching for the Cassiterides

Our ideas about how to approach classical historical source material have changed radically over the last hundred years and this paper looks at one particular example of a change from using texts to describe the ancient world and actions/events that occurred in it to the deconstruction of a literary historical work. I intend to examine how different scholars have approached the notion of the accuracy of ancient texts and the importance they have attached to the 'truth' revealed by them with special reference to the Cornish claim to have been part of the Classical Cassiterides. I will compare early modern and nineteenth century criticisms of the relevant ancient texts (including Polybius, Diodorus & Strabo) and illustrate how sections of the text have been edited to demonstrate ideas about Cornwall.

Debate about the true source of the western tin trade begins with Herodotus, who says *nor do I know anything about the islands called the Cassiterides, whence comes our tin...* but by the mid-nineteenth century scholars in Cornwall were convinced that not only did they know that Cornwall was that source of ancient Mediterranean tin but also that they could illustrate a further connection between Cornwall and the Greco-Roman world to the wider public. Their analysis of the texts has not convinced everyone and debate has sprung up about whether the Cassiterides existed or were a literary construct and in what ways the texts should be considered accurate geographical representations. This paper will show that historiographical discussions of Ancient Cornwall blend geographic and historical genres and deal with a liminal space between the real and constructed location.

Kristjan ŠINKEC (Tel Aviv)

Was *koine* a standard language or a fifth *dialektos*? Rethinking the Ancient Greek written registers

The proposed paper re-examines the accepted description of the socio-linguistic landscape of the written language of Ancient Greek (AG) from Classical to early Imperial times in light of dialogistic language theory.

The prevailing view sees AG in the classical period as an abstract entity, which had neither a standard nor a literary language. A standard language is thought to have emerged only in Hellenistic times with the *koine*, although the Greeks themselves failed to identify it as such. At the same time, it is thought that AG authors use pure forms of specific dialects in their writings. Although numerous philological studies dealing with the language of individual AG authors conclude that these authors mixed dialects and literary conventions, and were able to use more than one dialect in writing, the current approach is unable to accommodate these finds within the general picture.

This deadlock results from the current approach to the AG socio-linguistic situation, influenced by a modern concept of language standardization that posits one standard variety within a homogenous speech community. Contrariwise, this paper will argue that dispensing with the preceding premise allows us to reconstruct the AG sociolinguistic landscape by integrating the detailed philological studies. It will be proposed that literary AG *was* standardized as early as the classical period, but that its standard was constituted by the *four* literary dialects, Attic, Ionic, Doric, and Aeolic *together*, and not by a single language variety. The Hellenistic *koine* in its turn simply contributed to extending the repertoire of the AG literary standard, becoming its fifth *dialektos*. This socio-linguistic constellation seems to have lasted until Attic supplanted all the other dialects in writing after 200 CE.

Thus the proposed paper challenges not only the modern scholarly reconstruction of the AG sociolinguistic situation, but also the modern conceptions of language standardization.

Chris SIWICKI (Exeter)

Divine Intervention: The role of religion in the restoration of Rome's public monuments

The restoration of historic buildings can be extremely controversial and problematic; partly as they are subjected to conflicting opinions from different parties over what alterations or additions are appropriate. In ancient Rome an administrative framework was developed to manage the difficulties of carrying out the restoration and maintenance of the city's public monuments. Yet far from the regulatory system creating uniformity in practices and attitudes, the process was complicated by the patronage of private individuals, whose personal sentiments or objectives could be instrumental in determining how a restoration was carried out. Additionally, the potential influence of variable factors, including economic constraints, political ambitions and religious requirements, further complicates the understanding of how Rome viewed and dealt

with its historic architecture. It is the aim of this paper to focus specifically on the role of religion in this process.

The capacity for religious considerations to physically shape the renewed appearance of structures is apparent in a number of instances. For example, sources record that it was specifically due to instruction from the gods that Jupiter Capitolinus was rebuilt on exactly the same ground plan as its previous incarnations. However, it is questionable to what extent religious authority was explicitly imposed or consistently adhered to. This particularly seems to be the case regarding the actual fabric of the monuments, where evidence over the reuse and application of material from sacred buildings is seemingly contradictory.

Through a discussion of textual sources and the archaeological record, this paper highlights the possible influence that religion had in the restoration and rebuilding process between the First Century BC and the First Century AD. It attempts to demonstrate that during this period there was a change in practices, and considers the wider implications that this has in understanding Roman attitudes towards their built heritage.

Helen SLANEY (Oxford)

Schlegel, Shelley and the “Death” of Seneca

Although Seneca remained the primary model for tragic drama well into the seventeenth century, by 1808 A.W. Schlegel could condemn his plays as unperformable and exclude them from his canonical account of theatre history. Schlegel referred to Seneca’s work as ‘destitute of theatrical effect’ and to his characters as ‘colossal misshapen puppets’ [*Marionetten*], an assessment which rapidly became orthodox as Schlegel’s work entered general circulation. This paper approaches Schlegel’s erroneous opinion from two angles. Firstly, it examines contemporary discourses idealising Greek antiquity, and how these intersected with prevailing theatrical convention in Goethe’s Weimar; secondly, it contrasts Schlegel’s hostility with the work of two playwrights composing for the stage in undeniably Senecan style: Shelley’s *The Cenci* (1818) and Kleist’s *Penthesilea* (1811).

The Cenci, a gothic revenge-tragedy, displays a number of Senecan tropes. Its use of heavily stylised language as a means of expressing otherwise unspeakable experience also places it in a Senecan tradition of dramatic poetry, characterised by language that strains for affect (ie, sensation) through its excess. *Penthesilea* likewise depends on verbal overload to create sensation. In passionate resistance to the Weimar version of Ancient Grecian purity, Kleist’s Amazon heroine pursues, confronts and ultimately consumes Achilles in a fit of erotic madness. The climactic scene was performed in 1811 by mime-artist Henriette Hendel-Schütz, using a form of dance-theatre with its roots in Roman pantomime (to which Seneca’s plays were themselves indebted). Kleist, moreover, had no objection to *Marionetten*; his *Über das Marionettentheater* (1810) asserts their superiority to merely human dancers. Examining Schlegel in conjunction with these works, then, it becomes apparent that although his animosity towards Seneca participated in aesthetic theory dominant at the time, it should not be allowed to obscure the continuation of Senecan theatre in practice.

Amy Smith (Reading)

MyUre: Moulding museum data to every learner's individual needs

MyUre is a project in Classics at the University of Reading, in collaboration with the Department of Computing at Imperial College, to create an on-line environment that will give users personalised access to the disparate digital resources of the Ure Museum of Greek Archaeology. These comprise archives—including photographs, drawings, hand written and typed manuscripts and letters; multimedia resources documenting an oral history of the Ure Museum; as well as the collection of antiquities, which are in turn documented by drawings, photographs, some 3D scans

and text. An on-line environment—MyUre—will enable users to create personalised collections from Ure digital assets, enhanced by external data from the Europeana repository (www.europeana.eu), share them with other communities and embed them in e-Learning environments. A query layer will allow users to query the Ure collections using high-level cross domain concepts as defined by the CIDOC-CRM. The unified database will also be shared with the European community via Europeana.

The paper will present a progress report on the MyUre project and a prototype of the MyUre environment, suggest ideas about ways in which it can be useful not only among the HE community (researchers, teachers, and students), suggest scenarios for its usage in BA and MA learning, and encourage audience suggestions (during a workshop or after the presentation) as to ways in which it can also be useful to school teachers and learners. We will also take this opportunity to initiate a blog where we will publish ideas and scenarios presented at and emerging from the workshop.

James SMITH (Exeter)

Death and Memory in Alcman's *Louvre Partheneion*

At the time when Alcman was composing his poetry, Sparta was actively seeking to forge links with her heroic past through cults to the likes of Helen, Menelaus and the Dioscuri. Alcman himself makes mention of these heroic figures, singing of the honours which they received together at Therapne, whilst often making references to other elements of Sparta's mythic past. In this paper, I hope to focus more attention on Alcman's discussion of these themes. Through an examination of the *Louvre Partheneion* and other fragmentary poems, I argue that Alcman utilised the memory of Sparta's mythic past to ruminate on issues which were socially important within archaic Sparta.

The *Louvre Partheneion* begins with a violent conflict between the Dioscuri and the Hippocoontids, during which the Hippocoontids are killed. Alcman states that he will not 'pass over' any of the Hippocoontids, whilst at the end of mythological section of the poem the preceding events are described as 'things never to be forgotten.' Alcman clearly suggest that there is a significant value in remembering the deeds of the Hippocoontids, certain members of whom were also honoured with Spartan hero-cult. I argue that by remembering myths from Sparta's past such as the conflict which begins the *Louvre Partheneion*, Alcman is able to introduce his chorus to important themes such as death, fate and hubris. Furthermore, by comparing his chorus to the Sirens, themselves masters of recalling the deeds of men in song, Alcman recognises the power of his chorus to commemorate the past. Poetry and performance are depicted as an ideal means for remembering important mythic events. By singing of deeds that are worthy of remembrance, Alcman's poetry is better able to suggest what it was to be a good citizen in archaic Sparta.

Jon SOLOMON (Illinois)

French Appropriation of Greek Tragedy and Myth in 1674-1675

The Quinault/Lully operas *Alceste* (1674) and *Thésée* (1675) were French appropriations of ancient Greek drama and myth designed for the court of Louis XIV. Court taste and suitable plot design disallowed the incest of *Oedipus* or the regicide of *Agamemnon*. Euripides' *Alcestis* provided a happy ending and the opportunity for Quinault to refurbish Admetus as a triumphal hero, thereby making the requisite analogy to Louis. Similarly for *Thésée*, the infanticides of Euripides' *Medea* was replaced with a less horrifying mythological episode, found in Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*, where Aegeus, King of Athens, foils Medea's attempt at poisoning Theseus, again providing a happy ending and a suitable royal analogy.

Both operas have an Athenian focus. The former was the first opera derived from an Athenian 'tragedy' and the latter was the first to focus on the Athenian hero Theseus. Their creation and

popular reception corresponds with contemporary French interest in the city of Athens. France had previously established commercial, diplomatic, religious, and antiquarian bases in Turkish-occupied Athens, particularly by establishing a Jesuit mission in 1645. In 1674, Louis' ambassador to Istanbul, Marquis de Nointel, ended centuries of European isolation with his triumphal entry into Athens. He collected sculpture which he sent back to France and had the Parthenon sculptures drawn. Among Nointel's entourage was the Jesuit Jacques-Paul Babin, who described Athens in his book, *Relation de l'état présent de la ville d'Athènes*. He followed in Pausanias' footsteps to assure Frenchmen at home that Athens was neither a mythical nor vanished city. Such was the French eagerness for Athenian lore that it produced a best-selling forgery, Guillet de Saint-George's *Athènes ancienne et nouvelle*, a description of Athens derived from correspondence with the French priests in Athens. This was the energized proto-philhellenic climate that inspired these two Athenian operas in 1674 and 1675.

Dimos SPATHARAS (Crete)

Storytelling and disgust

Modern psychologists and philosophers tend to see emotions as a cognitive phenomenon. Cognition, however, is also closely related to narratives, because stories enable us to organize our experience in a meaningful way, or, as Peter Brooks (2005) put it, narrativity belongs 'to our cognitive toolkit'. Stories can therefore be productive of emotions because they provide structured information about objects of the external world that we consider to be particularly important for our wellbeing. Listening to the victim of a crime narrating her story about the ways in which her suffering affected her life can enhance our feelings of empathy for her and thereby affect our own evaluation of the alleged wrongdoer.

The aim of this paper is to investigate the ways in which prosecutors' use of storytelling serves the purpose of adumbrating their opponents as polluted individuals (*bdeluroi* or *miaroi*) who deserve to be treated with disgust. On the basis of modern approaches to emotions, I propose to show that the relevant stories typically involve accounts of the alleged wrongdoers' sexual conduct (cp. the description of Timarchus' sexual life in Aeschin. 1), highlight their cannibalistic practices that bring out their bloodthirstiness and thus invite jurors to associate them with animals (cp. Demosthenes' *Against Aristogeiton I*), and finally throw into relief their disrespect for religion and fundamental values of the city ([Dem.] *Against Neaira*). Since disgust typically leads to a tendency to avoid physical contact out of fear of contamination, prosecutors' narration of stories that graphically reveal the alleged wrongdoers' pollution is in pace with the common practice of Athenian speakers to present their opponents as social outcasts.

Catherine STEEL (Glasgow)

Cicero and the Senate, 57-56 B.C.

After Cicero's return from exile, he faced the challenge of rebuilding his political authority with both the Roman people and with his senatorial peers. In the speeches and letters in the crowded period between his return in September 57 and the crisis of late spring 56, we can trace his attempts to balance a complex set of often conflicting priorities: his debts to those who had assisted him during his exile, his hostility towards Clodius, and his desire to maintain an independent position in political debate in the face of the aggressive domination of Caesar and Pompeius. This well-documented case study shows the range and interactions of the different kinds of pressures – friendship, money and ideology – which drove Roman politicians, and the tensions that existed between the ethos of the Senate as a body and the ambitions of its individual members.

Edmund Stewart (Nottingham)

'There's nothing worse than athletes': Euripides, Tragedy and Athletics

In a fragment from Euripides' *Autolycus*, athletes are subjected to scathing criticism. Yet Euripides' attitude towards athletics was more complex than we might initially suppose. Sporting metaphors and imagery frequently appear in his poetry and could have inspired the story that he trained as an athlete in his youth. He may also have been the author of an *epinician* in praise of Alcibiades' Olympian victory. What, then, was the connection between athletics and tragedy? Was it merely due to the fondness of the Greeks for sport, or was there something else? Firstly, what role might a tragic poet have had in the context of the athletic festivals at Olympia and elsewhere, at which poetry was regularly performed? There were admittedly no athletic competitions at the Athenian Dionysia or the Leneia. However, with the increasing interest in the export of tragedy from the late fifth century BC, should we be considering alternative performance contexts to the great Athenian festivals, contexts that might have included dramatic as well as athletic competitions? Secondly, in the same period the evolution of professional actors and a growing theatre industry was taking place. These performers, like the athletes criticised in the *Autolycus*, competed for fame and large cash prizes at a growing number of festivals. Is Euripides, like Xenophanes (fr. 2), purposefully setting himself up in opposition to athletics as a member of a rival profession? Moreover, is this an innovation pointing to future developments or is Euripides drawing on a long tradition of both co-operation and antagonism between poets and athletes? In answering these questions I hope to shed light on the relationship between tragedians and athletes and to explore the ways in which tragedians viewed their art and their profession in the fifth century BC.

Martin STÖCKINGER (Heidelberg)

Gifts and Songs in Virgil's *Eclogues* 2 and 3

In this paper I argue that there is a strong correlation between gifts and songs, and also in a more specific sense between strategies of gift giving and singing, in Virgil's *Eclogues* 2 and 3. The former correlation has long been scrutinized in the context of Corydon's garland and Menalcas' cups; the latter, however, has not yet raised the attention it deserves. The wide theme of possession, prizes, benefits, and gifts is present from the very beginnings of the bucolic genre, and has, for the Roman context, most prominently been tackled from the perspective of literary patronage (cf. e.g. Bowditch 2001, White 1993). I will focus on the questions how herdsmen give or exchange property, which attitudes towards reciprocity they show, and, above all, how that affects the way they sing. *Eclogues* 2 and 3 provide an interesting test case: Corydon offers a catalogue of gifts that Alexis does not accept or return. At first sight this catalogue is a vast compilation of single items, at second it is full of metapoetical allusions and comparable to Corydon's unreciprocated monological *carmen inconditum* (cf. Schmidt 1984). In *Eclogue* 3, Damoetas and Menalcas have an argument about possessions and prizes, which is dominated by claims that some items are superior, and that a balance of value is needed. The argument leads to the tit-for-tat of the singing contest (cf. Powell 1976); in the medium of song, a balance is finally achieved as it ends with a draw. Gift-giving can thus be seen in a literal sense as a form of symbolic communication; something that shall, in a closing section, be tested in further Greek and Latin pastoral poems. Analyses of gifts can thus, as I hope to demonstrate, deepen the understanding not only of the present texts, but also of the present (sub-) genres of pastoral poetry.

Jelle STOOP (Yale)

How do honorific inscriptions talk about statue portraits in Hellenistic Kaunos?

Honoring living contemporaries by setting up statue portraits was an important social practice for Hellenistic citizen bodies, and a wealth of bases attests to its ubiquity. Today, the lack of any unified extant inscription-base-statue complex raises an important question: how do we talk about

one of the major forms of social and artistic expression in the Hellenistic world? Using honorific inscriptions (decrees, captions, epigrams) from Kaunos, I argue that the formulaic phraseology of inscriptions on statue bases is central to our understanding of how ancients talked about their portraits.

My argument concentrates on three observations. First, a portrait was always accompanied by an inscription. However formulaic, the caption on a base shapes perception of a portrait; because formulaic, the inscription is an accompanying discourse, a speech frame socially recognized for its specificity in talking about portraiture. Second, for every portrait there was also a decree, an elaborate piece of authoritative discourse inscribed for public display. I argue that the formulaic phraseology of decrees agrees with that of captions and epigrams down to the grammar. Third, decrees are an index of the supply and demand of a major genre of Hellenistic art. Though they do not mention requirements as specific as Quattrocento contracts famously studied by the art historian Baxandall, Hellenistic decrees are nonetheless gripping for the formulaic ease with which they talk about portraiture. Like Quattrocento contracts specifying types of gold and blue, Hellenistic decrees are social contracts to reshape civic landscape with statues and constitute one available discourse on honorific statues.

I show that, in talking about portraiture, an authoritative discourse need not be concerned with visual aspects: we are compelled to take seriously the relative autonomy of an object and its perception, on the one hand, and the claim that interpretation really depends on inherited frames of social discourse, on the other.

Mick STRINGER (Reading)

Words, Numbers and Economic Rationalism: How language and book-keeping shaped Roman financial decisions

The paper considers how language and recording conventions shape economic world views and suggests that this explains some of the differences between Roman and modern ideas of what constitutes economic rationalism. A brief discussion of how the Whorfian hypothesis on the influence of language on behaviour has been modified and developed by modern research into cognitive linguistics by such as Lakoff, Johnson and Boroditsky leads to a consideration of the specialised vocabulary and metaphorical framework used to construct modern corporate accounts. Examples are then taken from the writings of Cato, Varro, Columella and Pliny the Younger to show that although the Romans made extensive use of accounts (*rationes*) and were clearly familiar with notions of profit and returns on investment, they used a lexicon and recording systems suggestive of a strong concentration on cash and land accumulation, which may have placed limits on their entrepreneurial spirit. This allows us to shed new light on such phenomena as the rise and fall of the villa system, the development of the provincial wine industry, and the ultimate failure of the Roman economy to achieve sustainable extensive growth.

Polyxeni STROLONGA (Franklin and Marshall)

Shaping Religious Beliefs: The Case of the Major Homeric Hymns

Most scholars treat the *Homeric Hymns* as religious poetry in the strict sense of the term associating these poems to rituals and cults. In this line of interpretation, the *Hymn to Demeter* is a narrative on the establishment of the Eleusinian Mysteries (Foley 1993), the *Hymn to Apollo* provides an aetiology for Apollo's three cults and a foundation myth for the Delphic oracle (Chappell 2007), and the *Hymn to Hermes* was performed in the *Hermaia*, an athletic festival in the god's honor (Johnston 2002). Even the *Hymn to Aphrodite* which lacks any obvious cultic dimensions has been unsuccessfully connected to Aphrodite's cult in Troy and has recently been linked to rituals of the adoration and cleansing of cult images (Breitenberger 2007).

This paper treats the *Hymns* as religious poetry in the wider sense suggesting that they establish sacred beliefs and shape humans' views about their gods. A structuralistic and anthropological approach to the *Hymns* indicates that these religious poems portray gods who display a consistent behavior with respect to their reciprocal relationships with humans. In the narrative of the *Hymns* the gods by engaging in *quid pro quo* and *do ut des* exchanges prefer reciprocity to punishment (see. e.g. Aphrodite and Anchises) and present rituals and priesthood as the ideal reciprocal communication between gods and humans (e.g. Apollo and his priests). It will be argued that in the major *Homeric Hymns* the gods transform from their Homeric equivalents into benevolent divinities who come closer to mortals by experiencing the pains of human nature (e.g. Demeter as nurse) and consequently show their benevolence through balanced reciprocal relationships (e.g. Demeter and Eleusinians). The consistency in which gods reciprocate with humans and the positive nature of their rewards constitute a rationalization for the practice of reciprocity and indicate a new belief system, which has benevolent divinities in its center.

Jakub SZAMALEK (Cambridge)

What were dug-outs for? A study of early Bosporan architecture

The ethnic composition of Bosporan settlements is a subject of a lively academic debate. One of the archaeological features frequently cited in this discussion are the so-called dug-outs – small, either rectangular or round structures sunk below the surface. It has been long noticed that these edifices have no direct parallels among Greek settlements in the Aegean but are reminiscent of dwellings discovered at Iron Age sites of the nearby Ukrainian steppes. Some scholars argued that dug-outs are therefore proof of the presence and/ or influence of local peoples in the initial phases of Greek settlements in the Black Sea region. Other academics dismiss this view and argue that these structures were made and occupied by Greeks.

In this paper I posit that both lines of argument are unsatisfactory, since they aim to establish the ethnicity of the inhabitants of particular dugouts, which cannot be soundly achieved under any methodology proposed so far. Instead, I contrast the Bosporan dug-outs with similar archaeological features from other regions of the world – chiefly North America – as well as ethnographic and anthropological studies. This approach enables understanding the priorities and aims of the people who erected them. The results of this study suggest that dug-outs were designed for a lifestyle and conditions uncommon among Greek populations and are thus indicative of either direct or indirect local influence.

Aldo TAGLIABUE (Swansea)

The close link between sophrosyne and the Egyptian conceptualisation of immortality in Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaca*

'Love and death' is a common topic in the Greek novel, where the protagonists, threatened by many suitors, often look at a shared burial and tomb as the ways to preserve their mutual sophrosyne and to eternalise their love. In Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaca*, however, this topos has an unexpected variation: in the fifth book we discover that the fisherman Aegialeus keeps his wife's mummy in his house, so that he can dine and talk with her.

In this paper, I will offer a new interpretation of this passage: taking issue with its scholarly definition as grotesque and bizarre, I will argue that Xenophon is here describing an Egyptian custom and expressing a genuine interest in mummification. In this demonstration I will combine material evidence from Egypt with passages from Greek historians, with a special focus on Diodorus Siculus' testimony. Furthermore, I will discuss the role of this scene within the whole novel. Its construction as an Odyssean nekuaia and the novel's references to other Egyptian ways to overcome death - namely Habrocomes' drowning in the Nile, Anthia's ghost story and her devotion to Isis, the goddess responsible for her husband's resurrection - suggest that Xenophon

might be using the Egyptian belief in immortality to support the ideal of his Bildungsroman, faithful love.

As a result, Aegialeus' departure from Sparta is not only an event of his personal story, but becomes the sign of the novel's temporary relocation in Egypt. This move is so important that it also affects the end of the *Ephesiaca*: although the protagonists, unlike the fisherman, return to their homeland Ephesus, their achievement of an eternal love and their future sacrifice to Isis on the Nile, which is prophesied by Apollo, confirm that Egypt is, with Greece, the geographical and cultural setting for the novel.

Tristan TAYLOR (New England, Australia)

Caesar's Gallic Genocide? A Case Study in Ancient Mass Violence

A debate currently exists in the field of comparative genocide studies as to the relevance of ancient instances of mass violence to the study of the phenomenon of genocide. One side argues that genocide is a product of modernity (e.g., Levene 2005); while others argue that the phenomenon is best understood when examined over a long period of history (e.g., Kiernan 2007; Chalk & Jonassohn 1990). This paper contributes to this debate by examining whether Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* describes any events that could be classified as 'genocide'. When do such events occur? How are such events justified? The *Bellum Gallicum* makes an interesting study: it is contemporaneous with the events it describes and is written by a participant who had a keen interest in his own public presentation. After defining 'genocide', the paper argues that, while Roman warfare was brutal (e.g., Harris 1979), there are few instances in the *Bellum Gallicum* that could be categorized as 'genocidal'. Three cases are examined in detail: the massacre of some Germans near the river Meuse following a raid (BG 4.14-15); the planned destruction of the Eburones for their supporting Ambriox (BG 6.34) and the massacre that followed the siege of Avaricum, partly motivated by the killing of Romans at Cenabum (BG 7.28). While the events at the Meuse and Avaricum involved indiscriminate killing, it is only the intended treatment of the Eburones that could be described as genocidal. In particular, Caesar states that he acts so that 'the stock and name of the tribe' (*stirps ac nomen civitatis*) might be destroyed (BG 6.34). The fact that Caesar openly states this intent suggests that he thought his actions here could be positively received. Notably, Caesar portrays all three instances of mass violence as being, in part, acts of retribution for wrongdoing towards Rome.

Elena THEODORAKOPOULOS (Birmingham)

Introduction to Classical Reception and Contemporary Women's Writing

In this paper, I will introduce the session and outline some of the theoretical and practical issues involved in studying the impact of contemporary women's writing on classical reception. I will address, for instance, the question of defining 'women's writing' and the role of gender in authorship and in reception. I will talk about possible reasons for the relative absence of women's writing from the canon of modern and contemporary reception studies, and I will put the three papers into the context of the larger-scale project of which they form a part.

Karin TIKKANEN (Gothenberg)

"Italic" - the common tongue of Rome?

Early Italy was a linguistic patchwork. Excavations have unearthed inscriptions in 30 or so different languages, ranging from Celtic in the north down to Sicel in the south. But with the growing Roman colonization of the peninsula, from the 4th century onwards, Latin became language of administration in conquered territories and allied cities, causing the eventual death of all other early tongues in the area (apart from Greek). From the time of the death of Caesar, Italy as a whole had been Latinized.

My paper will investigate the rethorics involved in this change, and the state to which there was any coherent wish, at Rome, to preserve and maintain, or rather kill-off, the early linguistic diversity.

As attested by inscriptions, the native languages were used continuously, and bilingual texts, on tiles and in wall graffiti, give evidence of co-habitation as well as some form of mutual understanding. One may safely presume that Etruscan, Oscan and so on were spoke for at least 2-3 generations after the awarding of Roman citizenship to their tribes after the Social War, although Latin was the only language written down - at least in non-perishable texts. It is also a fact that most of the great Roman writers of the last century BCE came from outside of Rome, and one needs only mention Catullus' introduction of the celtic word *basia* "kisses", or Ennius' feeling of having "three hearts", one for each of his languages, to get a sense of the strength of the non-Latin features of their upbringing.

What was said, in Rome, concerning the "otherness" of such words? How were they treated, and welcomed or not? What did Cicero think? And what types of words did Valerius Flaccus see useful to transmit, and Festus to continue?

Frances TITCHENER (Utah State)

Plutarch's Nicias: Avoiding Defeat at All Costs

Plutarch famously believed that action revealed character. In his *Parallel Lives*, he highlighted aspects of actions he considered fundamental to his subject's nature in a number of ways. In the *Life of Nicias*, Plutarch aimed to show that in fact Nicias' determination to avoid defeat at any cost ultimately cost him not only victory, but existence. He used another aspect of Nicias' personality—his devotion—as a framing device in the biography.

The Athenian general Nicias was widely known to be cautious and conservative, even to a fault. Nicias wanted to live in a world where disaster could be averted or mitigated by sufficient planning and intense, expensive, and public religious devotion. For Nicias, planning did not aim at achieving victory, although of course that was good, but rather at avoiding defeat, at all costs. For instance, Nicias surely congratulated himself on handing off to Cleon the seemingly disastrous command against the Spartans in 425. But in fact Cleon prevailed, and gained great political influence from his victory. Because of his excessive caution, Nicias avoided defeat, but he avoided victory as well.

Plutarch paints Nicias' public devotions as ostentatious, and not infrequently designed to make himself look good. Early in the biography he gives examples of Nicias' use of his considerable wealth for religious purposes (a bronze palm tree; facilitated arrival for the choruses at Delos). These votive donations are harmless at worst, but Nicias' 'devotion' at the end of the *Life* has become blind and dangerous, as his obsession with oracles and divination was a profoundly significant element in his fatal decision to postpone the final Athenian retreat in Sicily. This time he avoided defeat, but at the expense of survival.

Polly TONEY (Birmingham)

Classical Reception and Feminist Politics: A Cautionary Reading of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*

This paper will consider the extent to which feminist theory can re-establish its political roots through women's writing of classical reception. I plan to give an overview of the interplay between feminist politics, theory and classical scholarship and then offer cautionary reading of the contemporary use of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*.

Arguably, the longstanding engagement of academic feminism with the discipline of Classics can only be of limited importance if the resulting collaboration does nothing to expose or articulate the kind of inequalities that feminist politics seeks to redress. Whilst feminist-led theoretical writing in any discipline can appropriate the political vocabulary of empowerment and agency,

what really matters is whether through their appropriation these political ideals can become a reality. Can the reception and adaptation of classical literature by women writers help bridge the gap between theory and politics?

The *Lysistrata* has not only been subject to numerous reproductions by contemporary women playwrights and translators, but has entered political parlance as a by-word for women's resistance to war. I would like to argue that this is extremely problematic, demonstrative of both a misreading of Aristophanes' misogyny and a failure to recognise the gendered implications that *Lysistrata*'s 'sex-strike' evokes, both for countries where women do have access to a political voice and even more importantly, in countries where rape remains a tool of war. There is a real need to analyse whether the reception of *Lysistrata* can coincide with feminist politics and not just replicate tired clichés in which women are reduced to their bodies, nor ignore circumstances in which endemic rape renders the notion of a 'sex-strike' staggeringly insensitive. If classical reception is really to become a way for feminist theory to become practice, it is essential that its practitioners bear these and similar issues in mind.

Giusto TRAINA (Sorbonne)

Mithridates and Tigranes of Armenia: Cases of Oriental Despotism?

Modern interpretations of the reigns of Mithridates VI and Tigranes the Great usually share the same bias held by the Classical authors against their policy. The military, political and social acts of both kings, especially of Tigranes, are considered as the operations of Oriental despots. But how correct is this interpretation? Could not we rather consider the coalition of Armenians and North Cappadocians (about 87-67 BCE) as an attempt to change the geopolitical balance of Eastern Mediterranean through the pursuit of "Hellenistic" legitimacy and the construction of an original *imitatio Alexandri* ?

The first part of this paper will study the historiography of this period, and criticize the modelizations of Marx, Weber, and Wittfogel as the results of a 'Western-friendly' approach based on a Hellenocentric conception of Late Hellenism. The second part will propose a different approach, getting back to the categories already elaborated in Classical India, in the treatise *Arthasāstra* by Kautilya.

Annalisa TRIGGIANO (Salerno)

Greek Culture and Roman Oratory

Roman orators were deeply influenced by Greek Rhetoric. The focus of this paper, which will trace also a wide description of the most relevant lesson of Greek culture in Roman oratory, which was symbolized by the so called 'stasis theory', set up by Hermagoras of Temnos, is tracing the way Greek Rhetoric has met Rome. I will examine, in my paper, first of all the resistance which characterized Roman culture: in 161 BCE, as Suetonius remarks (Suet. De Rhetoribus 25.2) *yr*ptsryot M. Pomponius sought the advice of the senate on the matter of Greek philosophers and rhetoricians at that time present in Rome. At the end of the proceedings, Pomponius was charged with arranging and providing for their expulsion from the city. Sixty years later, in 92, a second edict – of which Suetonius is again the source – was passed. I will analyze the text, in which Suetonius (De Rhetoribus 25.2) describes "men who have established a new sort of learning". Although Suetonius asserts that Romans of the second century BCE were initially resistant to introducing the teaching of Greek-style rhetoric into their culture, such opposition, in my opinion, was only apparent, since eventually, these Greek teachings grew to characterize the Roman elite. In many works Cicero himself often recalls both stasis theory and Aristotelian *pistis* theory.

Stephen TRZASKOMA (New Hampshire)

Clitophon as Romance Heroine

With regard to the relationship of Melite and Clitophon, which is introduced into Achilles Tatius' narrative in 5.11.4, Recent critics (Chew, Morales, Brethes) have teased out a persistent reversal of the expected gendered dynamics of such pairings. Chew (2000) and Morales (2005) have paid particular attention to Melite's partially masculinised role, while Brethes (2007) has concentrated more on the fluid nature of Clitophon's self-presentation as now effeminate, now manly. In this paper I wish to explore the how Achilles Tatius is playing with and exploiting not merely generalised tropes of Greek masculinity and femininity but the specific expectations of readers familiar with novelised romance. Clitophon is not merely able to assume a more or less effeminate posture at will but to take on the particular characteristics of earlier romance heroines such as Callirhoe and Anthia—all while experiencing a portion of the narrative modelled clearly on the travails of such heroines.

After delineating the parallels of situation, characterisation, and plot, I will lay out evidence that Achilles Tatius has at least one quite specific paradigm in mind, Chariton's *Callirhoe*—an influence that can be traced through distinct verbal intertextuality.

Natalia TSOUNPRA (Oxford)

What makes a leader? Rhetorical and sexual manipulation in Aristophanes' *Birds*

In this paper, I propose a reading of Aristophanes' *Birds* as a battle for leadership taking place in the city of Birds. I set out to examine the distribution of power within the Birds' society before the arrival of Peisetairos and Euelpides, thereby suggesting that the Birds, far from living free in a natural and idyllic utopia, are dominated and controlled by an appointed leader, the bird-man Tereus. The arrival of the two men, however, changes the dynamics in the exertion of power. Peisetairos challenges the authority of Tereus, while at the same time manipulates the Birds with promises of leadership. As it is, two new potential leaders emerge: Peisetairos, who seeks to take Tereus' place and rule over the Birds, and the Birds who, aroused by the words of Peisetairos, aspire to rule over men and gods. Who is to become the ultimate leader and in what ways do the rivals exhibit and communicate their power? The battle for leadership must be fought in various fields. Hence, Peisetairos first outdoes Tereus in a verbal contest and, having built his profile as an ambitious orator-leader, he paves the way for his political dominance by undertaking aggressive sexual activity. By making sexual advances to Prokne, the wife of Tereus, by harassing Iris, the messenger of gods and, finally, by stealing and marrying Basileia, Zeus' stewardess, Peisetairos manages to overpower Tereus, the Birds and the gods and become the leader of the new city. In this light, Peisetairos corresponds to the image of tyrant portrayed by Victoria Wohl as "an extreme of citizen sexuality", who, by exercising his rule in the form of sexual power and by monopolizing the sexual potency that should belong to all citizens, becomes the city's sole *erastēs*. Yet, as humans flow hurriedly into the new city of the Birds, anxious to join birds' life, one may well wonder: if Peisetairos is the sole and potent *erastēs*, who will assume the role of his subjects and potential *erōmenoi*?

Georgia TSOUNI (Central European University)

Oikeiosis and ancient ideas of Cosmopolitanism

Oikeiosis became in Hellenistic philosophy a key term, which applied to the relationship of living beings to their environment. The different metaphysical underpinnings of oikeiosis-theories defined different relationships and degrees of 'familiar' (oikeion) and 'alien' (allotrion) in both the natural and social environment.

In this paper, I will examine how debates on oikeiosis towards humanity as a whole were conducted on the basis of two paradigms, which suggest two different models of cosmopolitanism.

According to the one, advocated by the Stoic school, *oikeiosis* and cosmopolitanism were abstract ideals established on the a priori principle of a divine, rationally organized world. On the other hand, the Peripatetic tradition based a more moderate cosmopolitan ideal on the natural sentiments that seem to apply universally towards all human beings, such as the feeling of mercy.

In addition to the reconstruction of these theoretical debates, the paper will examine the place of these theories in the actual political reality of the Roman era, showing with the example of the late Stoic author Hierocles and of Cicero the way in which the first Greek ideas of cosmopolitanism were transformed to fit the political idea of the *res publica* and, later, that of the empire.

Douglas UNDERWOOD (St Andrews)

Plainly Pastiche: Fakes, Reuse and a 'Roman' Votive Statuette

A bronze statuette at the University of Missouri Museum of Art and Archaeology (62.66.3) has been meticulously examined and determined to be a forgery. This new understanding of the figurine, previously thought to be Roman, is based on serious problems with both technical and artistic aspects of the object. The piece is currently undergoing mass spectrometry to verify its metallurgical composition, with aims to confirm a 19th or 20th century creation. More significantly, the most substantial artistic problem with the figurine is its apparent reliance on a number of different antique models. The hair appears to be taken from an Aphrodite, the stance from a Nemi priest, and the garment from an Apollo. This pastiche is a particularly interesting and important aspect of this forgery, as it is the characteristic that gives the statuette its superficial authenticity to the casual viewer by supplying an antique feel, and yet it is the same quality that reveals the falsification to the expert. This paper then will look at the concept of pastiche in relation to forged and authentic classical art, especially examining the ways these hodgepodes, from late antique spolia to contemporary mass-produced knock-offs reuse originals in a novel way. Then, focusing on this votive statuette as a key example of modern pastiche drawn from classical archetypes, this paper will explore the phenomena of forgery, the fake and the ways in which this reflects modern attitudes towards ancient art.

Johan VEKSELIUS (Lund)

Weeping victors in Plutarch -- tearful variations of a Hellenistic motif

A weeping victor is a protagonist, typically a general, that sheds tears in the moment of victory over a defeated opponent of some historical importance; either a city or person. As he cries, he ponders the fickleness of fortune and the ephemeral nature of all things human. The origin of the motif can be traced back to Homer and Achilles crying before Priam, while in historiography the weeping victor can be seen already in Herodotus. Scipio Aemilianus' tears in front of Polybius as Carthage perishes in flames being otherwise the most famous example. The *Lives* of Plutarch is the single work that contains the highest number of instances of the theme. This paper addresses why this is so and how the motif is adapted in the *Lives*. As most often in other authors, the tears of victors mark major historical shifts: Antigonos Gonatas cries as he is handed the head of Pyrrhus, the last serious contender for universal rule after Alexander, Caesar weeps as he sees Pompey's head and signet ring, and Octavian cries as he is handed the sword of the Anthony after Actium. Tears are also shed at the capture of cities by Camillus at Veii, Marcellus at Syracuse Lucullus at Amisoss and by Brutus at Lycia. Significant for an understanding of Plutarch's adaptation of the motif is his conception of pity, which differs from that of Aristotle. The paper suggests that Plutarch's treatment of the motif can be seen as an expression of a cultural *topos* where the tears of a victor are not a sign of weakness, but are rather an indication of proper morals, statesmanship and above all of a Hellenic education and a philhellenic inclination.

Beatrice da VELA (UCL)

Aelius Donatus and the commentaries' tradition

Aelius Donatus (4th cent. AD) is one of the most influential Roman grammarians and teachers whose works have survived. Although his corpus has not been preserved in its entirety, we benefit from most of it: we have two treatises (the *Ars Maior*, in two editions, and the *Ars Minor*, a sort of compendium of the longer version) and two commentaries, one on Terence (almost complete) and one on Virgil (fragmentary). Holtz (1989) has demonstrated how the *Artes* and the two commentaries constitute the theoretical and practical components of a coherent didactic project. He explores the theoretical aspect, showing the elements that Donatus derives from a well-established tradition of grammatical analysis dating back to the Stoics and emphasizing the grammarian's innovations with respect to this tradition. Little is said, however, about the peculiarity of Donatus' commentaries, their relation with the Latin tradition of the genre and their novelty within this genre.

This talk aims to investigate the links between Donatus' commentaries (with particular reference to Donatus' *Commentary on Terence*) and other texts of the same genre that are possibly earlier or contemporary to that of Donatus, such as Asconius Pedianus' commentary on Cicero or the notes on the poems of Horace attributed to Porphyrio.

This juxtaposition will shed light on the peculiarity of Donatus' works: it will point out how his commentaries are different from the tradition of the genre and describe which of those differences are due to Donatus' general didactic plan.

Garbrielle VILLAIS (UCL)

Constructing a community: the fourth-century virginity corpus as ecclesiastical paradigm.

In the early fourth century AD, Emperor Constantine initiated what has come to be called the Peace of the Church, effectively inserting Christianity into the public and private lives of the Empire. Faced with this historically unparalleled opportunity, the Church and its leading thinkers of the time have left behind an immense corpus of theological treatises, ecclesiastical letters and council records. Among these, virginity treatises occupy a special position as all of the famous theologians of the time wrote on the subject, whether from the Latin West (Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome) or the Greek East (Athanasius, the Cappadocian Fathers, John Chrysostom).

These texts have been studied from a variety of perspectives, from gender studies to theological points of view. Their ostentatious subject was indeed women, and they were all written within a framework of definition of orthodoxy (and heresy). However, beyond gender and theology, I will argue that the virginity corpus was central to a collective project which aimed at defining the place of the Church within Roman society as well as organising its internal administrative and spiritual structure. In this paper, I will focus more precisely on the internal organisational principles spelled out in the virginity treatises and on their impact and relevance to the development of the Church during that period. I will advance that it was precisely because women were traditionally socially and politically speechless that their example was seized upon by Church Fathers to solve the main points of contention within the Church in the fourth century, such as the ascetic and monastic movement or the rise of the episcopal office. By analysing the rhetorical strategies of these texts, I will attempt to demonstrate how the creation of a new community represented one of the main ecclesiastical strategies of development and self-definition in that period.

Ivo VOLT (Tartu)

As X says in his letter to Y: aspects of citation in antiquity

The theoretical framework of citations is complex, especially in the case of ancient authors, where part of the tradition is often untraceable or lost. The authors do not always make their principles of citation explicit; they often do not reproduce a passage verbatim, or make a clear distinction

between the citing text and the cited text. Recent studies on citation in antiquity have underlined many relevant issues, including the very nature of a 'citation' (what is understood as a citation by us and by the author) and its relationship with other ways of referring to another text (allusion, mention), the "cutting" of citations, the discrimination (marking) of citations, referring to works already cited, self-reference, faithfulness in citation (modification of word order, addition, omission, substitution), change of context, reinterpretation, relationship between a fragment and a testimony, performative or ideological functions of a citation, etc. This all makes the citation a rhetorical device in its own right, and an explicit form of intertextuality. It can also make the citation part of the argument regarding the authenticity, authorship or interpretation of a text or a textual tradition, helping to sketch out networks of authors and ideas and to gain new insights both into the textual processes of antiquity and into the larger intellectual background of an author. This paper studies some of the rhetorical and intertextual functions of citation in specific ancient texts, aiming to provide a background for a more systematic study of the citation as a tool and as a process in antiquity.

Shane WALLACE (TCD)

Saviours and Tyrants: Diodorus on Gelon and Agathocles of Syracuse

Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliothēke* encapsulated the history of the entire world, but as a native of Argynrium events in Sicily played a particularly important role in his history. The question of the author's relationship to his narrative of Sicilian affairs may, therefore, justly be considered of central importance to his work as a whole.

In the surviving portions of Diodorus' historical narrative – Books 11-20, covering the years 480-302 – his account of Sicilian affairs focuses in particular on the lives, careers, and characters of Gelon and Agathocles, tyrants of Syracuse from 485-478 BC and 317-289 BC respectively. Each is presented generally as an example of a good or bad ruler. Gelon is acclaimed benefactor (*euergetes*) and saviour (*soter*) by his own people (11.26.6), while Agathocles is presented as a tyrant (*tyrannos*) who brings slaughter (*sphage*) and murder (*miaiphonia*) to his subjects (19.1.7). The depiction of both individuals offers us telling insights into Diodorus' view on the nature of the relationship between ruler and subject as well as the qualities important within a successful ruler.

This paper compares Diodorus' accounts of the careers and characters of Gelon and Agathocles. It explores the presentation of beneficent and tyrannical rulers as an aspect of the relationship between ruler and ruled. Diodorus' account of both rulers is based on earlier, now lost, sources, most likely Timaeus of Tauromenium and Ephorus of Cyme. By exploring the sources for his narratives, this paper also seeks to illuminate Diodorus' own voice within his narrative. Why did he present the careers of both individuals in the way he did? How did they fit into the wider scheme of his history? What do their examples tell us about Diodorus' wider conception of the relationship between ruler and subject?

Catherine WARE (Liverpool)

A Divine Emperor in a Christian Court

The cult of the emperor was intrinsic to the Roman empire since the death of Augustus. Some emperors were hesitant to become gods during their lives: Trajan was content to be praised for being only *dis simillimus* in Pliny's *Panegyricus*. As time went on, however, it was accepted that the living emperor was divine. Not content with claiming a general *numen*, emperors associated themselves with specific gods, often for strictly political reasons (the association of Diocletian and Maximian with Jupiter and Hercules is a case in point). Orators praised emperors as gods for their divine qualities and the divine assistance they bestow on their subjects.

After the Edict of Milan in 313 AD and Constantine's espousal of Christianity, Christianity became the dominant religion of the Roman empire, interrupted only briefly by the reign of Julian.

By the late fourth century, the emperor Theodosius had ordered the closure of pagan temples, prohibited pagan sacrifice and disbanded the Vestal Virgins. One would expect the new religion to feature in official speeches and the orators, well-informed as to how the emperors wished to be praised, to include specifically Christian virtues, or at least, omit references to the emperor's divine nature. That this was not the case is shown by the *Panegyrici Latini*. This (largely) fourth-century collection of panegyrics praises emperors from Trajan to Theodosius and demonstrates that emperors of the fourth century were content to be viewed as deities.

This paper will examine the portrayal of imperial divinity in the *Panegyrici Latini*, focusing particularly on the Christian period, and will consider how a divine emperor could be acceptable in a Christian world and to what extent his divine attributes were modified over the course of time covered by the speeches.

Kathryn WELCH (Sydney)

Why Bibulus? Choosing a naval commander in 49-48BC

Every standard narrative takes for granted that Marcus Cato joined Pompeius in 49 only on sufferance. Syme (1939, 45) echoed the ancient commentators when he said, 'They' (read Cato) 'fancied that Pompeius, weakened by the loss of his ally and of popular support, would be in their power at last, amenable to guidance or to be discarded if recalcitrant.'

Yet even the biographical tradition on Cato struggles to explain why Pompeius appointed Cato's son-in-law Marcus Bibulus as commander of the fleet (Plut. *Cat.Min.* 54.4). Or why Pompeius had previously asked Cato himself to take the post (*Cat.Min.* 54.3). Or why Cato was placed in control of the camp at Dyrrachium when Pompeius left to pursue Caesar into Thessaly (*Cat.Min.* 55.1). The explanation that Pompeius feared Cato's interference wears even thinner when we observe that Cato and Bibulus had joined forces to make Pompeius sole consul in 52 and Cato himself had wanted Pompeius to be commander-in-chief of the forces which ranged themselves against Caesar in early 49 (Plut. *Pomp.* 52.2). Although the two men are repeatedly said to mistrust each other, the bare record suggests close co-operation.

This paper argues that Pompeius and Cato were indeed working together in the opening years of the civil war. The appointment of Bibulus is an important piece of evidence not just for this alliance but for a wider strategy of using naval resources and a stranglehold on infrastructure to neutralise Caesar's superior military talent. Perhaps more surprisingly, it will be shown that scholarly blindness to the strategy is caused more by Cicero's letters than the account of Caesar, who, if we ask him, provides significant information about the struggle for control of the Mediterranean in the first years of the war.

Richard WESTALL (Rome)

Caesar, *Bellum Civile* 1.33.2: Enemies All Alike

Within his narrative of the Roman civil war of 49-48 BC, Julius Caesar affirms that Pompeius, just prior to departing from Rome in mid-January 49, threatened to view as enemies both those who remained in the city and those who went over to Caesar's camp (*Caes. BC* 1.33.2). Intransigent and vicious, the sentiment is an element in Caesar's characterisation of Pompeius and ought not to be accepted as straightforward fact. Seeming narrative displacement and an awareness of the partisan nature of Caesar's testimony provide cause for doubt. Analysis of Cicero's contemporary testimony and the evidence of historians writing under the Principate together confirm this doubt as to Caesar's veracity. It would appear that Caesar exaggerated the content of an edict that Pompeius issued prior to setting sail from Brundisium in mid-March and manipulated its significance by claiming that it had been uttered two months previously.

Guy WESTWOOD (Oxford)

A hinterland for Chaeronea: Narrative, self-presentation and the Athenian past in Demosthenes' *On the Crown*

On the Crown is one of the most commented-upon of all the surviving products of the fourth-century Athenian courts, with students continually drawn by how Demosthenes seeks to account convincingly for the decisions he made at Athens's helm in 340-338 B.C. – decisions which culminated in disastrous defeat at Chaeronea – and by how he creates a literary masterpiece in the process. Comparatively little sustained attention, though, has been paid to Demosthenes' deployment of large tracts of narrative as a means of proof. In this paper, I develop suggestions made by Yunis (2000, repr. 2007) to demonstrate the vital role played in Demosthenes' narrative of recent history by his vision of the grander sweep of the Athenian national past as crafted to appeal directly to the present jury. It is this consistent thread in the 'story' presented to the jurors that articulates key aspects of his overall message: contextualizing and defining his self-presentation as Athens's only statesman worthy of that title, and a continuing model of foresight and authority; constructing an analogous persona as a good and active citizen and litigant which can combat Aeschines' negative portrayal and make it rebound upon him; and (in keeping with the way that this speech expertly blends symbouleutic and dicanic discourse) generating the kind of optimism that will keep the Athenians true to their distinctive and timeless value-system as they weather the Macedonian hegemony of the 330s and 320s. I also show how the contest over the legitimate way to use examples from the Athenian past in public settings – a contest which exercises Demosthenes and Aeschines in this trial – reflects, informs, and is ultimately inseparable from the competition between versions of recent history at work in the two orators' narratives.

Jo WHALLEY (Wellington)

Tarantino's Amazon: The Reception of an Ancient Archetype

In a favourite motif of classical mythology, the Amazons fought many of the most celebrated Greek heroes and lived in independent societies on the fringes of the known world. These warrior women appear throughout Greek literature and art of every kind, and yet despite their reputations as fierce and talented combatants, the Amazons were constantly bested by their male counterparts and either killed in battle or abducted for marriage. In addition, they were defined by characteristics which differentiated them from 'ordinary' women: they possessed heroic capability and skills in battle, an unusual lifestyle, and a significant independence from men.

In a striking case of the reception and adaptation of classical myth, the archetypal features of the Amazon (as the Greeks imagined her) can also be found in a variety of modern cinematic characters. The approach adopted here aims for a 'productive exchange between scholarship on classical culture and cultural theories of the popular'; it examines in particular the example of The Bride in Quentin Tarantino's *Kill Bill Volume 1* and *2* and notes the ways in which she conforms to the Amazonian mould: capable and skilled in various martial arts, she also displays other key characteristics such as a lifestyle outside of the norm, freedom from controlling male figures, and an atypical relationship with her child. Additionally, in illustrating her success against numerous challenging foes, these films accept the Amazon into the realm of lauded cinematic action heroes (until the 1980s, the exclusive domain of males) and this figure ceases being the constantly defeated foe of Greek *mythopoiesis*. Film, with its potential to 'construct and convey new and fascinating readings of...an aspect of ancient culture', can here be seen to adapt and transform the Amazon from an outsider and 'alien' figure of defeat to an integrated figure of heroism.

Paula WHISCOMBE (St Andrews)

What is brotherly love? Representations of brothers in Greek historiography

The relationship between brothers is often complex, especially in societies in which primogeniture is the accepted method of inheritance and thus there is a natural rivalry and competition between brothers. The nature of relationships between brothers differs greatly but that relationship exists from birth to death – the most long-lasting relationship in a man's life is with his brother.

This paper examines the Greek portrayal of non-Greek brothers in historiography, primarily focusing on Persian brothers in the works of Herodotus and Xenophon. The focus is on the representation of relationships between brothers (specifically Cambyses, Xerxes and Leonidas and their brothers) but the discussion is framed in the context of Greek representations of the barbarian by highlighting any disparities between Greek and non-Greek evidence of their behaviour. For example, Cambyses' behaviour is attributed to madness in Herodotus' *Histories* but the Egyptian evidence suggests that he remained sane. The representation of the Spartan brothers is particularly interesting as Sparta is the only Greek *polis* to which Herodotus devotes an ethnographic digression, so their behaviour can simultaneously be judged to be acceptably both Greek and non-Greek. In the final section of the paper, I draw some conclusions about what the ideal fraternal relationship was for the Greeks as represented in their historiography and give some examples of the consequences of being perfect brothers or of transgressing the ideal.

Sarah WILKOWSKI (Birmingham)

Creating a *Philippic* Model: Exploring the Hermeneutics of Classical Polemic

When Cicero delivered his *Philippics* against Mark Antony he was demonstrating his mastery of a form of speech which had radically traditionalising overtones. Cicero's short-term success, however, prefigured an outcome that led to his death and mutilation- a bloody echo of the failure of the original *Philippic* orator, Demosthenes. My MA dissertation focused on the contextual effectiveness of Cicero's invective within the *Philippics*. My PhD develops this, examining the effectiveness of this specific style of vicious polemic, through its reception and use both during and beyond antiquity.

This paper introduces the preliminary phase of my PhD research, demonstrating my initial methodologies in illustrating how Cicero's *Philippics* have overtaken their Demosthenic model, and in honing a newly violent form of civic political discourse Cicero defined an historical moment. Wooten 1983 continues to be cited (e.g by Ramsey: 2003), however, Wooten's comparison to Demosthenes was focused on Cicero's own developed oratory, not on the nature of invective polemic itself. My research shall first draw together the *Philippics* of Cicero and Demosthenes via detailed comparative analysis, and will then proceed via case studies to develop a model for understating how the *Philippics* have taken on a transhistorical but also culturally transformative significance in the political development of Modern Europe.

Key to the hermeneutics within this project is *kairos* (the right moment) for understanding how and why oratory 'works' in particular historical contexts. Following Trédé 1992 (influential on Homeric *kairos*) my work will develop how knowing the 'right' moment becomes an explicit part of post-Ciceronian polemic.

This paper shall expound my initial findings and how they shall develop into this later phase of my PhD, to exhibit that, taken together, the *Philippic* model and the nuance of capturing *kairos*, has the potential to expand understanding of political situations where invective has been employed, both during and beyond antiquity.

Hannah WILLEY (Cambridge)

Oaths, curses, and the *polis* in crisis

The proliferation of oaths and curses in Greek society can hardly be overstated, ranging from the ‘exclamation points’ of everyday speech which litter the pages of Aristophanes (Dillon 1995), to the ‘lengthy and grisly ceremon[ies]’ of, inter alia, Athenian homicide procedure (Faraone 2002). In this paper, I consider the civic employment of oaths and curses on the public stage and the complex questions concerning the civic construction of community and authority which the employment of such religious mechanisms raises.

I question the oversimplified, binary perception that the oath served to implicate swearers while excluding non-swearers. By suggesting instead a broad spectrum of involvement in the oath and curse, encompassing not only the direct swearer or victim, but also their dependents and the spectators present, I argue that oaths and curses were uniquely suited to articulate and realise an image of a cohesive community, which extended beyond the male citizen body, without thereby collapsing social competition and hierarchies.

Turning to questions of authority, I reject the prevalent perception of such religious mechanisms as signifying civic defeat: as defective and desperate methods of enforcement relied upon in an ill-equipped early society. Rather, I argue, oaths and curses reflect a complicated interplay between divine and civic authority and power, in which the gods were not mobilised in a cynical or purely self-serving manner, but recognised as independent and powerful penal agents.

The civic employment of oaths and curses to negotiate these complex issues of community and authority, and the relationship between the city and its gods, becomes particularly crucial and distinctly visible at moments of political change or crisis. Thus, to explore the complex issues of community and authority outlined above, I consider in detail two concrete test-cases of political crisis or change: the banishment and recall of Alcibiades and its construal in later accounts and the events surrounding Pausanias’ death on the Spartan acropolis.

Alun D. WILLIAMS (Cardiff)

Liberal civilisation and Ancient Greece: liberal scholars and liberal understandings of colonisation, empire, and politics from George Grote to Gilbert Murray, 1850-1950

The connection between British imperial thought and the example of ancient Rome, and that between British liberalism and ancient Greece, are both widely known – if still insufficiently explored. Less well known is the influence in liberal thought of the concept of civilisation, informed primarily by ancient Greece, on the complex interplay between empire, colonisation and political freedom. This paper will explore this relationship with reference to a broadly liberal range of classical scholars and classically informed intellectuals – through their scholarship, but also their political publications and contributions in the popular media. The discussion will include, but will not be confined to, the works and ideas of George Grote, John Stuart Mill, E.A. Freeman, J.B. Bury, H.A.L. Fisher, Gilbert Murray, Alfred Zimmern and Arnold J. Toynbee.

By examining their writings we can observe the changes and varieties in liberal responses to significant contemporary issues, and the central place of Greek antiquity in such discussions. A conflicted response to empire (Roman and transient) and a more positive affirmation of colonisation (Greek, free, and lasting) accompanied the increasing ascendancy of liberalism during late Victorian and Edwardian Britain. Following Great War, the British Empire became in liberal eyes (now less critical of Rome) the foremost guarantor of civilisation against barbarism. Anti-colonialism was increasingly associated with totalitarianism and the threat to political liberalism – both renounced and threatened a liberal civilisation explicitly defined according to its Greco-Roman heritage. It will be argued that despite the range and variety of scholars and thinkers examined, continuity can be identified in the way a certain conception of civilisation influenced their responses to interrelated contemporary imperial, colonial and political debates.

Ika WILLIS (Bristol)

A New Life (*Vita Nova*)

See abstract for panel 'Writing the Words: Scholarship and Original Fiction'.

Eleanor WINSOR LEACH (Indiana)

Pliny's Epistolary Re-inscription: Writing the Monuments of Verginius Rufus and Pallas the Claudian Secretary

Present day appreciation for Pliny's letters highlights the triadic inter-relationship of epistolary writing, self-representation and memory (Henderson 2002; Morello and Gibson 2003; Morello and Morrison 2007) often seen in the permeability of epistolary boundaries to other genres of textual or oral expression that create lasting fame: oratory, history, lyric, even epigram. This paper examines two pairs of letters that confront memory in the form of epigraphical inscription in ways that construct the letter writer as both reader and collaborator in ingesting epigraphical information and reprocessing its significance in discursive writing. The letters respond to commemorations that are provocative in opposite ways, the one because it has not been permanently incised, the other because it has been engraved in bronze. Letters 6. 10 and 9.19 concern the tomb of Verginius Rufus, Pliny's guardian, still unfinished ten years after Rufus's death because it lacks the epitaph Rufus had written to epitomize his proudest act. In Letters 7.29 and 8.6 Pliny polemicizes over the tributary inscription to the freedman Pallas, Claudius' secretary *a rationibus*, observed on the Via Tiburtina, and laughable save as it embodies senatorial subservience to Claudius' court.

These letters amplify the elliptical communication of inscriptions. When Pliny internalizes his guardian's self-representation, making space for his unrecorded epitaph he establishes Rufus' distinction reciprocally with his own. Having experienced the taint of reading Pallas' tribute, Pliny alters its meaning by researching that expose underlying senatorial shame. Marchesi (2009) has called the Rufus letters historicizing, but the Pallas are more so in utilizing a kind of documentary research that Tacitus often conducted. Tacitean sentiments color both the anti-tyrannical statement of Rufus whom Tacitus admired and the condemnation of senatorial slavery in times that Pliny is glad to have escaped.

Kathrin WINTER (Heidelberg)

Medea's gifts: Presents and Retribution in Seneca's *Medea*

Modern theorists of gift-giving and gift-exchange have frequently pointed out that the word "gift" once carried a double meaning in the Germanic languages: "present" as well as "poison".

The same ambiguity holds true for Seneca's *Medea* and is most evident in the presents Medea gives to Jason's new bride, Creusa, because these gifts are actually poisoned and – just like the Trojan horse – result in the total expenditure of Medea's rival. Particular emphasis is laid on the fact that these presents (as it frequently happens in literature, e.g. in epic poems) have a biography as they were themselves bestowed on Medea's family by Sol. Furthermore it takes a whole act to describe the preparation of the gifts and demonstrate the origin of the poisons and fire that constitute the destructing part of the presents: like the precious objects they are gifts from various gods.

On closer consideration, however, it becomes obvious that these material gifts are not the only ones in the tragedy. Rather, Medea considers all her deeds to be gifts for either Jason or the Greeks – and expects them to be returned. From Creusa she demands compensation or the *munus* of having saved the Argonauts, from Jason for the *munera* which she gave in Colchis and that eventually led to her own total expenditure (i.e. the loss of her father, her home, and her brother).

Medea's gifts always prove to be poisonous as they suddenly change into something ruinous and harm the person who was supposed to benefit from them; so, clearly they should have never

been accepted. Thus, at the centre of the whole drama we find complex processes of giving, accepting, and (not) returning gifts. These constitute the logic of the plot without ever losing the characteristics of gifts.

Jamie WOOD (Manchester)

History and pedagogy in late antiquity

“Histories of peoples are no impediment to those who wish to read useful works, for many wise people have imparted the past deeds of humankind in histories for the instruction of the living.” (Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, 1.43)

As so often in his works, when writing these words in the early seventh-century, Isidore of Seville, a Spanish bishop, was drawing on a tradition that stretched back into classical antiquity: historical-writing was an appropriate medium for moral instruction and edification. Yet despite widespread scholarly recognition that this was an important feature of classical and late antique historiography, surprisingly little work has been done on the educational uses of historical writing. How was the relationship between history and education expressed in actual instructional contexts, if at all?

This paper begins with a short survey of the relatively well-studied literary connection between history and education. I then examine evidence for the practical use of ancient and late antique histories in educational settings in order to establish the possible social meanings of the literary association between the writing of history and the edification of audience members.

Areas to be explored include:

- (1) The presence of ancient/ late antique works of history in:
 - a. Educational handbooks/ advice texts
 - b. Biographical and autobiographical accounts of teachers
 - c. In school exercises, such as model declamations, including in manuscripts/ papyri
- (2) Evidence for actual educational uses of historical works, for example:
 - a. annotation of manuscripts;
 - b. copying of histories into historical (or non-historical) instructional compendia;

In order to limit the scope of my paper, I will not address references to historical writings in contexts of religious instruction, such as preaching (e.g. homilies, catechesis). Nor will I examine the educational reception of Christian works of history.

Amanda WRIGLEY (Westminster)

Greek Plays on British Television: Theatre, War, Sex, Education

From the first documented British television production of Greek drama—*Women of Troy* (BBC, 1958)—at least twenty further productions were transmitted on BBC, ITV and Channel 4 networks up to Don Taylor’s BBC production of *Iphigenia in Aulis* in 1990. Some were productions designed for television; others were representations of theatre productions (such as the 1983 Channel 4 broadcast of Peter Hall’s National Theatre *Oresteia*); others still were broadcast as programmes for schools or Open University course materials (including Patrick Stewart as Oedipus in 1977!) Little is known or has been written about this varied corpus of television productions (but see <http://screenplaystv.wordpress.com/author/awrigley> for some preliminary case studies).

In advance of a June 2012 ‘Greeks on Screen’ season at the British Film Institute on the Southbank in London—in which many of these long-lost productions will be screened and receive further attention in a series of talks—I offer, in this paper, a preliminary lay of the land, opening up discussion of such questions as how television practitioners responded creatively and technologically to the performance styles and dramatic conventions of 5th-century Athens (such as the chorus, the Messenger Speech and the *ekkyklema*); the extent to which these television productions engaged with, on the one hand, current theatrical trends in staging Greek drama and,

on the other, contemporary social and political issues; and what the contemporary reception of these televisual Greek plays was both amongst critics writing in the press and viewers at home (whose response is often valuably preserved in the archives).

Sophia XENPOHONTOS (Oxford)

The Virtues of a Good General: Military Leadership in Plutarch's *Fabius Maximus*

Plutarch's *Fabius Maximus* might at first sight seem flat or even unattractive in comparison to other more popular *Lives*. There is no Pericles here establishing his ambitious political plans, nor a Cleopatra seducing a powerful man like Antony. What one seems to find is a smooth narration of military events describing the affairs of Rome and Carthage during the Second Punic War. Yet this is the impression acquired from a less than careful reading of the *Life*.

In this paper I shall argue that *Fabius* is a work rich in moral guidance regarding the ethics of military leadership. A close analysis of its structure demonstrates that the military framework of the *Life* is deftly interwoven with a number of scenes showing Fabius' encounters with his fellow military officials or with ordinary men of the Roman camp. These scenes Plutarch derives from his sources (mainly Polybius, Livy, and Valerius Maximus), but the manner in which he reshapes them while incorporating them into his own biographical account suggests that his aim is a highly moralistic one, crafted to set those virtues that distinguish the ideal general. The whole *Life* becomes thus a succession of ethical lessons for any potential leader, whilst its pedagogical register and the educational techniques with which it is punctuated may entitle us to speak even of a sort of *metatextual pedagogy* in action.

Bobby XINYUE (UCL)

Looking back on the divinity of Octavian: The *sphragis* of the *Georgics* and the First *Eclogue*

The *sphragis* of Vergil's *Georgics* concludes with the poet quoting the opening line of the *Eclogues*: *carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuuenta*, | *Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi* (*Geo.* 4.565-6). Although almost all commentators have noted the ingenuity of this self-referential closure, few have conducted a re-reading of the First *Eclogue* with regard to the *sphragis* and the *Georgics* as a whole—an activity which the poet surely anticipated and promoted as he left his signature. By conducting a reading of this kind this paper seeks to contribute to the study of Vergilian intratextuality by arguing that Vergil's poetic manoeuvre at the conclusion of the *Georgics* draws attention to the divine stature of Octavian and its significance in the political discourse of both poems.

It should be noted that the First *Eclogues* includes the earliest reference to Octavian's divine stature in Augustan poetry (*deus*, *Ecl.* 1.6), while the *sphragis* of the *Georgics* contains the earliest allusion to the 'Jovian' *princeps* (*fulminat*, *Geo.* 4.561). Parallels of this kind should compel any reader to re-examine the importance Vergil accords to his depiction of Octavian as a quasi-divinity. Furthermore, if the act of quoting the *Eclogues* in the Georgic *sphragis* represents an attempt by the poet to unify his *oeuvre*, then Fowler's notion of 'supertextual closure' needs to be taken further. Are the readers being urged to identify *Vergilius* (*G.* 4.563) with Tityrus (or Meliboeus), and the thundering *Caesar* (*Geo.* 4.560) with the *diuus iuuenis*? It will emerge from this investigation that the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics* discuss Octavian's divinity more coherently than has usually been seen, and that this divinity theme is intimately linked to Vergil's poetic notion of *otium*.

Hoyoung YANG (Exeter)

Cicero's philosophical position – what sort of sceptic is he?

In his late years 46-44 BC, Cicero wrote a series of dialogues on the doctrines of the leading philosophical schools. These works were little valued in the mid 19th century, when scholars tended to see him as neither original nor a reliable source for others' ideas. The evaluation of his philosophical significance, however, has gradually changed during the past few decades. Few writers would now dismiss him as an incompetent philosophical reporter, and we are ready to talk about 'Cicero's philosophical position', as Powell (2007) indicates. But there still remains a question about the exact nature of his philosophical position. In his dialogues, Cicero combines two apparently contradictory elements. One is the practice of arguing for and against any given opinion and then *deriving the suspension of judgment* from the equipollence (equal weighting) of opposing arguments. The other is the practice of assessing the truth-likeness of impressions and then *assenting to the most persuasive one*. Most scholars emphasize the latter element. Hunt (1954), for example, suggests that Cicero's own views can be specified behind the dialogic and dialectical surface of the works, and that a coherent philosophical system can be reconstructed from these. But some scholars, focusing on the 'suspension of judgment', underline the significance of the fact that Cicero wrote dialogues, not treatises. Schofield (2008) claims that curiosity about Cicero's personal opinion on a particular topic is inappropriate, because whatever view he upholds does not affect the core function of the dialogues, that is, to enable the reader to make up his or her mind on a given topic. Though I see the force of Schofield's view, I think we should recognize that Cicero's personal attitude can affect the final judgement of the reader. Thus my paper will examine whether it is possible for Cicero's generally sceptical stance to be reconciled with his inclination, in some cases, toward a given philosophical view. His success as a philosopher would seem to depend on how successfully he was able to reconcile these incompatible tendencies.

Alexei V. ZADOROJNYI (Liverpool)

Otherness writes back: oriental inscriptions and the Alexander narrative

The paper explores the deployment of epigraphic writing in imperial Greek narratives by focusing on the episodes in Plutarch, Arrian and the *Alexander Romance* where Alexander encounters inscribed monuments of oriental kings, ranging from Cyrus to the legendary Sardanapalus and Sesonchosis. By having Alexander's geographical and ideological journey through otherness punctuated with epigraphic voices of kings who used to rule in this very otherness, the ancient narratives set up contexts for reflection on Alexander's own identity and, more importantly, on the ideals of Hellenicity and imperialism embodied in him. As durable writing on richly associative surfaces, the inscriptions are well placed to flesh out insights into the (ephemeral) nature of glory and power, not least due to the monument's exposure to trespassing and manipulative readers, such as Alexander. Imaginary and semi-epigraphy is thus a narrators' resource for patterning Alexander against the "plupast" as well as timeless ethico-political topics.

Rachel ZELNICK-ABRAMOVITZ (Tel Aviv)

How to (Re)count Things: *Katalegein* in Herodotus

Since ancient times, when Longinus (*On the Sublime*, XIII, 3) described Herodotus as 'most Homeric', Herodotus' correspondence with, or dependence on, the epic tradition has attracted scholarly attention. Modern historians have discussed such epic features as the theme of a great war, the breadth of the subject, the digressions and the speeches. Narratologists have pointed out the similarity between Herodotus' narrative strategies and those of the Homeric epics.

Recent studies have also analysed Herodotus' speech-formulas (e.g. I.J.F. de Jong) or his choice of words as indicators of his narrative schemes and of his debt to the epic tradition. But the ways

in which Herodotus uses verbs of speaking, their narratological function within his work, and his relation to the epic tradition in this respect have scarcely been discussed.

This paper will examine Herodotus' use of *verba dicendi*, focusing on the verb *katalegein*. Recently, Herodotus' use of this verb has also been studied by scholars (e.g. P. Payen and S. Montiglio). *Katalegein* has been associated by scholars almost unanimously (with the exception of E.J. Bakker and S. Perceau) with the 'catalogue'-form of narrative in Homer, although what have come to be known as 'catalogues' in Homer, as well as in Herodotus, are never explicitly introduced with this verb. Moreover, the question of how *katalegein* and other *verba dicendi* serve Herodotus' narrative in the passages where they are used has been neglected.

Looking at several passages in Herodotus where this verb is used and comparing his usage with that of Homer and of other historians, this paper will demonstrate how Herodotus retains the epic meaning and functions of the verb, at the same time adapting its use to the new genre of describing past events and to the requirements of his own narrative.

Poster Abstracts
(A-Z by speaker)

Rosangela SANTORO DE SOUZA AMATO (São Paulo)

Into the sophist's web - Philostratos, *Eikones* - 2.28

Philostratus, the Elder, in *Eikones*, produces an ekphrasis of a painting of a spider web in book 2. While describing it, he also makes an elaborate construction of a web of words, in which he catches his audience, trapping them with the various devices of an accomplished sophist. In this presentation I intend to discuss such devices and how the author uses this particular ekphrasis to illustrate the claims he makes in the proemium of the book, when he says that painting has *sophia* and truth:

"Whosoever scorns painting is unjust to truth; and he is also unjust to all the wisdom that has been bestowed upon poets – for poets and painters make equal contribution to our knowledge of the deeds and the looks of heroes... –

Also, as Graziani¹ states, to the sophist, truth lies in the words, and he is not interested in clarifying the ambivalences of language, but to establish symmetries and to play with meanings.

...and he withholds his praise from symmetry of proportion, whereby art partakes of reason."

This is another aspect I wish to discuss – the symmetries and multiple interrelations of words the author plays with, and how this leads to a wealth of meaning, which is seen through the empty spaces of the well woven text.

Marianna CALABRETTA (Naples)

From the Literary Text to the Dramatic Text: "Stage Directions" in Plautus' *Rudens*

A number of spoken lines in any ancient play could function as stage directions. This device has been carefully studied for Classical Attic drama, but appears to be widely used in Roman drama too. Among the Platine plays the *Rudens* is rather unusual: it is unique not only for the presence of the choir, but also for the special social background where the story is set, the world of the fishermen.

I have been collecting, and classifying the parts of the comedy which contain the information the ancient audience was provided to understand the *mise en scène*, the spatial environment of the plot, the movements of the characters on stage. I have also paid attention to the recognizable hints provided on masks and costumes worn by the actors as well as the forms of their bodily expressions.

Three permanent structures - the temple, the house and the altar - are functional to the development of the plot: the characters onstage usually stop in front of one of those buildings, others go towards them, albeit without entering them, others enter or exit one of the buildings, others come next to the altar. Thus, the movements of the characters on the stage are always towards the three buildings. The regular reference to such buildings helps the audience marking the succession of the episodes, prevents the occurrence of "illogical" situations onstage, and lets the audience better understand who is entering or exiting. My poster contributes to highlight this important, yet somewhat undervalued aspects of the *mise en scène* of a Plautine comedy.

Thomas COWARD (KCL)

The poet as a religious figure in Pindar's cultic songs

Pindar's poetry is a complex mixture of moral maxims, mythical narratives and rich language; metaphor is a dominant feature. Although the *epinikia* have survived the fullest, there are a substantial number of non-epinician fragments of cultic songs, which represent a wider corpus of performance poetry.

The relationship between poetic metaphor and cultic song can be demonstrated in the image of the poet as a cultic official or as a *theoros* of a community. Pindar often constructs his poetic *persona* in a strongly authoritative position that is in direct contact with deities of poetic inspiration. A common periphrasis for the poet is as a θεράπων ('servant') of the Muses. This does not occur in his *epinikia*, and Pindar presents himself as a *mantis* or *prophetes* in his *paianes*, *dithyramboi* and *partheneia*.

These poetological metaphors will be compared with Aristophanes, Callimachus and Indo-European literature so as to demonstrate a continuum of adoption and adaptation. There have been several studies on Pindar's use of metaphor in the *epinikia* by Dornseiff; Péron; Silk; Steiner, Patten and Lattmann. These have focused on applications of literary theory or have compared them with other metaphors in the *epinikia*. Yet there is little analysis or comparison with Greek poetry or with the non-epinician fragments. The poetic metaphors will be examined in order to demonstrate how a metaphor evokes a set of heterogeneous concepts of what a cultic song should or could contain.

Pindar uses poetological metaphors to express the act and means of composition, to portray the poet in both literary and social terms as a figure of and for the community, and to convey the effect and quality of the song. In particular this poster will investigate how Pindar's poetic metaphors with their religious background help to define the genre and ideology of Pindar's cultic songs.

Caterina FRANCHI (Oxford)

λάμβδα. Alexander the Great and the prophecies

"You are invincible!" These were the words the Pythia said to the twenty year old Alexander when he interrogated her before shipping to Asia. "He who will untighten the knot will be master of the world". This was the legend of the Gordian knot. "Look at the second letter." This was the prediction of an inevitable death. Alexander's life, from his birth to his death, is always marked by prophecies: those indicating him as a future destroyer of the world, those marking his incredible conquest, those, at the end, sealing his premature death. The attention will be drawn on the different prophecies regarding Alexander, starting from the historians, following in the legends, ending in the *Alexander Romance* in its different versions, trying to understand how they followed not only the life of such a conquerer, but also the imagination of the writers.

Kate HAMMOND (Open University)

Social Identification in Catullus's poetry: When You and I becomes We and Us

It has often been noted how many individuals Catullus names in his poetry, from major historical figures such as Cicero and Julius Caesar, to minor unknowns such as Libo and Otho. What has been less observed upon is the number of social groupings or categorisations that are alluded to through these references to individuals. Using recent psychological theories about how personal identity draws upon or assimilates available social identities, this poster explores these groupings and what they both provide and deny in the construction of a Catullan identity. As identity is considered a constructive process, the poster will largely bypass the question of whether the 'Catullus' thus created is a poetic or historical figure.

Social identity theories also often consider how an individual can actively interact with their social categorisations rather than being a passive receiver of social identities. As a result, it is possible to reject or change a social identity in a variety of ways. These include strategies such as social mobility, an individual strategy of dissociation with one group and association with another, or social creativity, where the group identity is redefined by an alternative positive positioning. A more aggressive policy is social competition whereby a subordinate group challenges a dominant group for social status. Informed by such theories, the paper will continue by exploring Catullus' positioning within his social groupings and what strategies he adopts in constructing his social

identity and how this impacts on the social categorisations with which he has contact. It is particularly in this interactional process of social categorisation construction that Catullus' verse has potential for an impact on his contemporary society, and the poster will consider to what extent Catullus' poetry fulfils such potential.

Francesco LUBIAN (Macerata)

The "iconological tituli" of the Late Antique West and the role of typology

For my PhD project I am studying Ambrose's *Disticha*, the epigram *Miracula Christi* by Ps. Claudian (*carm. min. app.* 21), Prudentius' *Dittochaeon* and Elpidius Rusticus' *Tristicha*: these short and rather neglected works all belong to the literary genre defined by A. Quacquarelli "iconological". Iconological *tituli* are series of epigrams associated to depictions of old- and new-testamentarian episodes, situated in places of worship of the Late Antique West. The iconological genre appears at the end of the IVth century, and had a large fortune till the Carolingian period. Iconological *tituli* combine characteristics of many different genres: they are an example of *forma brevis*; they are thematically to poetical paraphrases of the *Bible* (having as a distinctive feature the use of a short epigrammatic form), but with specific peculiarities, since their aim is to describe art objects: for this aspect they should be framed in the broader group of the so-called "Bildertituli". Besides, they can offer a stimulating contribution to the study of the Late Antique attitude towards images, especially by illiterates and semi-literates.

Prudentius' *Dittochaeon* really stands out among this general outlook, first of all for his length (48 episodes, half from the *Old* and half from the *New Testament*, each of them described in 4 verses, for an overall length of 192 verses), and for the structure of the poem. Fundamental is the role of typology, but, because of the lack of correspondences in the works of contemporary Fathers of the Church, I do not think that here one could find a simple, 1:1 correspondence between old- and neo-testamentarian epigrams, like A. Rösler and C. Davis-Weyer claimed: the search for a rigorous binary correspondence, in my opinion, could sometimes lead to force the author's willing with unlikely parallels. I rather think that Prudentius here activated less strict, though not unintelligible, correspondences between narrative macro-sequences. If we adopt this schema of "variable geometry typology", we can detect numerous typological relationships, all well attested by Patristic authors.

Francesco MONTONE (Naples)

Roman Archaic Comedy in Sidonius Apollinaris: A Study in Late Antique Reception

Sidonius Apollinaris is fond of a precious, sometimes baroque style: his prose and poetry is redolent of nearly all the authors who by his times were already a "classic". He plays with the attentive reader prompting him to recognise a large number of echoes of literary tradition that he inlays in his work, turning it in the result of a carefully studied sedimentation of several literary souls. Echoes of Latin comedy, for example, abound scattered in nearly each page of his poems or letters. More or less surprisingly, specimens of Plautine vocabulary are quite often found in his correspondence, while, in *epist.* 1.9.8 he mentions both "Thraso" and "Pyrgopolinices", the most famous among the Plautine masks. In *epist.* 3.13, the author describes a contemporary parasite, whom he calls Gnatho: his description makes headway from the well-known character in Terence's "Eunuchus" and features multiple echoes of the original wording of the comedy. In the much debated *epist.* 4, 12 Sidonius represents himself reading the "Hecyra" to his son.

My poster identifies several overlooked echoes of Roman archaic comedy in the work of Sidonius while trying to give a picture of the complex phenomenon of its reception in the intellectual world of a late antique erudite.

Sarah PLATT (Oxford)

Personal grief and public display: the family of Herodes Atticus in the Attic countryside

Monuments are lasting fixtures which impact a landscape and their associated images and inscriptions provoke a reaction in those who see them. Herodes' monuments reflect a conscious decision to publicise his grief, and project his pride in his family and status.

As well as those erected on his estates at Marathon and Kephisia, Herodes Atticus dedicated commemorative monuments for his family throughout the Attic countryside. The monuments for his adopted sons, the *trophimoi*, are at the core of this study. Herms commemorating these boys were scattered throughout the countryside, often at crossroads or by springs, or in favoured hunting spots – as attested by Philostratus (VS. II. 558-9), and supported by the archaeological evidence. Most of these were inscribed with a standard curse for their protection; these monuments were intended as permanent fixtures in the landscape, preserving the memory of Herodes' sons in physical form.

In this poster, the distinctively rural theme of the monuments will be examined in the context of contemporary trends in grave stele imagery. I address primarily the locations of Herodes' rural monuments; where they are placed, and why. I also analyse the content of the curse inscription in relation to Herodes' well-attested yearning for remembrance.

Using Herodes' combined interests in eternal glory and the Attic rural idyll, I hope to draw conclusions on approaches to the countryside, and the interactions of private and public in the monumental landscape of Roman Attica.

Keith STEWART (Exeter)

It's Elementary My Dear Galen: Physics in the Secondary-Century AD

In the late secondary-century AD Galen wrote *On the Natural Faculties* which contains a debate on the nature of matter in the universe. This debate was polarised between those that believed that matter was made up of discrete, tiny and indivisible atoms, which randomly collide to create more complex compounds and those that theorised that matter was a continuous substance made up of four distinct elements: fire, air, water and earth. Galen adopted the elemental theory of matter and used the theories of Hippocrates, Plato and Aristotle to construct a biological model of all living things. This paper will describe both the atomic and elemental theories of matter and show how Galen constructed a sophisticated elemental theory to describe how all living beings function. Galen's biological model used Hippocrates' ideas concerning the elements (fire, air, water and earth), the qualities (hot, cold, dry and wet) and the humours (blood, black bile, yellow bile and phlegm) along with the natural philosophy of Plato and Aristotle to show how complex organs in the body function to allow organisms to live. Galen was a strong critic of rival theories and this paper will show how Galen used the authority of Hippocrates, Plato and Aristotle to not only refute the Epicurean atomic theory of matter but also to challenge the rival elemental theories of other scientists and philosophers, such as Thales, Anaximenes, Anaximander and Heraclitus. The aim of this poster will be to define Galen's biological theory of the nature of matter in the context of the general understanding of physics in the second-century AD.

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